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BIOGRAPHIA  
BRITANNICA.

*VOLUME THE FOURTH.*



BIOGRAPHIA

BRITANNICA

VOLUME THE FOURTH



# Biographia Britannica:

OR, THE

## LIVES

OF THE

Most eminent PERSONS

Who have flourished in

*GREAT BRITAIN*

AND

*IRELAND,*

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times:

Collected from the best Authorities, both Printed and Manuscript,

And digested in the Manner of

Mr *BAYLE*'s HISTORICAL and CRITICAL

*DICTIONARY.*

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*VOLUME THE FOURTH.*

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*L O N D O N:*

Printed for W. MEADOWS, J. WALTHOE, T. OSBORNE and J. SHIPTON, D. BROWNE, H. WHITRIDGE, C. HITCH and L. HAWES, R. MANBY, J. and R. TONSON, JOHN RIVINGTON, H. S. COX, C. BATHURST, J. ROBINSON, J. RIVINGTON and J. FLETCHER, L. DAVIS and C. REYMERS, J. WARD, W. JOHNSTON, J. RICHARDSON, T. LONGMAN, P. DAVEY and B. LAW, and M. COOPER.

*MDCCLVII.*



Biographia Britannica:

OF THE

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ADAMS 1224  
H. 221

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Printed for W. Meadows, J. Wainwright, T. Osborne and J. Shipton, D. Browne,  
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MDCCLXXIV.



T H E

L I V E S

O F T H E

Most Eminent P E R S O N S

Who have flourished in

*GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND,*

From the earliest Ages, down to the present Times.

G.



ATACRE, or, as he wrote his name in the latter part of his life, GATAKER (THOMAS), a profound Scholar, an acute Critic, an able Commentator, a famous Preacher, and one of the Assembly of Divines in the XVIIth century. He was descended from a very ancient family in the county of Salop; but his father, being a younger brother, was intended for a learned profession, and by some very singular accidents was determined to take Holy Orders, and in process of time became domestic Chaplain to that potent nobleman Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, and Rector of the parish of St Edmund the King in Lombard-street (a), where, by his zealous preaching, he merited the title of a man of quick parts, and sincere attachment to the Protestant religion [A]. His mother's name was

(a) Fuller's Worthies, Shropshire, p. 3.

(1) Villare Anglicanum.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, Shropshire, p. 3.

[A] *To the Protestant Religion.* As to the name of this family, it is certain that it has been written both ways, Gatacre and Gataker, but the last seems to have been the old manner of spelling it, agreeable to the name of the village in Shropshire, from whence it was taken (1); and it was very probably, upon this account, that the learned man, whose article is before us, departed from his father's manner of spelling; and, instead of Gatacre, wrote himself Gataker. As to his father, we have, so far as it goes, a very fair account of him, from the pen of Dr Thomas Fuller, which, as it is very short, and, for its substance, can scarce be reduced into a less compass, we will give it in his own words (2).

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‘ Thomas Gataker, younger son of William Gataker, was a branch of an ancient family, so firmly planted by divine providence, at Gatacre-Hall, in this county, that they have flourished the owners thereof, by an uninterrupted succession from the time of King Edward the Confessor. This Thomas being designed a student for the Law, was brought up in the Temple, where, in the reign of Queen Mary, he was often present at the examination of persecuted people. Their hard usage made him pity their persons, and admirable patience to approve their opinions. This was no sooner perceived by his parents, being of the old persuasion, but instantly they sent him over to Louvain in the Low Countries, to win



- was Margaret Pigott, descended from a very worthy family of that name, seated in Hertfordshire (b). He was born in the parsonage-house of St Edmond the King in London, September 4, 1574, as he tells us himself (c) in his short memoirs of his own life, written at the request of a friend [B]. He received the first tincture of letters in his father's house, and gave very early marks of an uncommon genius, a most retentive memory, and surprizing application (d). He passed through the Grammar-school by that time he was sixteen, and in the year 1590 he was sent to St John's college at Cambridge, where he distinguished himself by his indefatigable diligence, being one of those students who constantly attended the Greek lecture read by the famous Mr John Bois in his bed (e); and, many years after, Mr Gataker shewed that worthy person the notes he had taken at those lectures, and, when he had raised himself to a high character in the learned world, gratefully acknowledged the assistance he had received from that learned person, in acquiring an accurate knowledge of the Greek tongue, and the helps he had from Mr Edward Lively in the Hebrew (f), adding thereby, to the reputation acquired by their proper labours, the credit of having had so extraordinary a person for their pupil. He had not been long at college before he lost his father (g); but the early hopes he had given of his future proficiency, procured him such assistance from his friends as enabled him to prosecute his studies, which he did with such success that he was chosen a scholar on that foundation, and in due time commenced Master of Arts with singular applause (h). His learning and piety was by this time so conspicuous, notwithstanding his reserved temper and great modesty, that he was chosen, by the trustees appointed by the Countess of Suffex foundress of Sidney college, a Fellow of that foundation before the college was finished (i). This unusual circumstance gave occasion to an offer made him, which he accepted, of residing at the house of William Ayloff, Esq; afterwards Sir William Ayloff, Bart. at Barksted, or Braxted Magna, in the county of Essex, that worthy person desiring to perfect himself in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, which Mr Gataker undertook, as also to instruct his eldest son in polite literature (\*). While he resided in this family, he was desired by Mrs Ayloff, who was the daughter of John Sterne, of Melburne in Cambridgeshire, Esq; and a Lady of excellent sense as well as unaffected piety, to read a chapter every morning in the Bible; which he very willingly did, expounding the sense from the original languages with much perspicuity, and, when he had so done, raising practical observations (k). It was in consequence of this daily exercise, that, by the earnest perswasion of several eminent persons, he was at last prevailed upon to enter into Holy Orders (l) [C]. When Sidney College was compleated, and in a condition to

(b) Thomæ Gatakeri vita, propria manu scripta.

(c) Mr Dugard, of Sidney college.

(d) Life of Tho. Gataker, B. D.

(e) Narrative of the Life of Mr Gataker, annexed to his Funeral Sermon, by Simon Aske, V. D. M. Lond. 1655, 4to.

(f) Cinnus, lib. I. c. 9. ii. 9.

(g) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 344.

(h) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(i) See his Vindication of his Annotations on Jeremiah x. 2. p. 57.

(\*) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(k) See his Discourse Apologetical, &c. p. 98.

(l) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

win him to a compliance to the Popish religion; and, for his better encouragement, settled on him an estate of one hundred pounds per annum, old-rent. All would not do. Whereupon his father recalled him home, and revoked his own grant to which his son did submit, as unwilling to oppose the pleasure of his parents, though no such revocation could take effect, without his free consent. He afterwards diverted his mind from the most profitable to the most necessary study from Law to Divinity; and finding friends to breed him in Oxford, he became the profitable Pastor of St Edmond's in Lombard-street, London, where he died, Anno 1593.

Another writer furnishes us with those dates (3), which in this account are omitted. 'Thomas Gataker was Bachelor of Arts of Oxford, where he continued for ten or twelve years, and was afterwards of St Mary Magdalen college in Cambridge, where he continued for the space of four years, or thereabouts. He was half a year in Louvain, at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. He was ordained Deacon by the Bishop of London, August the fourth, 1568, and Priest, by the same Bishop, October the twenty-first following. He was admitted Vicar of Christ Church in 1576, which he resigned in 1578.' Some fortune, though but a small one, he left behind him, but many friends, more especially amongst the great men of the Law, with whom he had been in the earlier part of his life a fellow-student, and who, on that account, were afterwards very ready to testify their respect for his memory, by affording countenance and expressing kindness for his son.

[B] Written at the request of a friend.] It would afford great satisfaction to such as expend their own lives in endeavouring to do justice to the memories of others, if they could be thus furnished with hints ever so short, of the principal facts and dates, from the pens of those whose virtues they celebrate; some perhaps relying upon the splendour of their fame or fortune, may consider this as unnecessary, and yet Cardinal Wolsey, who wanted neither, might perhaps have entitled himself to a father, in a somewhat better station than that

of a Butcher (4); if instead of despising calumnies, he had condescended to refute them. Others consider this as a piece of ostentation, and so to avoid being thought vain, leave it not in the power of posterity to do them justice.

This learned person had notions perfectly right in this particular, and has thereby saved us a great deal of trouble. His old friend and his son's tutor, Mr Richard Dugard, having quitted the University, and retired to a living of his in Lincolnshire, where he spent his last years in piety and peace, formed a very laudable design of writing the lives of such as had been fellows of Sidney College, a title he once enjoyed, and to which he was a considerable benefactor (5). Amongst those to whom he applied upon this occasion, Mr Thomas Gataker was one, who gave him in a very narrow compass, a succinct account of the principal events of his life, from his birth, to the seventy-second year of his age, which short memorial coming into the hands of his son, the Reverend Mr Charles Gataker, he communicated it to the world, when he published some additional books of Miscellanies from his father's papers (6). Upon these memoirs, written in his own hand, was the following authentick certificate.

*A me rogatus per literas vitam suam ita scripsit Mr Gataker, ut ego quæ viderentur, inde decerpta catalogo sociorum Collegii SIDNEJANI, quem diu describendum proposui, insererem.*

RI. DUGARD.

[C] To enter into Holy Orders.] In the space of a year, as our author himself informs us, he went through all the Prophets in the Old Testament, and all the Apostolick Epistles in the New (7). While he was thus employed, the very Reverend Dr John Sterne, suffragan Bishop of Colchester, visiting the mistress of the family to whom he was nearly related, happened to be present at this exercise, when Mr Gataker was explaining the first chapter of St Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. And the Doctor being satisfied with the performance, and admiring the endowments of Mr Gataker, exhorted him

(4) See Fiddes's Life of Wolsey.

(5) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 154.

(6) Printed also amongst his Opera Critica.

(7) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(3) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 344.



to receive those who were to inhabit it, Mr Gataker, as his duty required, repaired thither, and commenced Tutor with great success, and, amongst others, Mr John Hoyle and Mr Thomas Pell, who became both of them afterwards Fellows of the college, were his pupils (*m*). While he was engaged in a collegiate life, he concurred with the Rev. Mr Abdias Ashton, of St John's, and the Rev. Mr William Bedell, of Emanuel college, afterwards the famous Bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, in a very pious and laudable design of preaching every Sunday in the adjacent country, where the people were in want of able Ministers (*n*). Mr Gataker, in prosecution of this design, repaired every Sunday for six months to the seat of Sir Roger Burgoigne, and preached in the parish-church of Everton, a village seated on the confines of the counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingdon, the Vicar of which was commonly reported to be one hundred and thirty years old, but was certainly disabled from performing his function, by age and infirmities (*o*). At the expiration of this time he was prevailed upon, by Mr Ashton beforementioned, to reside in the house of Sir William Cooke, near Charing-Cross, as his Chaplain (*p*), Mr Gataker having, for certain reasons, determined to leave the University and fix in London. He had not been long there, before his admirable talent in preaching gained him such reputation, that it was proposed to him to take some necessary steps in order to be chosen Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn; but to this, from his innate modesty and distrust of his own abilities, he was very little inclined, tho' he was sure of the patronage of one of the first persons in the Law, who had a great influence over that Society, and who was so far from thinking him unfit for the office from his backwardness, that he actually procured him to be chosen, without his taking any measures at all for that purpose (*q*) [*D*]. He held this honourable employment, tho' attended with but a very moderate salary, at first but forty, and at last not exceeding sixty, pounds per annum, and punctually performed the duties of his function for ten years. In 1603 he went down to Cambridge to take his degree of Bachelor of Divinity; and it so fell out, that he preached at St Mary's on the very day that the news came of the death of Queen Elizabeth, when, by the direction of the Vice-Chancellor, he prayed for the present Supreme Governor, it being thought unsafe to name King James; till they received advice of his accession by authority. About this time an alteration was made as to the hour of the lecture on the Lord's day at Lincoln's-Inn, occasioned chiefly by Mr Gataker's taking notice in one of his sermons, that it was as lawful for the husbandman to follow his tillage, as for Counsellors

(m) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(n) Thomas Gatakeri vita.

(o) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(p) See his Discourse Apologetical, p. 15.

(q) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

him instantly to take Holy Orders, whereby those gifts might be authorized for publick use, and offered him his assistance in that business. But he well weighing the burthen of that calling, and modestly judging of his own abilities, thanked the doctor for his kind offer, but deferred the matter to further consideration. Yet afterwards, by the advice of the Reverend Mr Henry Alvey, formerly his tutor, and the reiterated solicitations of Dr Sterne, he consented to be ordained by that suffragan (*8*), and this seems to have been before his return to Cambridge in order to take possession of his fellowship in Sidney College.

[*D*] *At all for that purpose.*] It fell out by accident, that some of the members of this very learned society, had been amongst the number of his auditors (when he preached as his manner was occasionally for any of his acquaintance) and being exceedingly pleased with his performance, could not help wishing for an opportunity to hear him oftener. Those gentlemen offered him their assistance upon the vacancy, and alledged the facility of his introduction to that place, by the Lord Chief Justice Popham's interest, whom they knew to have had a great respect for Mr Gataker, as well as for his father, who had been his intimate friend and contemporary in the study of the Law (*9*). But our author, according to his usual modesty, declined the undertaking, and resisted the importunities even of his friend Mr Stock, till Dr Montague, master of Sidney College, repairing to London, and being acquainted with the design in hand, though he had it in his thoughts to invite Mr Gataker back to the College, that he might read an Hebrew Lecture, which had a salary annexed by the Lord Harrington, pressed him with arguments and authority, encouraged him against his own diffidence, and gained him at last to consent, that, without any suit made by him, the Lord Chief Justice Popham, should recommend him to that Society (*10*). Thus he was chosen preacher of Lincoln's-Inn, towards the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was much admired and caressed there, when there were some persons of the first character for integrity, as well as proficiency in the Laws, who were Benchers of that House. He tells us himself, in the last year of his life,

which shews at once the strength of his memory and understanding, as well as the cheerfulness of his temper, a very pleasant passage upon this subject of his entertainment and conversation at Lincoln's-Inn. The truth is, says he, mine auditory there, or the generality of them, were not a people that affected change; either novelty or variety, but rested well satisfied with my constant course and tenour of teaching, and very seldom therefore brought in any to preach in my room, in so much, I may truly say it, that scarce above twelve sermons in all my ten years with them, were preached there by any beside myself. Nor were they addicted to stray much abroad, one or two, taken much with Dr King, then Dean of Christ Church in Oxford, and parson of St Andrew's in Holborn, used to repair thither to hear him, when they knew that he preached, and some few would now and then step to Paul's Cross. Among whom, that pleasant gentleman Mr Thomas Hitchcock, though it were not frequent with him. Being missed one day at Chapel, by some of those that used there to sit near him; and coming late into the hall at dinner, and being thereupon demanded by one of them where he had been straying abroad? I have been, quoth he, at Paul's Cross. Thou wentest thither sure to hear some news, said the other. No truly, replied he, I went upon another occasion, but I learned that indeed there, which I never heard of before, how the As came by his long ears; for the preacher there, told us a story out of a Jewish Rabbin, that Adam after he had named the creatures, called them one day again before him, to try whether they remembered the names that he had given them; and having by name, cited the Lion, the Lion drew near him, and the horse likewise; but then calling to the As in like manner, the As having forgotten his name, like an As, stood still; whereupon Adam having beckoned to him with his hand, so soon as he came within his reach, caught him with both hands by the ears, and plucked him by them so shrewdly, that for his short wit, he gave him a long pair of ears. Upon this story told them, one of them told him he was well enough served for his gadding abroad, he might have heard better and more useful matter, had he kept himself at home.

[E] *In*

(8) Discourse Apologetical, p. 33.

(9) He was also supported by Mr Crew, afterwards Chief Justice.

(10) Thomas Gatakeri vita. Discourse Apologetical, p. 43.



(r) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.

(s) See his Discourse Apologetical, p. 38, 39.

(t) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.  
(u) Ibid.

lors to confer with their clients and give advice upon that day. This admonition was well received, and, instead of preaching at seven in the morning, as the practice had always been, he was desired to preach at the usual hour of morning service. The Wednesday's lecture was also transferred to Sunday in the afternoon; and this provision was made, that the spare hours in which the clients came to their Lawyer's chambers, should be better employed. He was afterwards pressed by some of the Society to take his Doctor's degree, which he declined because he very well knew that he had not an income answerable to the dignity; and besides the taking it was expensive, and therefore he very wisely chose to remain undistinguished, rather than debase the title or distress himself. He did not however leave Sir William Cook's family entirely, to whose Lady he was nearly related, but in the vacations went down to their seat in Northamptonshire, and during his stay there preached constantly, sometimes in their domestic chapel, and sometimes in the parish-church (r). In this he acted purely from the motive of Christian piety, and without any view to worldly considerations, as very clearly appeared from an extraordinary circumstance that does peculiar honour to his memory, and of which the reader will find some account in the notes [E]. His learned preaching in the chapel of that honourable Society, where he was fixed when in London, as it gave them much satisfaction, so it gained him no small reputation, and might also have procured him considerable preferment. Sir Roger Owen would very willingly have fixed him in Shropshire, and Sir William Sedley offered him a good living, of which he was patron, in the county of Kent, with which he might have kept what he already held. But that did not agree with his notion of things; for neither arguments could persuade, nor examples induce him, to conceive that one man, at one time, could discharge his duty, having two cures of souls (s). He therefore chose to remain where he was, and in the state he was; his salary indeed was small, but the employment honourable, and his condition safe. Besides, it afforded him a great deal of leisure to pursue his studies, in which he was very assiduous, more especially in that of the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, in the Fathers of the first ages in the Christian Church, and of the best writers amongst the Greeks and Romans (t). At length, in 1611, he was, not without some difficulty, prevailed upon to accept of the Rectory of Rotherhithe, or, as it is usually pronounced, Redriff in Surry (u), a living of considerable value, with which he was much importuned to keep his former office; but that not being consistent with his principles, he absolutely declined [F]. After he entered into the possession of

[E] *In the Notes.* There are few things in private and personal history, that strike a well-disposed mind, more than the description of a kind of virtuous struggles, or generous contests between souls above the vulgar level, who shall surpass the other in contemning those sordid advantages, to acquire which, is the sole, or at least, the supreme business of mankind. Such a relation we meet with in the English narrative of our author's life, wherein the fact of his continuing to officiate in Sir William Cook's family, as is mentioned in the text, being premised, it is then added (11): 'And this he did with an apostolical mind, not for filthy lucre, but freely making the Gospel a burthen only to the dispenser. Yet such was the devotion of that religious pair, that they also would not serve God without cost; for they afterwards, in consideration of those pains freely taken, settled upon Mr Gataker, an annuity of twenty pounds per annum, which he indeed received for some few years; but after, for certain reasons, remitted unto the heir of that family, forbearing to use the right he had, and forbidding his executor to claim any arrears of that annuity. This is mentioned, the rather, that the generous temper of his christian soul, aiming at the highest good of others, more than his own temporal advantage, and infinitely removed from sordid acquisition of gain, or the prostitution of his sacred function unto secular designs, may be opposed to stop the impudent clamour of some, whose consciences being both gauled and cauterized, prompted them to calumniate him as guilty of covetousness. But his own pen writ the best apology, as indeed, according to that of the Nazianzen; they that give him a just character and due commendation, had need to have also his eloquence.' It is worthy of observation, as it is another mark of his being as free from vanity, as from the love of money, that though he takes notice in his own Latin Memoirs, of every thing that looks like obligation from Sir William Cook and his Lady, yet there is not a syllable of this annuity, or of the motives that induced him to renounce it; nor is there any mention of it in his Apologetical Discourse against the slanders of William Lilly.

[F] *He absolutely declined.* He was constrained by a very rude attack upon his character, to acquaint the world in his life-time, with the means by which he obtained, and the motives inducing him to accept, this living, which were in a few words these (12). That rectory being void, a person of an infamous life used his utmost efforts to succeed in it, in order to which, he, before the incumbent's death, had made terms with the mother of some orphans, in whose hands the patronage was supposed to be; upon this, some of the religious inhabitants cast their eyes upon Mr Gataker, to gain whom, they added to their solicitations, the mediation of his friend Mr Richard Stock. And when he had by many reasons remonstrated to him, that it was of importance to religion, that an unworthy person should not intrude into the living; he was at last prevailed on to accept it. This being represented to Sir Henry Hobart, then Attorney-General, by Mr Randolph Crew, afterwards Lord Chief Justice. Sir Henry, who before favoured other pretensions to gratify some tenants of his in the parish, readily embraced the motion concerning the settling of Mr Gataker there, and wrote a letter to the Bishop for the removal of all obstructions which lay in the way, or might hinder the acceptance of the presentation of Mr Gataker, which signed with the hands of all the three brethren who had a right in that advocacy, was tendered on his behalf. The report of his remove, was no welcome news to many of that society of Lincoln's-Inn, who said 'would retain him; some whereof offered an enlargement of his maintenance, for an argument to keep him; and others, represented the consistence of both employments, by the help of an assistant. But he that made not his ministry in ἀποστολήν τῷ Βίῳ, a mere trade of his living here (as Gregory Nazianzen complained, some did in his time, and too many in our times do) nor would multiply burthens, when he deemed himself unfit for the least, would not be wrought to a new resolution.' The substance of this passage, is also to be met with in our author's Latin memoirs (13), only he adds, that he recommended to them circumspection in the choice of his successor.

(12) Discourse Apologetical, p. 44.  
Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(11) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(13) Thomæ Gatakeri vita.



of this living, he applied himself to the discharge of his pastoral function with indefatigable diligence, notwithstanding an infirmity with which he had been troubled from his youth, and to which very probably his late and early studies did not a little contribute, which was an almost perpetual head-ach (w): He had not before this time committed any of his learned labours to the press; and yet his fame was so great, that he seems to have held a regular correspondence with that excellent person Dr Usher, afterwards the most learned Primate of Ireland, from whom he received many letters, and to whom he wrote frequently (x). Some few of his epistles have been preserved, and afford sufficient testimonies of the nature and extent of his studies, and of his care in the enquiring after, and preserving, the unpublished works of some of our ancient Divines; and of which letters, as they contain likewise very shining proofs of that modesty and humility which are not always observed to accompany a profound skill in critical learning, some notice will be taken at the bottom of the page [G]. He was very careful in his pulpit, to preach

(w) Thomas Gatakeri vita.

(x) See those letters in the notes.

not

[G] At the bottom of the page.] Among the other excellent qualities of Dr Usher, one was his industry in procuring, and his readiness in making publick whatever remains of ancient authors came to his hand, and Mr Gataker having the like spirit, and having been applied to on this subject, by some of that great man's correspondents, gave occasion to the commerce between them. The first letter of Mr Gataker, is dated at Rotherhith, March the eighteenth, 1616 (14), in which he informs Dr Usher, that he had in his hands, a manuscript, containing among others, certain treatises which he could not then learn to have been printed, viz. *Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, de periculis novissimorum temporum*; as also divers things of Robert Grossthead, some time Bishop of Lincoln, viz. An oration delivered in writing to the Pope at Lyons, whereof he found a piece recorded in *Catalogus Testium, Excerpta quædam ex ejusdem Epistolis*; *Tractatus de oculo morali*; *de modo confitendi*; & *Sermones quidam*.

Some of these, says he, peradventure, if they be not abroad already, might not be unworthy to see the light, nor should I be unwilling, if they should be so esteemed to bend my poor and weak endeavours that way. But of that oration to the Pope, certain lines, not many, are pared away in my copy, tho' so as the sense of them may be guessed and gathered from the context; and in the other treatises, there are many faults that cannot easily or possibly, some of them without help of other copies, be amended. My desire is to understand from you, whether at your being here in England, for I wot well how careful you were to make inquiry after such monuments; you lighted upon any of these, and where, or in whose hands they were. There are besides in this manuscript, a commentary on Augustin de Civitate Dei, and a Postil on Ecclesiastes, with a treatise de Modo prædicandi, but these two imperfect, of nameless authors, besides *Gulielm. Paris de Præbendis*; & *Malachiæ Minorith. de Veneno spiritali*; which two last I understand to have been published.

In another letter to Dr Usher, dated at Rotherhith, June the twenty fourth, 1617, he writes thus: 'I esteem myself much beholden unto you, as for your former love, so for this your late kindness, in vouchsafing me so large a letter, with so full instructions concerning this business, that I was bold to break unto you, though the same, as by your information it appeareth, were wholly superfluous. True it is, that though not fully purposed to do ought therein myself, willing rather to have offered mine endeavours and furthermore to some others. I supposed that those two treatises, viz. that oration of the Bishop's, and that of *Wilhelm of S. Amore*, might not be unworthy the publishing, had the one been perfect, and the other not yet published; for as for that of *Parisiensis de Præbendis*, I had heard to be already abroad, and Gefner, in his Bibliotheca, hath *Tractatus 2 Argentin. impress. 1507, de collatione & pluralitate Eccles. beneficiorum*, which may be seen the same one of them with this, as it is said to be *gemmâ preciosior*, in that manuscript you speak of; so to be *auro pret.* in mine. But I perceive now by your instructions, that the one is out already, and the other perfect and fit for the press, in the hands of one better furnished and fitter for the performance of such work than myself, whom I would therefore incite to send what he hath perfect abroad, than by his perfect copy, having

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pieced out mine imperfect one to take his labours out of his hand. I have heard, since I wrote to you by Mr Bill, that Sir Henry Savill is about to publish Bishop Grossthead's epistles, out of a manuscript remaining in Merton College Library. That treatise de Oculo morali, I lighted lately on in another manuscript, bound together with Grossthead in Decalog. having this title before it. *Incipit Liber de Oculo morali, quem composuit Magister Petrus de Sapere Lemo-vinensis*. And I find it cited by *Petrus Reginaldetti*, a Friar, in his *Speculum finalis retributionis*, under the name of *Johannes de Pechamo*, as the author of it. Neither seemeth it, though written honestly, yea wittily and learnedly, as the wit and learning of those times was, to be of the same frame and strain for gravity, that the other works of that Bishop are, which also maketh me suspect those sermons that in my manuscript go under his name, should not be his, having lately at idle times run over some of them. If I meet with your countryman Malachy, at any time, I will not be unmindful of your request. And if any good office may be performed by me for you here, either about the impression of your learned and religious labours so esteemed and desired, not of myself alone, but of many others of greater judgment than myself, or in any other employment that my weak ability may extend itself unto, I shall be ready and glad upon any occasion to do my best therein. I lighted lately upon an obscure fellow, one Hieronymus Dungerheim de Ochsenfart, who in anno 1514, published a confutation, dedicated to George, then Duke of Saxony, of the confession of the Picards, which, whether it be the same with that which Gretser, saith Luther, set out with his preface, I wot not. The title of it is, *Totius quasi Scripturæ Apologia*, and the beginning of it, *In summi Dei maximo nomine & terribili, Amen. Nos Homines in terræ orbe quanquam ad ima subacti, &c.* And though it be not entirely inserted by him in his answer, yet so much is picked out of it, and set down in their words, as may shew in divers main points, their dissent from them, and consent with us. But it is not likely that this author, though obscure and not worthy the light, had escaped your curious eye. Gefner seemeth mistaken in him, when he saith, *Hieronymus Dungerheim, scripsit Apologiam sacræ Scripturæ Beomorum*, for he wrote not it, but against it. It may not be amiss to observe, that notwithstanding our author was discouraged, partly by his own modesty, and partly by information, that the treatise which he had mentioned of that famous Bishop of Lincoln, was fitted for the press by another and better hand; yet it did not then appear; but was long afterwards published by the indefatigable Mr Edward Brown (15), in a large work of his dedicated to Dr William Sancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury, in which is contained, not only this oration of the Bishop of Lincoln's, delivered by him in writing to the Pope, Innocent the Fourth, and several Cardinals at Lyons, in the year 1250, but also several other treatises penned by that pious and prudent prelate, upon points of the highest importance to religion; from whence it fully appears, that the corruptions of the Church of Rome, had long before the time of Luther, been both discerned and exposed by some of the wisest and most learned men in the Church, whose writings were carefully preserved, and diligently read, notwithstanding the prevalence of the Papal authority

(14) Archbishop Usher's Letters, published by Dr Rich. Parr, p. 37, 56.

(15) Fasciculum sermum expetendum et fugiendum; sive scriptorum veterum qui Ecclesiæ Rom. errores et abusus detegunt et damnant, necessitate quæ Reformationis urgent. Tom. ii. p. 244.



(y) See his Dedication before his Discourse of Lots, and his Vindication of that Treatise.

(z) This is particularly and learnedly treated in his last chapter.

not only sound but suitable doctrine, such as might edify any Christian congregation; but at the same time, be more particularly fit and applicable to those before whom he preached (y). His desire of discharging his duty in this respect led him, amongst other subjects, to discourse of one both curious and critical, which yet he brought home to common use. This was *the nature of Lots*, about which much had been written, and more said; from whence, in the opinion of our judicious Gataker, some very great inconveniencies had proceeded, such as that lufurious lots, or, in plainer English, all games of chance were absolutely unlawful, which filled the breasts of conscientious people with unnecessary scruples; as, on the other hand, the notion that there was something sacred and supernatural in lots, drew people into a deceitful and dangerous relying upon them, in cases not only improper but unlawful to have recourse to them (z). He thought therefore, that going to the bottom of this matter, and enabling his congregation to have clear and distinct ideas of the nature,

thority still maintained, and from sinister views increased those corruptions.

The collecting and publishing pieces of this nature, was at all times the best service that could be rendered to the Protestant cause, though it could be only judged so by men of true learning, sound understandings, and free sentiments; for to men of less knowledge, warmer tempers, and narrower notions; the hunting after, recovering, and reviving the works of our ancient divines, is either looked upon as an ill-grounded and superstitious fondness for antiquity; or misinterpreted, as proceeding from some secret inclinations, some latent regards for Popish doctrines; and hence it has frequently happened, that the wisest and most resolute, because most enquiring and best instructed Protestants, have been stigmatized by men much beneath them in parts and learning, as if they had a bias to those opinions, in the sifting of which, they took so much pains; we may likewise refer to the same source, that indifference which is generally shewn for collections of this nature, which quickly sink in their price, are commonly over-looked, and whatever noise they may make at first, are in a little time buried almost in as deep obscurity as that from which they were drawn by their laborious publishers. Yet this detracts nothing from their real value in the sentiments of serious and sober minds, and as there will be always, even in the commonwealth of learning, a multitude of warm and hasty spirits, incapable of going through the fatigue of what they therefore decried as heavy and useless reading, yet there will be ever a few candid, curious, and circumspect critics, who will have a true sense of the worth of such collections; and will not think their pains thrown away in searching through these ancient records, from which it is manifest, not only how the plain and pure doctrines of the Gospel have been corrupted, but in what manner those corruptions were distinguished and rejected by wise and good men, even at the very time they were introduced; by which the Popish plea of Universality is entirely and effectually overthrown, and the antiquity of the Protestant Religion, as it consists in an opposition to the super-induced and groundless doctrines of the Romish Church, is fully and fairly demonstrated to such as will go to the bottom of the dispute, and not suffer themselves to be borne down by bold pretences, or carried away by florid declamations.

It was the more necessary to insist upon this point, because these letters of Mr Gataker, shew, as indeed private letters will always shew, the true genius, and the real disposition of the man, and will account for that hot and eager opposition his writings met with, when he ventured his opinions abroad from the press. For as he never wrote upon any subject which he had not fully studied, and thoroughly examined what had been said upon it by men of all ages and all parties; so his penetrating skill in distinguishing, and his honest zeal in supporting, truth, laid him continually open to the clamours of those who had nothing in view, but the maintenance of those systems to which they were attached from their education, or the magnifying such notions as were popular in those times; and by defending which, they were sure to have a large herd of admirers, though their want of learning, and the weakness of their arguments, were ever so conspicuous. But in these kind of disputes, such furious opponents were sure to have the worst; and how considerable soever they might be, either in figure or number, they served only to heighten the lustre of his triumph. For, as the modesty of his nature withheld him from printing any

thing till he was forty five years of age; so by that time his judgment was so confirmed, and his learning supported by an extraordinary and almost incredible memory, extended to such a degree, that he constantly carried his point, and effectually baffled all the attempts made to envelope again in darkness and obscurity, any subject that he had once proposed to enlighten.

The great regularity of his life, his unblemished character, and the general esteem in which he was held by the greatest and best men in the nation, fortified him sufficiently against all those low and little artifices, by which a writer, deficient in any of these respects, would certainly have suffered. But then he made no ill use of this, he had not the least tincture either of spleen or arrogance in his nature; and though it be true, that he gave no quarter to the arguments of his adversaries, yet nothing could provoke him to strike at their persons. He always remembered that the prize contended for, was truth, and that for the sake of obtaining it, the publick undertook to sit as judges; he was cautious therefore of letting fall any thing that was unbecoming of him to say, that of his antagonist was not fit to be said, or that might be indecent or ungrateful for his readers to peruse; yet he was not so scrupulous as to forbear disclosing vulgar errors, through fear of giving the multitude offence, his modesty might hinder his preferment, but it never obstructed his duty, he understood perfectly well how easily the people may be wrought either to superstition or profaneness, and no man was more sensible than he, that true religion was as far distant from the one, as from the other; he was well acquainted with the arts of hypocrites, and thought it as necessary to guard against them, as to avoid the allurements of open libertines. He understood that souls might be ensnared, as well as seduced, and that canting words, and a solemn shew of sanctity, might enable presuming, and sometimes self-interested, persons, to bring a yoke very different from that of Christ, upon the necks of such as listened to their discourses, as oracles, and believe as the Jews do of their Rabbins, that their teachers exposition of scripture, were as sacred as the Scriptures themselves.

He thought it requisite therefore upon certain occasions, to declare himself in favour of Christian Liberty, and to shew upon what loose ground this spiritual tyranny stood, to vindicate the natural rights of reason in matters properly within its cognizance, and to free such as had really righteous intentions from those vain terrors and unnecessary apprehensions with which such as took a pleasure in ruling their consciences, alarmed and kept in awe their minds. In this, without doubt, he acted like a christian Clergyman and priest of the Church of England, placing religion where it ought to be placed, in believing the truths delivered in the Gospel, and in performing works worthy of such a belief, not in straining God's Commandments beyond their plain meaning, and introducing such a strictness, under colour of abundant sanctity, as might bring men from thinking almost all things, to a persuasion that scarce any thing was lawful. We have a clear instance of this disposition and conduct of his, in the very first work that he sent abroad, a work universally considered at the time it appeared, and which (though more treatises than one, and in more than one language, have been taken out of it) very well deserves to be read still, of the occasion of which, something is said in the text, and of its nature and contents, we shall speak more largely in the ensuing note.

[H] A:



nature, use, and abuse, of lots, might prove very beneficial, and therefore handled that matter, as his constant manner was, fully, freely, and fairly, without suspecting however that this would oblige him to have recourse to the press, and involve him in a long and troublesome controversy. Yet this unexpected effect it had, for some supercilious persons immediately took occasion from thence, to give out that he had defended dice and card-playing, with other false and groundless stories (a); which obliged him to publish his thoughts upon that subject in a small treatise, in which it is hard to say whether the accuracy of the method, the conclusiveness of his reasoning, or the prodigious learning displayed therein, deserves most to be admired. This work of his he dedicated to Sir Henry Hobart, Bart. Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; Peter Warburton, Esq; and Humphrey Winch, Esq; Justices in the same Court; Robert Houghton, Esq; one of the Justices of the Court of King's-Bench; John Denham, Esq; one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Randolph Crewe, Esq; the King's Serjeant at Law; Thomas Harris, Esq; Leonard Bawtree, Esq; John More, Esq; Charles Chibburn, Esq; and Thomas Richardson, Esq; Serjeants at Law; Sir James Ley, his Majesty's Attorney in the Court of Wards; and Thomas Spencer, Esq; Custos Brevium; together with all, and singular, the Benchers, Barristers, and Students of Lincoln's-Inn, as a mark of his gratitude and respect for past favours, and to desire their countenance and protection in respect to his present labours: This piece made a great noise in the world, and gained Mr Gataker, as indeed he deserved, much reputation (b) [H]. In 1620, he made a short excursion, for a month

(a) The Rev. Mr Balmford says in his Preface, *How to amuse themselves in the most profitable manner, now they have so learned a Patron of their gaming?*

(b) Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 154.

[H] *As indeed he deserved much reputation* ] This dissertation, though containing the substance of several sermons, is digested, as the reader will hereafter see, into an exact and very-regular form; and though there is a prodigious number of quotations from authors who wrote in different languages, and upon a variety of subjects, yet these are thrown entirely into the margins, so that the text is an even easy and perspicuous English style, very elegant for those times, and perfectly plain and intelligible in these. The title of this treatise at large, runs thus:

*Of the Nature and Use of LOTS, a Treatise Historical and Theological, written by Thomas Gataker, B. of D. sometime Preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, and now Pastor of Rotherhith, Lond. 1619, 4to.*

This piece is dedicated to the Society of Lincoln's-Inn. In the preface to the judicious and ingenuous reader, he observes, that how backward he had ever heretofore been to publish ought by the press, they best know, says he, who having oft pressed me thereunto, have never hitherto therein prevailed. 'Now a twofold necessity is imposed upon me of doing somewhat in this kind, partly by the importunity of divers Christian friends, religious and judicious, who having either heard, being partakers of my publick ministry, or heard of by the report of others, or upon request seen some part of this weak work, have not ceased to solicit the further publishing of it, as also partly, and more especially by the iniquity of some others, who being of a contrary judgment on some particulars therein disputed, have been more forward than was fit by unchristian slanders, and uncharitable censures, to tax and traduce both me and it. From whose unjust and undeserved aspersions, no way seemed better and readier to clear either, than by offering to open view to all, what I had before delivered in an obscure auditory (to speak of) among but few. And this thou hast here good reader for effect and substance, the same that was then and there delivered, enlarged only with such matter of history and humanity, as was not fit to pester the pulpit, or incumbent that auditory withal. He then remarks, that if any shall surmise, that writings in this kind may occasion too much liberty, a thing that little needeth in this over licentious age; he answers briefly, first, that it is unequal, that for the looseness of some dissolute, the consciences of those that be godly disposed, should be entangled and ensnared; and secondly, that whosoever shall take no more liberty than by one is here given, shall besure to keep within the bounds of piety and sobriety, of equity, and of charity, than which I know not what can be more required. For no sinister end I protest before God's face, and in his fear undertook I this task, neither have I averred or defended aught therein, but what I am verily persuaded to be agreeable to God's word.'

The first chapter treats of what a Lot is, and of lottery in general; the second, of chance or casualty, and of casual events; the third, of the several sorts or

kinds of lots; the fourth, of ordinary lots serious; the fifth, of the lawfulness of such lots, with cautions to be observed in the use of them; the sixth, of ordinary lots lufurious, and of the lawfulness of them; the seventh, contains an answer to the principal objections against lufurious lots; the eighth, an answer to the arguments used against them less principal; the ninth, treats of cautions to be observed in the use of them; the tenth, of extraordinary or divinitary lots; the eleventh, of the unlawfulness of such lots; the twelfth, contains an admonition to avoid them, with an answer to some arguments produced in defence of them, and the conclusion of the whole.

The second edition of this treatise, revised, corrected, and enlarged, was printed in 1627. As the work had then received it's author's last hand, and was become as perfect as he could make it, we will quote from thence, the latter part of a chapter, in which he has laid down as wise and as just rules for regulating the conduct of such as now and then, without prejudice either to their temper or spiritual concerns, inclined to divert themselves at play; and this we shall do for two reasons, first, because this citation will very fully explain the nature, conduct, and end of the whole work; and next, because we conceive it will fully justify the great character we have given of it; to which we may add, (which is no inconsiderable motive) that this passage cannot fail, both of entertaining and instructing the reader (16). 'These are the cautions, says he; that I have thought good to propound, for the limiting and rectifying of the use of these games, which cautions, I confess, the most of them, are such as concern game in general; of which, as well as of more serious and sad matters, either civil or sacred, account also must be given unto God; and in that regard, are not so proper and peculiar to this particular kind of lot. Yet I supposed it not amiss to point at them, and in some sort also, to press them partly, that I might not be taxed and censured as a pleader for sin, and such abuses as are common, as well in these games, as in other, by means whereof, those that condemn all lots used in game simply, are wont to take occasion to make them in general the more odious; and partly also, that no prophane person that abuseth any of these, or other the like games, might be able to take any colour of advantage, by ought that hath been spoken of the lawfulness of the games themselves, in themselves simply considered, to justify his own abuse of them, in mispending his time, or wasting his estate at them, or otherwise, inconsiderately and irreligiously abusing them, which it may be some would have done, had I been silent in this part, and propounded such cautions only, as the nature of the lot itself might seem to require.' Yea, but some will say, had it not been much better to have passed over all this with silence, knowing your judgment in this point to be such, as differeth from divers very reverend and religious? Or is it not in this case, as one some time said of images,

(16) Of the Nature and Use of Lots, p. 309.



in the summer, to visit the United and Spanish Netherlands, where he gave much satisfaction to the Protestants, by preaching in the English Church at Middleburgh, and no small

images, an easy matter, wholly to take away the use of them, than to keep them free from abuse.

Hereunto I answer: *First*, these abuses are common to all kind of game, they accompany other games as well as these, in those that be evil minded and prophanelly disposed. And the like therefore in that regard, may be said either of all other games, or of any other particular game at least in ordinary use. *Secondly*, it is true indeed, that where the use and the abuse of a thing are so enwrapped and entangled together, that they cannot be easily severed the one from the other, there the use of the thing itself, if it be unnecessary otherwise, would wholly be abandoned. But in these games, the use and the abuse, may, for the most part, some special dispositions only excepted, by those that desire to walk in the fear of God easily be severed. For, as for those that make no conscience of their courses, they will not be dissuaded from them, though it be never so evidently discovered unto them, in what manner they abuse them, and by their abuse of them, make that evil and unlawful to themselves, that otherwise were not such in itself. And for those that fear God, they may with ease as well rectify and sanctify these lufurious lots to themselves, as they may any other games of the like use, and as easily sever them from such abuses as are commonly committed in them, as they may other disports, as draughts and bowls, and the like, that are commonly used, and generally allowed. *Thirdly*, though many godly dissent, yet I am sure many, and I suppose more by many, both reverend and religious concur, and the truth is needful to be known, especially concerning matters in common practice, that men may have whereby to inform themselves aright. And lastly, though the minds and judgments of others were not known, yet were not a truth to be concealed, because some few godly have denied or opposed it, and none publickly, by writing, have contradicted them in it, especially being a point very needful to be known.

For myself, I was at first the rather induced to deliver my judgment in the point the more largely, having entered into this discourse of lots in general, by pursuit of that scripture that then I dealt with, tho' far then from any purpose to publish ought of this argument, upon these considerations. *First*, I considered that there is a fault as well in straitning, as in widening of God's way, and the subtilty of Satan, as well in the one as in the other. For in the one he doth as a juggler, that by putting a pair of false spectacles on a man's nose, maketh the bridge seem broader than indeed it is, that he is to go over, that so he may without fear step aside and fall in, and so he dealeth with the dissolute. In the other, he doeth as a Magician, that sheweth a man the bridge that he is to pass, throw a false glass of another kind, that it representeth it as narrow as the edge of a rapier, or the point of a needle, that so he may terrify him from attempting to go over it, and thus dealeth he with those that be over timorous and full of scruple. And that it is not good therefore by possession of men's minds with unnecessary scruples, either to discourage those that be coming on to some love and liking of the good ways of God, or to cast those that are already come on, into snares of men's knitting, tying them in stricter and straiter bonds than God himself hath done, and making more things unlawful than the word of God hath made. Yea, that it is in truth a spice and a branch of superstition, as well for a man to suspect that those things displease God, which indeed do not, as for a man to suppose that the creature can do that which indeed it cannot do.

*Secondly*, I considered, that many, as I am verily persuaded, truly fearing God and sincerely religious, have used, and do commonly use, these games, and besides, that many well affected are, and have been constrained in regard of scruple in this kind, to strain themselves to some inconveniencies by the refusal of them, when by those whom they have had dependance

upon, or familiarity withal, they have been urged occasionally thereunto. It seemed fit and needful therefore to be known what ground and warrant both the one had, and the other might have, for the use of them, which were I not upon due and diligent discussion, and that not of late only, undoubtedly persuaded to be found and firm, far should it have been from me ever to have opened my mouth in this argument.

*Thirdly*, I considered the arguments and grounds whereupon these games are condemned, have made many stagger in the necessary use of serious civil lots, which by occasion of bargains bought in common between them and others, they are enforced oft to use, but have doubted whether they might lawfully give consent unto or no. That which was indeed the first occasion of my searching and sifting out more narrowly the nature of lots in general. And certain it is, admit we the principal arguments used against this kind of lots for good, and we utterly overthrow all kind of lots whatsoever.

*Fourthly*, I considered the great offence and scandal that is taken by divers of contrary judgment against those that use these games, tho' never so soberly and seasonably as they suppose, on good ground, a means oft of much heart-burning and of breach of christian affection, yea of peremptory, uncharitable, and unchristian censuring either other, such being commonly our corruption, and the natural disposition of the most that diversity of judgment, especially manifested by practice breedeth alienation of affection, though indeed it ought not so to do, considering therefore that these games can hardly be wholly removed, being so common, so general, so usual with the most every where; I supposed it would not be unfit to assay, if by discovery of the ground of them, such scandal and offence might be stayed, and christian concord and amity in part procured and maintained between such as were before diversly minded in this matter; so many of them at least as might hear and apprehend the force and weight of the former arguments, and be brought to see the invalidity and insufficiency of their own grounds against them. Wherein, what I have done (mine endeavour hath been to do it) let the judicious and impartial whosoever be judges.

To draw to a conclusion, I could wish in this case, as the Apostle doth in some other cases, *that every one were affected in this point as myself*, to wit, that albeit in judgment, they be rightly informed of the truth concerning the lawfulness of these games in themselves; yet that in godly discretion, which I wish, yet without prejudice to any that use them as they ought, they would rather abandon them, and forbear the use of them, considering the too-common and ordinary abuse of them, and that many, it may be, among whom they live, may remain unresolved and unsatisfied concerning the lawfulness of them. But because this is rather matter of wish than of hope, my second suit shall be the same with that which the apostle maketh in the like case to either side: *let not him that playeth condemn him that playeth not, nor let him that playeth not, condemne him that playeth*. For why contemnest thou thy brother, may I well say to the one, why contemnest thou thy brother? may I as well say to the other. Why contemnest thou thy brother, as too strict and strait laced, for forbearing of that thing which he maketh scruple and doubt of, and hath no necessity to do? and why on the other side contemnest thou thy brother, as too dissolute and loose girt for the doing of that which he hath sufficient ground and warrant for out of God's word? and to both sides say I, and would to God I might with both sides prevail, not for this alone, but for all other controversies a foot among us at this present. Let us follow those things that may further peace, and seek after the truth, either of us in love ready to yield with Apollos to any, be he never so mean, that being otherwise minded than we are, shall be able more thoroughly to instruct us in ought that we were not so fully informed of before. In the last chapter of his work, he very fully, as well as very learnedly, explodes the use of divinatory lots, and all the superstitious



small displeasure to the English Catholics, as they stiled themselves, in those parts, the remains of such as had fled thither in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and afterwards in consequence of the storm they brought upon themselves, by the gun-powder-treason, soon after her successor was seated on the Throne. The source of this uneasiness was the freedom and boldness with which he disputed against the ablest of their Priests, and tho' there might be reasons why it was impossible he should convert them, yet they could not help being confounded, which they and their followers resented exceedingly. His mother therefore had cause to be apprehensive of this short tour, as knowing our author's zeal, and the provocation his works had already given to a party that have never been very famous for their moderation (c). At his return he applied himself with his former diligence to his beloved studies, and the duties of his charge. His short stay however in Holland, led him into a very high opinion of the people's zeal for the Protestant Religion, inasmuch that he became persuaded we could never differ with them, even about national points, without injuring the Protestant interest, and having once imbibed this notion his temper made him very warm in it; a very strong instance of which will be found in the notes (d) [I]. The contest raised by his Treatise on Lots still subsisted, and a very warm writer who had been misled by common report into an opinion that he had been very ill used by our author, and that too in a public manner, tendered what he took to be a refutation of his doctrine, to those who were then intrusted with the licensing whatever passed the press. But his performance, being written with greater appearance of anger than argument, was stopped, this he considered as a new injury, of which he complained so loudly, that our author, who had nothing in view but truth, interposed, and opened a passage as well for his adversary as for himself, being truly convinced that his character was in much more danger of suffering by private reports, which he could have no opportunity of refuting, than by any thing his adversary could urge against him in print. How justly he thought in this particular, and how ably, as well as amply, he confuted the objections raised against his work, the reader will be in some measure informed

(c) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 5

(d) Archbishop Usher's Letters, p. 76.

tious methods of endeavouring to discover future events, which have been invented by wicked, believed and practised by weak people; concluding, that tho' extraordinary lots, that is, such as the immediate interposition of God was expected in, might be in some cases, and to some persons lawful, yet now they are no longer lawful to any, and ought therefore to be disused.

[I] In the notes,] There were very probably many letters written by our author to Dr Usher between those which the reader has already seen, and this that we are about to give him, which we may less wonder are lost, than that this is preserved, which might probably happen from his Lordship's being in a particular manner moved by it, for he was himself extremely attentive to the general course of things, and might very probably concur with our author in his sentiments, and deplore those evils of which no man had a more clear foresight. This letter is dated September twenty-ninth 1621, from Rotherhith, and runs thus (17).

My duty to your lordship remembred. This messenger so fitly offering himself unto me, albeit it were the sabbath-even, and I cast behind-hand in my studies by absence from home, yet I could not but in a line or two salute your Lordship, and thereby signify my continued and deserved remembrance of you, and hearty desire of your welfare. By this time I presume your Lordship is settled in your weighty charge of oversight, wherein I beseech the Lord in mercy to bless your labours and endeavours, to the glory of his own name and the good of his Church, never more in our times oppugned and opposed by mighty and malicious adversaries both at home and abroad, never in foreign parts generally more distracted and distressed than at the present. Out of France daily news of murders and massacres, cities and towns taken, and all sorts put to the sword. Nor are those few that stand out yet likely to hold long against the power of so great a Prince, having no succours from without. In the Palatinate likewise all is reported to go to ruin. Nor do the Hollanders sit for ought I see any surer, the rather for that the coals that have been heretofore kindled against them about transportation of coin, and the fine imposed for it, the quarrels of the East Indies, and the command of the narrow seas, the interrupting of the trade into Flanders, &c. are daily more and more blown up, and fire beginneth to break out, which I pray God do not burn up both

them and us too. I doubt not, worthy Sir, but you see as well, yea much better I suppose, than myself and many others, as being able farther to pierce into the state of the times, and the consequents of these things, what need the forlorn flock of Christ hath of hearts and hands to help to repair her ruins, and to fence that part of the fold that as yet is not so openly broken in upon, against the incursions of such ravenous wolves, as having prevailed so freely against the other parts, will not in likelihood leave it also unassaulted; as also what need she hath if ever of prayers and tears (her ancient principal armour) unto him who hath the hearts and hands of all men in his hand, and whose help (our only hope as things now stand) is oft-times then most present when all human helps and hopes do fail. But these lamentable occurrences carry me further than I had purposed when I put pen to paper. I shall be right glad to hear of your Lordship's health and welfare, which the Lord vouchsafe to continue, gladder to see the remainder of your former learned and laborious work abroad. The Lord bless and protect you: And thus ready to do your Lordship any service I may in these parts, I rest, &c.' In producing this letter, and commending the honest zeal of it's author, we do not by any means intend to justify his sentiments with respect to the politics they contain, in which how well soever he meant, it is more than probable he was in some points very much deceived. Those who at that time opposed the measures of the Court, laboured to have it believed that it was an injury to the Protestant interest for us to differ with the Dutch, even as to points wherein our civil interests manifestly suffered, and represented every thing that was done in order either to support our rights or repair our losses, as proceeding from Popish counsels, which had a very bad effect. The fines for exporting bullion were in consequence of trials at law and convictions, tho' after all but one third of those fines was levied; our Merchants and the Nation were great sufferers by what passed in the East Indies; the invading our dominion in the British seas was prejudicial to the honour of the Crown; and the searching, rifling, and taking ships bound to Flanders was detrimental to our commerce. But when the ends for which these suggestions were thrown out, to mislead well-meaning people, who were no politicians, were once brought about as they proposed, those who suggested them tacked about, took up the thread where they forced their Sovereign

(17) Archbishop Usher's Letters, p. 76.



(e) See particularly the Letter of the learned Dr Daniel Featly.

(f) The Title of this Work was, *Transubstantiation declared by the Popish Writers to have no necessary Foundation in GOD's Word*, &c. London, 1624, 4to.

(g) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVII. p. 213.

(b) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 52. Strype's Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr John Lightfoot. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of R. Baxter, Vol. i. p. 86.

(i) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker, p. 52.

(k) Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 166, 170. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, Part ii. p. 160.

informed at the bottom of the page (e) [K]. It was really a pity that so great and good a man as he, should have been so often interrupted as he was, by the impertinent and yet bitter animadversions of such as envied the high reputation, that of course attended the repeated specimens he gave of extensive learning, accompanied with very uncommon modesty, which instead of preventing, as in reason it ought to have done, perhaps excited their attacks. His zeal for the Protestant Religion, and his observing how much the Papists, more especially amongst weak people, pressed the direct words of scripture, as containing in them the doctrine of Transubstantiation; he resolved to shew, and that in the most convincing manner, how little reason they had to value themselves upon this head, and having driven them from this, which was their strongest post, he prosecuted his attack, and obliged them to quit every other (f). This was a real and seasonable service to the Church, and which very deservedly rendered him conspicuous in the eyes of the most worthy persons of those times, who admired his fortitude in respect to points of importance, as much as his humility and willingness to submit for peace-sake in matters of less consequence. In 1642, when the Parliament thought proper to call together the Westminster Synod, otherwise stiled the Assembly of Divines, they were very careful to intermix with the warm Presbyterians, many of another character, such as Archbishop Usher, Bishop Westford, Bishop Prideaux, Dr Holdsworth, Dr Hammond, Dr Wincop, Dr Sanderfon, and Dr Hacker, who would not attend as conceiving it no legal Convocation, the King having declared against it, but Bishop Reynolds, Dr Featley, Dr Twist, Dr Arrowsmith, Dr Tuckney, Dr Lightfoot, and Mr Gataker, did at least at first, and laboured to do all the good, and prevent all the ill that was in their power (g). When the Covenant was proposed to this synod, Mr Gataker and several others declared their judgments to be for Episcopacy, tho' at the same time they expressed their dislike of the Lay Chancellor's Court in every diocese, and of whatever else they took to be the remains of Popery; and tho' they could not carry their point, yet they obtained a considerable qualification before they were brought to subscribe. His endeavours here for promoting truth, and suppressing errors, were equally serious and sincere, and his study of peace was so remarkable, that when his reason concerning Christ's obedience in order to our justification could not obtain the assent of the majority of that Assembly, by whom the question was determined contrary to his sense, his own law of unity imposed upon him silence, and hindered him from publishing those discourses, which he had composed upon the subject (b). While he was thus employed, he had an offer made him by the Earl of Manchester of the mastership of Trinity College, which is looked upon as the most considerable preferment in the University of Cambridge (i). This was probably upon the turning out of Dr Thomas Comber, Dean of Carlisle, who about ten years before, being Vice-Chancellor of the University, had entertained their Majesties King Charles the first, and his Queen Henrietta Maria in Trinity College, and had caused plays to be acted for their diversion (k). But Mr Gataker, whom no advantages could tempt to what might afterwards sit heavy on his mind, refused it. This great preferment was thereupon bestowed

Sovereign to let it fall, made the Act of Navigation to secure their own trade, insisted upon the right of the flag founded on the supreme dominion over the British seas, and compelled the Dutch to part with a large sum of money in satisfaction of those acts of oppression which the English had sustained in the East Indies, and with over-looking which (tho' themselves compelled it) they had, and others copying them have reproached the two preceding reigns (18).

[K] At the bottom of the page.] The title of this Work at large runs thus.

*A just defence of certain passages in a former treatise concerning the nature and use of Lots, against such exceptions and oppositions as have been made thereunto by Mr J. B. i. e. John Balmford, wherein the insufficiency of his Answers given to the Arguments brought in defence of a Lufurious Lot is manifested, the imbecility of his Arguments produced against the same further discovered; and the point itself in controversy more fully cleared; by Thomas Gataker, B. of D. and author of the former treatise.* Lond. 1623. 4to.

This treatise was in a manner extorted from him by the strange behaviour of Mr Balmford and his friends, by whom a report was spread, that the Doctor, by whom Mr Gataker's book was licensed, was sensible of the wrong done by him to Mr Balmford, and had declared that if the treatise on Lots were to be licensed again he would not do it. This was to give some colour to Mr Balmford's writing against Mr Gataker, and to raise a rumour in the world, that the very Doctor who licensed his book was sorry for it, and perhaps Mr Gataker himself ashamed of the cause he had undertaken to defend. In this short

work (in which however all Mr Balmford's arguments are included) our author vindicates his former sentiments, and rejoins to the replies that his antagonist had made. The licenser before referred to was the famous Dr Daniel Featly, at that time the archbishop's chaplain, who in a letter dated from Croydon, September the second 1623, prefixed to this defence, gives the following judgment of it.

Sir, ' I have perused your answer to Mr B. his pamphlet against you, wherein you have so cleared the point in controversy between you, that I much pity your opponent's hard lot to fall upon such a subject and tenet concerning Lots, as afforded him so small store of objections against your opinion, that he was even constrained, according to the manner of some old Roman Orators noted by Quintilian, *Causarum vacua convitiis implere*. Neither the matter in hand about which learned Protestants may differ in judgment without breach of charity, or prejudice to Christian unity, nor your handling it dogmatically and scholastically without any gall at all, could occasion such heats. I cannot imagine therefore what should so move him but the badness of his cause, and the weakness of his own arguments, which he seeth by your handling them to be like wire strings ill nealed, which would not endure the least straining. For albeit I confess, that we are all apt to take too much hold of any point of liberty reached unto us out of God's word; and in particular I cannot but deplore, *fortem fortis*, the Lot of Lot itself which hath been, and is too much by the licentious, abused, and thereby in a sort defamed, especially in carding and dicing; yet God's truth must

(18) See the English Translation of Selden's *Mare clausum*, by Marchmont Needham, by order of the long Parliament, and his Appendix.



stowed on Dr Thomas Hill, then Fellow of Emanuel College. As for our author, content with his own preferment, and more ambitious of doing good to others than of exalting himself, he applied himself in those turbulent times to his ancient studies, which could give offence to no party, and which might entitle him to the gratitude and approbation of the learned world. It was with this view that he published his laborious and judicious discourse on the name by which God made himself known to Moses, and the people of Israel. In this performance he shewed himself a very great master of Hebrew, and it was so well relished by all competent judges of so profound and so judicious a dissertation, that it has been often reprinted since (l) [L]. His continual application to the study of the best Greek authors, his retentive memory, his piercing penetration, and accurate judgment, enabled him to look into the very principles and elements of that copious, elegant, and expressive language. At first sight, this might seem beneath the attention of so great a man, but our author resolved to vindicate his enquiries of this kind, and to shew how much and how far the thorough knowledge of Grammatical Learning tends to the improvement of Science. He was aware, that the singularities of his opinion might tend to weaken his reputation, if they were not clearly and fully made out. He knew that they did not spring either from a naked imagination, or an affectation of opposing common opinions; but in reality were the produce of much reading and reflection, and that they had, to him at least, the appearance of certain tho' not vulgar truths. It was from those motives therefore, that he ventured to publish a work which would scarce have been considered from any other hand, but which from its own merit, and the respect due to its learned author's skill, more especially in Greek literature, has been very well received, and very much commended by able as well as candid judges (m) [M]. As intent as he was upon these deep and critical studies, they hindered not the exact performance of his function, or his close attendance in the Assembly of Divines, so long as he conceived it of any use. He yielded obedience also to the command laid upon him of writing annotations upon the Prophets, and performed it in such a manner, that some have wished to see his commentaries printed alone; yet in the midst of these occupations, he never declined applications of any sort, that he thought had a tendency to the public good.

(l) Vide Prefat.  
Hadr. Reland.

(m) See the  
learned Preface  
before his Opera  
Critica.

must not be suppressed because of man's errors, neither is it a safe way to go about to cure an error in practice by another error in judgment, I mean to reform the abuse in *isorie* lots, by totally condemning the use itself of them. Tho' a surgeon mean ever so well in letting his patient blood who needeth it, yet if he strike not the right vein, he had better have spared his pains. The sin too regnant in sports and games now a-daies is not in using the Lot, but in not observing those rules and cautions in these and other recreations, which are judiciously and piously set down by you in your compleat treatise of Lots. Let those cautions be observed, and set aside the authority of some divines, whose persons they have in admiration above others, what is there in the casual falling of the dye or dealing of the cards, more than in the fall of a coyte, or lighting of an arrow nearer or further, or the turning of a bowl, to ensnare the conscience? Art more ruleth the one, and nature the other, God's providence and concurrence being equal in either. For, to conclude that because some lots have been consecrated to an holy use sometimes, therefore all Lots are sacred, is a feeble kind of arguing. And to impose a special and immediate work of God's providence upon the casual event of the Lot, more than upon other natural accidents and deliberate actions of men, is a temerarious and groundless assertion. And furthermore, to charge all those servants of God, who moderately use their Christian liberty in these games, with so heinous a sin as is the prophaning of a thing sacred, or taking in vain God's deciding judgments, is an uncharitable censure. The Lord open the eyes of all that seek to serve him in sincerity and singleness of heart, that neither by enlarging their Christian liberty they open a gap to licentiousness, nor yet by too much restraining it lay a snare on weak consciences. To deliver you my judgment and advice in a word, *satis actum est*, you have sifted this point of Lots to the bran. Let me advise you hereafter, non recipere terram contentions de ludis fortiaris, but rather to employ your able pen against the forcerers of Egypt now abounding in every place, and making advantage of the least difference among us, who hold the like precious faith purged from the dross of their superstition. This advice I know you will take in good part, as proceeding from, &c.

About twelve years after this, he found himself under the necessity of publishing in Latin a Defence of his sentiments, against two very learned men who had written upon the same subject, the title of that treatise runs thus:

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis *ANTITHESIS partim* Gulielmi Amesii *partim* Gilberti Vætii *de sorte Theſibus reposita*. Lond. 1637. 4to.

[L] And which has been often reprinted since.] The title of this very curious and, with respect to literature, instructive treatise, runs at large thus:

*De nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio, quâ vocis* JEHOVAH *apud nostros receptæ usus defenditur, & a quorundam cavillationibus iniquis pariter atque inanibus vindicatur*. Lond. 1645. 8vo. that is, *A Dissertation on the Tetragrammatick or four lettered name, in which the use of the word JEHOVAH (which in Hebrew is written with four letters) as it is received amongst us, is defended and vindicated, against certain unjust and groundless cavils*. This book was reprinted in 1652, it is likewise inserted amongst his *Opera Critica*, and found a place also amongst the ten Discourses upon this subject, collected and published by Hadrian Reland, of which the five first written by John Drusius, Sixtinus Amama, Lewis Capel, John Buxtorff, and James Altin, opposed the received usage which is defended in the other five Dissertations, the first written by Nicholas Fuller, the second by our author, and the other three by John Leusden.

[M] As well as candid judges.] The title of this learned critical treatise ran at large in the following words:

*De Diphthongis sive Bivocalibus Dissertatio Philologica, in qua Literarum quarundam sonus germanus naturâ genuina figura nova & scriptura vetus veraque investigatur*. Lond. 1646, 8vo. that is, *A Philological Dissertation upon Diphthongs, or double Vowels, in which the true sound, the genuine nature, the new form, and the old and true way of writing certain letters is discussed*. This piece is also printed amongst his *Opera Critica*. The point aimed at in this discourse, was to shew that in reality there are no diphthongs, and that it is impossible two vowels should be so blended together as to enter into one syllable. We have observed in the text, that this was one of our author's singularities. Amongst the notes upon a celebrated treatise (19), written to expose the defects of learned men, there

(19) De la Charlatanerie des Savans par Mr Menkin; avec des Remarques Critiques de differens Auteurs, 1721. 12mo. p. 132.



good. His moderation was the most distinguishing part of his character, but when he found that under colour of asserting liberty of conscience, many were inclined to maintain dangerous and immoral notions, and that assuming the specious pretence of expounding the scriptures freely, they ran into wild and extravagant doctrines, he thought it became him to oppose them, and he did it with great freedom and spirit. This could not fail of exciting him enemies amongst such as took great liberties, even with men of the fairest characters, and were never at a loss to ascribe the most regular behaviour to mean and unworthy motives, according as occasion required; Mr Gataker bore this with silence and patience, or justified himself as he was well able to do, by stating and explaining his own conduct. He held his rectory of Rotherhith by a legal tenure, and exercised his Ministry in the same manner, which was so satisfactory to his own mind, that, tho' often solicited, he would never part with it for preferments of greater value. He was frugal in his manner of living, and by that means easy in his circumstances, which induced some, tho' very unjustly, to represent him as a lover of money. He differed more than once with the very learned Dr Lightfoot, more especially about the power of the Church, in their meetings at the Assembly, but tho' they were opposite in sentiments, Lightfoot at that time being esteemed an Erastian, and sometimes debated warmly, yet they never lost their tempers, or had any rancour against each other on account of these disputes (n); at first, authority seemed to be on the side of our author, but it shifted by degrees, and came at length to be clearly with the opposite party. For the Parliament intended to use the synod at Westminster as their instrument, and not to suffer them to assume any power of their own, and once this was carried so far, as that some mention was made of the hard word *premunire*, which made the better sort of those who composed it, and who had hitherto laboured to support the dignity of the Assembly, less active in their conduct, and, in process of time, less constant in their attendance (o). In this situation the defending the doctrines and discipline of the Church of Christ, in open and in private conferences, from the pulpit, and from the press, became more and more necessary, which induced Mr Gataker, tho' naturally inclined to privacy as well as quiet, to distinguish himself in both ways, in which he was countenanced and supported by such of his old friends as were still living, and of whom there were some in considerable employments, and many others who from their rank and figure in the world, preserved him from the violence of the times, and maintained him in the possession of his legal rights (p). It would be no difficult thing to enter into the particulars of many if not of most of the disputes in which he was thus engaged, but as this would serve only to extend an article already of an extraordinary length, we shall content ourselves with indicating the titles of the works published by him on different occasions at the bottom of the page [N]. But as he advanced in

(n) See Strype's Memoirs relating to the Life of Dr John Lightfoot.

(o) Fuller's Church History Cent. XVII. p. 214, 215.

(p) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

there is one which relates to our author, which we shall both transcribe and translate. 'The critics,' says this writer, have made it a question whether the q ought necessarily to be followed by a u. Thomas Gataker was so strongly persuaded of the contrary, that he caused the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's Annotations to be printed at Cambridge in 1652, with the q single throughout the book, as for example, *qi, qa, qod*, which could not but shock the sight of every reader; but tho' we should be content to pass this by in Gataker, I do not think we ought to pardon the bookfellers of Holland, who have caused the same orthography to be observed throughout his whole *Opera Critica*, printed at Utrecht in 1698. We will not enter into this controversy, or pretend to say whether our author was right or wrong in his Orthography; this however is certain, that how disagreeable soever the words might be to the sight, they were still as legible one way as the other, from whence one would imagine, that the author of the critical note which we have before cited, was not very conversant with Gataker's works, since if he had, he might have found another singularity much more to his purpose, which is, our author's frequently writing v for u, which is not only disagreeable to the eye, but difficult to be expressed by the tongue. A short passage from one of his learned pieces will best explain his manner of writing, and his meaning (20).

Nam qod *Æolicarum literarum vis, qæ in villâ, qa ceruum & seruum dicunt, sermonem duriorum facere* Fabio videtur. Hac saltem in parte dissentientes prorsus habet, criticorum seculi nostri par nobile, Justum Lipsium ac Joannem Vossium, qî uterque huic literæ, ille in dialogo de recta pronuntiatione ling. Lat. c. 12. hic de arte grammaticâ, l. 1. c. 1. sonum udu, natan-tem, mollicellum, attribuunt. Prior ille etiam suam de ea dissertationem his verbis claudit: *Illud mearum*

*avrium judicium non cælo; suaviorem literam hac duplici natam non videri post literas natas.* Certè qî rebus quibusque nomina primitus imponebant, si cum Fabio sensissent, nevtquam illi in vocabulo suavitatis indice, cujus tam in suavis avribusque ingratus sonus existeret, literam eam iterato posuissent.

Cæterum, qem litera huic plerique nunc durum dant sonum, qidam etiam (& è nostris, Oxonienses plurimum) B Græco, contra omnem antiquitatem, prout Chæcus noster jam olim palam fecit in disceptatione eâ de re cum Gardinero habitâ; neutrius est genuinus, sed est qî Latini peculiaris. Perperam enim & hanc pronunciant nostri, qasi esset Græcorum φ: cui Latini, qod respondeat, non habent; sicut nec Græci, qod F Latino. Aliud enim digamma Æolicum, (sive Ferecti, sive inversi F ei figura) sonabat; idq; ipsum planè, qod W nostrum, prout alibi demonstravimus. Patet hoc ex eo, qod de Cicerone Fabius, l. 1. c. 4. refert ex *Oratione pro Fundano*; ubi testem Græcum ridet, quod primam ejus nominis literam dicere non posset. *Phundanium*, sc. proferebat, cum Fundanium (qod *Vundanium* nostri plerique scriberent) debuisset. Is enim est planè F Romani sonus, qo V consonum efferunt plerique nostrum, in *vitis*, vine, *vallis*, vale, *vitulina*, veale, &c. Huic avtem qod *horridum* planè Fabius, nec humanum dat sonum; & hic criticos non ignobiles habet diversum sentientes. Imò *convitium*, non *judicium*, vere appellandum, censet Lipsius. Sonum certè hujus molliorem dilutioremq; qam qî est Græcorum φ, cum Lipsio juxta (Prisciano etiam in partes advocato) censet, inculcatq; subinde Vossius art. l. 1. c. 15. & 24. & 26. Accedit qod Terentianus præ F Latinâ *birtam*, qasi ab aspiratione insitâ asperiores illâ, pronunciat Græcorum φ. Qam tamen inter *jucundissimas* illas, quibus carere ait *linguam Latinam*, recensere Fabium, nonnulli sunt opinati.

[N] At the bottom of the page.] In composing this article, we have mentioned all the considerable works of

(20) Gatakeri Opera Critica, p. 6.



in years, the incessant labours of his body and his brain brought on infirmities, which slackened his speed, but did not wholly stop the progress of his studies; for even under these, and when confined by the direction of his Physicians to his chamber, he was continually employed, if not in reading, at least in meditating on what he had read, to which if he did not owe the strength, yet we may with probability presume he thereby preserved his memory, which was equally retentive and correct to the last (q). But when, through the excellence of his constitution, his temperate manner of living, and the skill of those worthy persons of the Faculty; to whose care he committed himself, he recovered a moderate share of health, he betook himself again to the functions of his Ministry, and getting too soon into the pulpit, where he spent himself so far, that he strained a vein in his lungs, for which being then about seventy three years old he suffered an emission of blood, by which, and by other means; he escaped that danger. But when he had recruited his health, he resumed his preaching till a relapse into that spitting of blood, for which he again permitted a vein to be opened, for revulsion, laid him under a necessity of forbearing the pulpit, tho' he never gave over the administration of the sacraments, nor his usual short discourses at funerals suitable to the occasion (r). The chief part of his time was now spent in study, and in composing several learned Works. He published in 1648 his discourse on the style of the New Testament, in which he opposed the sentiment of Pfochenius, who maintained that there were no Hebraisms in those sacred writings, and endeavoured to prove this as well by authorities as arguments; all which our author undertook to overthrow, which in the opinion of the best critics he most effectually did, and which was more than doing this, he so clearly and concisely explained the true meaning of many texts in the Old, as well as the New Testament; corrected such a variety of passages in ancient authors, and discovered such a consummate skill in the living as well as dead languages, as very justly gained him the character of one of the

(q) His Memory was in our times considered as extraordinary.

(r) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

of our author in the text, have given the best account we could of the most important of them in the notes, and of some others relating chiefly to the disputes of those times, and are hardly now to be met with tho' fought with the greatest care, we will give some particulars here. Many of Mr Gataker's sermons were printed, soon after they were preached, by themselves, but as his reputation increased, these, or at least most of them, were fought out and brought into one volume, so that the titles of these sermons thus collected being set down will answer the end, as well as if we were to consider them as so many different pieces.

These titles are, *DAVID's Instruction; The Christian Man's Care; The Spiritual Watch; The Gain of Godliness with Self-sufficiency; The just Man's Joy with signs of Sincerity; JACOB's Thankfulness; DAVID's Remembrances; NOAH's Obedience; An Anniversary Memorial of England's Delivery in 1588; Sorrow for Sion; God's Parley with Princes, with an Appeal from them to HIM; Eleazer's Prayer, a Marriage Sermon; A Good Wife God's Gift; A Wife indeed; Marriage Duties; Death's Advantage; The Benefit of a good Name, and a good End; ABRAHAM's Decease, delivered at the Funeral of Mr Richard Stock, late pastor of All-Hallows, Bread-street, dedicated to Sir Heary Yelverton, Knight; Jeroboam's Son's Decease; Christian Constancy crowned by CHRIST.*

It is not clear whether any, and if any, which of these was that sermon which Sir James Leigh, who was afterwards Earl of Marlborough, and his lady, heard him preach upon his first coming from the university. There is something in the tale pleasant enough, more especially when we consider it as told by himself; an argument certainly of a cheerful disposition springing from a mind at ease, and told too in the very last year of his life, which as well from infirmities as age, he might well expect it to be (21).

The truth is, says he, I was, but young, and seemed younger than indeed I was. In regard whereof it might not altogether undeservedly have been deemed of me, that I had flown out of the nest before I was well fledged, and that it had been better for me, as David willed his ambassadors returning from the Ammonites, to have stayed at Jericho among the sons of the Prophets until my beard had been better grown. Nor may it be amiss here to recreate my reader with a plain *Corydon's* censure about that time past on me. Mr Leigh, afterwards Sir James Leigh, and Lord Treasurer, was that year reader at Lincoln's-Inn, and having his family in town, both he and his wife heard me preach one Lord's-day at Martin's in the Fields. Whence after return from

the sermon, Mrs Leigh was pleased to ask an old servant, with whom by reason of long continuance in the family they were wont to talk more familiarly, *How he liked the preacher?* who returned her this blunt answer, *That he was a pretty pert boy, but he made a reasonable good sermon.* Not many weeks after, Mr Leigh returning from Lincoln's-Inn, told his wife he would tell her some news; *That young man*, said he, *whom you heard at St Martin's is chosen our Lecturer at Lincoln's-Inn;* which the old fellow standing by when he heard, asked, *Whether the benchers would be taught by such a boy as he.* Howbeit it pleased God so to dispose of it, that I was courteously entertained by them, nor was my youth in contempt with them, but I received as much respect from them as I could desire, yea, much more than I could expect.

Besides these, we have three other discourses in quarto, intitled,

*The Decease of Lazarus; St Stephen's last Will and Testament; God's Eye on Israel.*

*A Short Catechism*, Lond. 1624. 4to.

*A Defence of Mr Bradshaw against J. Canne*, 4to.

Francisci Gomari *Disputationis Elencticae de Justificationis materiae & formae Elenchus*, 1640. in 8vo.

*Animadversiones in T. Piscatoris & L. Lucii scripta adversaria de causa meritoria Justificationis cum responsione ad L. Lucii vindicias*, 1641. in 12mo.

*Mr Anthony Wotton's Defence*, 1641. in 8vo.

*A true Relation of Passages between Mr Wotton and Mr Walker*, 1642. in 4to.

*An Answer to Mr G. Walker's Vindication*, 1642. 4to.

*A Mistake or Misconstruction removed*, (whereby little difference is pretended to have been acknowledged between the Antinomians and Us) and Free Grace, as it is held forth in God's Word, as well by the Prophets in the Old Testament, as by the Apostles and Christ himself in the New, shewed to be other than is by the Antinomian Party in these times maintained. In way of answer to some passages in a Treatise of Mr John Saltmarsh, concerning that Subject; by Thomas Gataker, Bachelor of Divinity, and Pastor of Rotherhith, Lond. 1646. 4to.

This is written in answer to Mr Saltmarsh's *Free Grace, or the flowings of Christ's Blood freely to Sinners, being an Experiment of Jesus Christ upon one who hath been in the Bondage of a troubled Spirit at times for twelve years, till now, &c.* Lond. 1645. in 12mo. Mr Gataker in his tract observed, 'that it seems a thing much to be feared, that this course, which, says he, I see some affect, and many people are

(21) Discourse Apologetical, p. 34.



(s) See Witfius,  
Baillet, Nicéron,  
&c.

the ablest Philologists of that age (s) [O]. This, tho' in itself a very considerable work, was indeed no more than a specimen of one much larger, which had been many years under his hands, to which he gave the title of *CINNUS*, and intended to have made his discourse against Pfochenius no more than an appendix to it; but that treatise being perfect, and being in doubt whether he should live to make the other as compleat as he intended it,

• are much taken with, of extracting Divinity in a  
• kind of chymical way, into quaint and curious, but  
• groundless and usefess, speculations; and, as I may  
• well say of them, even chimerical conceits; will, if  
• it hold on, as much corrupt the simplicity of the  
• gospel, and the doctrine of faith, as ever the quirks  
• and quilllets of the old schoolmen did (22).<sup>\*</sup>

(22) A Mistake,  
or Misconstruc-  
tion removed, p.  
42.

*Shadows without Substance, in the pretended new Lights*, Lond. 1646. in 4to. in answer to Mr. Saltmarsh's *Shadows flying away*, Lond. 1646. 4to.

*Mysterious Clouds and Mists*, &c. Lond. 1646. in 8vo. in answer to Mr J. Symphon.

[O] *Of one of the ablest Philologists of that age.* The work referred to in the text bears this title.

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis de Novi Testamenti *Stylo Dissertatio: qua viri doctissimi Sebastiani Pfochenii de Linguae Græcæ Novi Testamenti puritate, in qua Hebraïsmis quæ vulgo finguntur quam plurimis larva detrabi dicitur diatribe ad examen revocatur; Scripturarumque qua sacrorum qua profanorum loca aliquam multa obiter explicantur atque illustrantur. Cum indicibus necessariis*. Lond. 1648. 4to. that is, *A Dissertation upon the Style of the New Testament, in which the Treatise of that learned Man Sebastian Pfochenius concerning the Purity of the Greek Tongue, as it is used in the Sacred Writings, and in which it is said that most of those Hebraïsmis, as they are commonly reputed, are shewn not so to be, is thoroughly examined, and abundance of passages not only in sacred, but also in prophane authors are explained and illustrated; with necessary indexes.*

Our author himself tells us in the first chapter of his Dissertation, that meeting in a friend's well-furnished library with this treatise of Sebastian Pfochenius, a German Divine, which was published in 1629, he read it with great attention, for tho' small in bulk, he found it very weighty in matter, and abundantly full of good literature. But notwithstanding this, he found many of the author's sentiments repugnant to his own, and in his judgment also not agreeable to the truth. He saw likewise, that many learned and great men were censured without cause, and sometimes represented as speaking a language very different from what he took to be their real sentiments. These observations induced him to examine a multitude of questions started in that treatise, or which naturally flow from those that are therein treated, in respect to all which he shews a candour every way equal to his skill in criticism. He does not use harsh expressions, or hard names, but contents himself with discovering mistakes, in shewing the grounds upon which he took them so to be. In following this method he opens a field of very curious and instructive learning, and shews such a quickness of penetration, such a soundness of judgment, and such a compass of reading, as are truly admirable. He begins with refuting a principle that Pfochenius had assumed, viz. that the Greek, Latin, German, &c. are original tongues, whereas in Gataker's opinion it is very difficult to know what are original tongues, but with respect to the Latin he maintains that it is not so. He shews from the authority both of ancients and moderns, that it was understood to be a compound of several languages spoken by the Sabines, Oscans, and other old inhabitants of Italy, but more especially of Greek; and to demonstrate this more effectually, he takes the five first lines of Virgil, one of the purest and most elegant of the Latin poets, and proves that there is hardly a single word in them which is not derived from the Greek. Thus he saps the very foundation of Pfochenius's system, by making it evident, that there can be no assurance of the purity of any language, in the sense that he understands it.

In his fifth chapter he states Pfochenius's three principal questions, first, whether the text of the New Testament be truly Greek, or not different from that used by prophane authors. Next, whether if Homer,

Pindar, Plato, Demosthenes, &c. were to rise from the dead, they would be able to understand the New Testament? and lastly, by what name the language of that book is to be called, whether Græcanick, Hellenistick, or Græcian? Our author observes, that this last question is a mere dispute about words, about which there has been dispute enough already, and with which he will have nothing to do. On the other two questions he speaks his opinion plainly. When it is alledged in proof of the first, that the phrases used by the writers of the New Testament, are likewise used by prophane authors, he denies that this is conclusive; for, says he, who that has any taste of the purity of the Latin tongue, will allow that it is to be found in scholastic writings, notwithstanding that the words, and even the phrases in which Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Terence, &c. wrote are here and there found in them? He adds farther, that those who do not see that tho' the sacred writers used the same words, and even the same phrases that are to be found in profane authors in another manner than they do, and to convey a different sense, must not only be said to see indifferently and obscurely, but that they willingly shut their eyes. He then produces many Latin words used by the sacred writers, tho' written in Greek characters, or disguised with Greek terminations. He also produces Hebrew and Syriac words to the same purpose, and from hence he concludes, that tho' Pfochenius could really shew, which however he undertakes to render manifest that he has not done, that the sacred writers make use of a multitude of phrases which are to be met with in the best prophane authors, yet this would not come up to what he has asserted, if the former have also used many words and phrases which are not to be met with in authors who are allowed to write pure Greek.

As to the second question, he tells Pfochenius, that it can be granted or denied him only in part. But that notwithstanding some places might in some measure be understood by those great men he mentions, if it was possible for them to come from the dead, yet this would go but a little way in proving what he has asserted, because tho' they might understand some part, yet other parts they could not understand. He puts a parallel case in reference to the writings of Apuleius, which, says he, if Cicero were to rise from the dead, he might for the most part understand; but would any competent judge conclude from thence, that the Latin of Apuleius resembles that of Tully, or of the age in which Tully wrote. But, says Pfochenius, Paul conversed with the Greeks of his time, and was he not understood by them, and if by them, why not by the Ancients? I could readily grant you that, says our author, and yet deny the consequence that you would draw from it; for the Greek language in itself was much declined in the times of the Apostles, by the admission of a multitude of exotic words and phrases borrowed from the Italians, Sicilians, Cyrenians, and Carthaginians, partly from their being under the same government with them, and partly from their commercial intercourse with those nations. But after all, says he, if Demosthenes could live again, it is most likely that he would find many obstacles in reading Paul's writings, and would object to many of the words and phrases that occur in them; he then quotes a long passage from Beza's Annotations on the Acts of the Apostles, wherein that learned Commentator shews the reasons why the Apostles were not studious in respect to their stile, but endeavoured rather to make themselves understood by those with whom they conversed, than to render their discourses elegant from their pure and correct manner of speaking.

In the same manner he proceeds through the rest of his treatise, explaining, as they occur, a multitude of passages in sacred and profane authors, correcting some and commending other critics who have gone before him in the same way, but with so much mildness and moderation,



it, he judged it proper to detach that dissertation, and to send it abroad as it was, that he might discover what reception this larger work might meet with, from the Republick of Letters; and finding this specimen universally applauded, this determined him in the year 1651, to publish the two first books of his *CINNUS*, the whole of that performance being divided into six (1) [P]. His natural modesty, as well as his christian moderation, hindered him from making himself near so much considered, as from his great abilities, and numerous friends he otherwise might have been; yet notwithstanding the mildness of his temper, and his aversion to whatever might render him the theme of publick discourse, such an unparalleled occasion as that of the King's trial moved him to make a publick declaration of his sentiments. He was accordingly the first of the forty-seven London Ministers,

(1) See his Preface to both these Pieces.

moderation, with such apparent candour and respect to truth above all things, that it is impossible for the reader not to perceive, that in opposing Pfochenius he has nothing less in view than to raise his reputation on the ruins of his whom he refutes. For we ought to remark, that it was very excusable in our author to call such a writer to a severe account, as had endeavoured to establish a paradox at the expence of so many learned persons characters who had maintained the contrary; and this probably with a view to manifest his own skill in arguing, and the acquaintance that he certainly had with the best and purest writers in the Greek language. Neither was our author alone in this opposition, for others set themselves to overturn the same system with far less ceremony in respect to its inventor. In the forty-fourth chapter, Mr Gataker gives us a recapitulation of the whole dispute between him and Pfochenius, and observes that the true state of the question is, whether the style of the New Testament in Greek, is every where the same with that used by the ancient writers of those times, when the language was in its greatest purity? Or whether it is not such as frequently admits of Hebraisms and Syriacisms? Pfochenius affirms the former, and denies the latter, and, in order to maintain his point, produces about an hundred places, in which he asserts that the phrases and modes of expression which are accounted Hebraisms or Syriacisms, are to be found among those ancient writers.

But Mr Gataker, in answer to this, observes, I. That with regard to some of those expressions which are proposed as Hebraisms, it is not certain from Pfochenius that any author had ever represented them as such, since he names none, and it is by no means probable with relation to some of those phrases; nor if any writer should say this expresses that Hebrew manner of speaking, or This is taken from that of the Hebrews, does he therefore necessarily affirm it to be an Hebraism, any more than if a person should say, This expression of Virgil answers to that of Homer, or Horace borrowed this from Callimachus, would he therefore assert that Virgil or Horace adapted themselves to the Greek idiom in those places. II. That there are not a few expressions which Pfochenius does not prove to have been in use among the Antients, since he either cites writers only of the lower age, or mistakes the sense of those antient ones whom he quotes, and often gives them an opposite meaning to the true one. III. That Pfochenius endeavoured to prove several expressions to have been used by the Antients merely from the writings of the Poets, especially the tragic writers, whereas the idioms of languages cannot justly be fixed from the expressions of Poets, especially tragic authors, for otherwise many passages in Catullus, Horace, Silius, and Statius, would not be accounted Hellenisms when they really are so. If these passages be deducted from Pfochenius's hundred, they will make a considerable abatement of the number. IV. That with respect to some expressions which are sometimes found among the ancient Greek writers, but are acknowledged to be very common with the Hebrews, why may not they be justly supposed to have been derived from the Hebrew manner of speaking into other languages? Pfochenius indeed affirms, that it is not at all probable that Plato, Euripides, Lucian, &c. who were greatly averse to the Jews, and their manners and customs, would abandon the elegance and propriety of their own language, and imitate the Hebrews in their style. But Mr Gataker thinks that there is no strength in this reasoning, since we may call upon Pfochenius to shew whence it appears that Plato and

Euripides, to omit Lucian an Atheist, who ridicules all religion, were averse to the Jews, and their manners and customs. With respect to Plato, the contrary is very evident from the testimony of not a few, and those considerable writers. Besides every person who is conversant in the books of the old Pagans, will see that they have borrowed many things from the Jewish writings, laws, rites, and institutions. It is very absurd therefore to suppose, that they could not or would not imitate any of their modes of speaking when they studiously followed their customs and institutions in a variety of respects. But supposing, in order to gratify Pfochenius, that all the Greeks had a prodigious aversion to the Jews, it was never heard that men of learning, and desirous of knowledge, ever conceived so great an hatred to any nation, as not to search into the writings and monuments of it, and extract thence whatever they found for their own purpose.

But not to insist upon these points, we may ask whether the Greeks were always averse to the Phœnicians and Syrians, and other nations bordering upon the Jews, as they are represented by Pfochenius to have been to the Jews? But by means of those nations, tho' the Greeks had had no commerce with the Jews, several modes of speaking might have been derived from the latter to the former, since it is well known to those who are conversant in the Oriental tongues, that the languages of the nations above mentioned are clearly descended from the ancient Hebrew. What Pfochenius mentions of the absurdity of supposing the Greeks to abandon the elegance and propriety of their own language, and imitate the Hebrew style, is of no weight, since it does not follow that those people must violate the elegance of their mother tongue, who admit into it modes of expression not common to it before, this being usual among all nations in all ages. But granting to Pfochenius, that of all the expressions which he cites, there is not one peculiar to the Hebrews, or which he has not shewn to be familiar to the antient Greek writers; yet it would not follow from hence, that the style of the New Testament is every where the same with that of the Antients, or free intirely from Hebraisms or Syriacisms. For if a person should assert that Herodotus did not write in the Ionic dialect, nor Theocritus in the Doric, and to prove this should produce an hundred or two hundred words from the writings of both, which are of the common dialect, would this be admitted as a solid argument, when six hundred or more words might be urged on the contrary side, which are remote from the common dialect, and intirely Ionic or Doric. Mr Gataker concludes with observing, that notwithstanding all that Pfochenius has urged, he does not doubt but that near six hundred phrases might be produced from the New Testament, and a much greater number from the Greek version of the Old Testament, the purity of which Pfochenius seems tacitly to maintain, in which there are plain characters of the Hebrew or Syriac tongues, and not the least resemblance of the antient Greek tongue, as far as has been hitherto discovered by men of the greatest learning and diligence. The venerable Primate of Ireland (23), than whom there could not be a better judge, shewed his respect for our author and his performance, by sending it with his own Annals as a present to Dr Arnold Boate, then at Paris. The judicious Marhoff speaking of this treatise says (24), Pfochenio sese Thomas Gatakerus opposuit, magnum in omni re literaria nomen.

[P] Being divided into six.] The title of this work, expressed in it's full extent, runs thus:

(23) Usher's Letters, p. 559.

(24) Polyhist. literar. l. iv. 6. 19.



sters, who subscribed that Remonstrance to the General and army, of which Mr Collier gives the substance, and which at the same time he honestly applauds. In it they put them in mind of their duty to the Parliament, and of the obligations themselves and that Parliament were under to defend his Majesty's person, and to maintain his just rights; they told him that the one could not be injured, or the other invaded, without manifest breach of many solemn oaths, and particularly of the Covenant, they taught them to distinguish between God's approbation and permission; set in its true light, the folly of pretending to secret impulses to vindicate the breaking God's written laws; they made it evident, that necessity was a false plea; and concluded with advising them to follow John the Baptist's rule, to do violence to no man, and made no scruple to tell them, that if they persisted in their design, their sin would find them out (*u*). He saw with sorrow all that happened afterwards, keeping himself as retired as he could, attentive only to his pastoral function and his studies, tho' as we observed he did not publish the two first books of his Miscellanies till the year 1651. The same year he printed a small piece upon infant baptism, which was very much admired (*w*). He was very knowing in that controversy, and besides this wrote several other Discourses, in which he treated the main questions with great seriousness and solidity, of which some farther notice will be taken in the notes [*Q*]. In 1652 he obliged the world with his most excellent edition of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's Meditations, to which he prefixed a preliminary discourse on the Philosophy of the Stoics, which by the universal consent of the ablest critics at home and abroad, is allowed to be a most compleat and correct treatise, as well as a most useful compendium of rational morality (*x*). He added likewise an exact translation together with a commentary. He had in some of his former works given some occasional specimens of his perfect acquaintance with the works of this Imperial Philosopher, whose esteem has been always as high with the learned as his station was in the world, and therefore, when this came abroad much was expected from it, a circumstance rarely favourable to books, and which yet proved remarkably so to this, as the reader may find from a concurrence of learned testimonies [*R*]. When it appeared that he was rather suspected than countenanced by the State, there were some in his parish who took advantage of his situation

(*u*) Ecclesiastical History, Vol. ii. p. 859, 860.

(*w*) Discourse Apologetical, p. 61.

(*x*) Occasioned by his Dispute with Dr Ward.

Thomæ Gatakeri Londinatis CINNUS; *five* adversaria miscellanea animadversionum variarum libris sex comprehensa: quorum primores duo nunc primitius prodeunt reliquis deinceps (DEO favente) seorsim insecuturis. Lond. 1651. in 4to. That is, *A Collection of miscellaneous remarks, the whole divided into six Books, of which two are at present published, and the rest shall, God willing, follow in due time.* In his preface our author shews, that these collections came abroad in order to discharge his promise when he published his dissertation on the stile of the New Testament; which promise he had complied with sooner, if he had not been called upon to execute that part of the annotations on the Scriptures, assigned him by the committee of parliament, with other members of the Assembly of Westminster, and by a dangerous eruption of blood, by which he was brought very low, and for a long time withheld from his studies; the first book is divided into eleven, the second into twenty chapters, for the most part independent of each other. The account we have given at large of his book against Pfochenius, renders it unnecessary for us to insist upon this performance, because it is entirely of the same nature, except it's tending to no particular point, but discovering it's author's sense on difficult passages in the Old and New Testaments, the primitive Fathers, modern Critics, and as his subjects occasionally led him, illustrating a vast variety of obscure or perplexed places in prophane authors, both Greek and Latin; neither are there wanting some observations on words and phrases in our own language. This work was received abroad with the highest commendation; and Morhoff particularly applauds the author for his singular happiness, in distinguishing the true sense of the most difficult passages, and of making it appear to the learned writer, that what he defends is the true sense, and this, in few words, without any ostentation, or without insulting any of those whom he corrects; but, on the contrary, commonly ascribing their mistakes, sometimes to a slip of memory, and at others, to the bad editions of the books they used. The remaining books of this collection were published after his decease, by his son Mr Charles Gataker, under the following title:

*Adversaria Miscellanea Posthuma, in quibus sacre Scripturae primo deinde aliorum Scriptorum locis multis Lux affunditur.* Lond. 1659. fol.

[*Q*] In the notes.] We have already spoken so much in another article, that it will not be necessary to detain the reader longer here, than barely to give him the titles of the two Latin discourses penned by our author, which in point of learning, reasoning, and modesty, are not at all inferior to any that have fallen from his pen.

*De Baptismatis Infantilis vi & efficacia Disceptatio privatim habita inter V. C. Dom. Samuelem Wardum, theologiae sacrae doctorem, & in academia Cantabrigiensi Professore, & Thomam Gatakerum.* Lond. 1651. 8vo. *A private Conference concerning the Force and Efficacy of Infant Baptism, between Dr Samuel Ward, and Thomas Gataker.*

*Strictura ad Epistolam Joannis Davenantii de Baptismo Infantum.* Lond. 1654. in 8vo. *Remarks upon the Epistle of John Davenant concerning Infant Baptism.*

[*R*] From a concurrence of learned testimonies.] There is hardly any performance handed down to us from the Ancients, which has been so highly and so justly praised, as these meditations of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, styled by way of excellence, and sure without prejudice to his imperial dignity, the Philosopher. If we may believe a very able writer, and a very judicious critic, this treatise of his is the utmost stretch of human understanding, and the noblest monument human wisdom ever erected. But notwithstanding this, few books had suffered more, indeed scarce any so much, by the injuries of time; so that the great credit it was in with the learned, could not be said to proceed from a judgment formed upon the whole work, but from such pieces of it as were in the best condition, and from the beauty and lustre of which they very reasonably concluded, that all was of a piece when it fell from his pen, and therefore deplored the many wounds it had received by a series of unhappy accidents; they were far from ascribing any of it's defects to it's great author, but did all imaginable justice to his learned labours, with whatever imperfections they came to their hands. It was published in Greek by Conrad Gesner, and a Latin translation added by William Xylander, which had passed through several editions. Mr Gataker found both the text and the translation exceedingly faulty, and spent near forty years in considering how the former might be amended, and a new translation made, which might do justice to so exquisite a piece. He



tion, and no longer paid him their share of the composition for the tythes of their houses, which upon a law suit amicably conducted had been decreed him in the court of Exchequer,

He found prodigious difficulties in the progress of this undertaking, being able to meet with very few manuscript copies, and receiving but very slender helps from those learned persons, whose assistance he solicited in the progress of his endeavours. He sent indeed to the celebrated Salmasius a list of his principal difficulties, who returned him an answer, which he very gratefully acknowledges, in which he commends his undertaking, but at the same time gives him a dismal prospect of the obstacles he was to overcome, such as innumerable corruptions, frequent chasms, more frequent transpositions, and many other misfortunes, which he promised him his aid in removing; which however his frequent journies, and other accidents, prevented his performing. Mr Gataker, nevertheless went on, and with the few helps he had, his own sagacity, and the comparison of passages cited with the printed copies, at length brought his design to bear, and, to the great satisfaction of the learned world, published his admirable edition of this valuable work about two years before his death, under the following title.

MARCI ANTONINI Imperatoris de rebus suis sive de iis quæ ad se pertinere censebat Libri xii. cum Versione Latinâ & Commentariis Gatakeri, Cambridge 1652. in 4to. that is, *The Emperor Marcus Antoninus his twelve books of his own Affairs, or of those things which he understood to concern himself, with a Latin Translation and Commentaries.* This was printed again in 1697. with the addition of the Emperor's life, by Mr Dacier, together with some select notes of the same author, by Dr George Stanhope, who dedicated it to the Lord Chancellor Somers; in which dedication there is a high character given of our author. The first thing that strikes us in his edition, is his preliminary discourse, in which the principles of the Stoicks are compared with the Peripateticks, with the old Academicks, and more especially with the Epicurean Sect: the remaining writings likewise of the Stoick Philosophers, Seneca, Epictetus, and particularly those of our Emperor Marcus Antoninus, are briefly examined, and a succinct account is given of the nature and design of the work. A piece which has been always considered as one of the most finished in its kind, written with great strength and perspicuity, full of excellent matter, collected with infinite diligence, in a word, small in size, but very weighty in its contents. His account of the principal doctrines of the Stoicks is a proper and a sufficient instance of this; take them as they have been translated by Mr Collier. "These Philosophers, says our author, have admirable notions. They hold that God Almighty governs the universe, that his Providence is not only general, but particular, and reaches to persons and things: that he presides over human affairs; that he afflicts men not only in the greatest concerns, in the exercises of virtue, but also supplies them with the conveniences of life. And therefore that God ought to be worshipped above all things, and applied to upon all occasions, that we should have him always in our thoughts, acknowledge his power, resign to his wisdom, and adore his goodness for all the satisfactions of our being. To submit to his Providence without reserve: to be pleased with his administration, and fully persuaded that the scheme of the world could not have been mended, nor the subordination of things more suitably adjusted, nor all events have been better timed for the common advantage: and therefore that 'tis the duty of all mankind to obey the signal, and follow the intimations of Heaven with all the alacrity imaginable: that the post assigned us by Providence must be maintained with resolution, and that we ought to die a thousand times over rather than desert it. These are the Stoicks principles concerning the Deity, and the regard due to him. Let us now examine how they stand affected towards mankind. And here their precepts are no less extraordinary than in the former case. For they declare plainly that we must love all mankind heartily, and without a complement; that we must solicit their interest, bear with their infirmities, and do no manner of injury to any mortal: that a man should not

"think himself born only for his private satisfaction, but exert his strength for the publick advantage, and make his life as significant to the world as 'tis possible: that the conscience of a good action should content him without the prospect of fame or reward: that he should never be tired with the exercise of good nature, but pursue one kindness so closely with another, that there may be no room for any insignificant spaces of life to come between: that a man ought to look upon a generous action as a reward to itself, and that we oblige ourselves by doing a good turn to another; and therefore that 'tis a piece of meanness to ramble abroad, and grasp at interest or applause. Farther: that the polishing our reason, and the governing our will, is the most noble employment, and that nothing ought to be preferred to the practice of honesty. And lastly, that a man should stand immovably by his reason; that no clamour of appetite should call him off; that no loss of fortune, no menaces of death, no extremities of torture should make him give way, or frighten him from a known duty. These are some of the noble sentences we meet with in the writings of the Stoicks. What strains of piety, what instances of humanity, what flights of greatness are here!"

Our author afterwards observes, that Seneca, Epictetus, and the Emperor Antoninus, were the great pillars of the Stoick Philosophy, judging however, that the first was far inferior to the two last, and amongst other reasons he gives these. "He is, says he, gay sometimes when he should be solemn, and flourishes when he should strike home. He makes a pass with a pin, and rather pricks than pierces it. He gives you sometimes a turn of fancy instead of solid proof; his notions are now and then so superfine, that the least resistance turns the edge of them. They have generally a point, but no weight of body for execution. This may be looked on as an excess of clear dealing, but I am not the first that have taken this freedom with Seneca; several great men have passed the same judgment upon him long since. However, I desire not to be understood as if I had a mind to detract from the worth, or discourage the reading of this philosopher, who was really a person of an extraordinary genius, and has always had men of sense and learning to admire him. My meaning is only to shew, that this Roman failed a little in the points of gravity and fortitude, so peculiar to the Stoicks: and that Epictetus, and Marcus Antoninus, out-did him both in their pens and their practice. These two persons, though in contrary stations, and in the remotest distance of circumstances imaginable, the one being a poor slave, and the other the greatest monarch in the universe: these two persons, I say, have shewed the force of the Stoical Philosophy, and how strongly it operates under all diversities of condition, and that not only by a comprehensive body of refined morality in their writings, but also by an illustrious example every way agreeable to the nobleness of the precepts delivered." He goes on to compare the Emperor's morality with that of the Gospel, that its excellence might appear by bringing it to the highest test; and, lastly, he shews how he came to undertake, and in what manner he has executed this performance; after the preliminary discourse follow the testimonies in favour of the author, first from the Greeks, amongst whom we find Suidas, Dion Cassius, Herodian, Aristides, Philostratus, Galen, and many others; amongst the Latins, Julius Capitolinus, Avidius Cassius, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Tertullian, Orosius, &c. Amongst the moderns, Petrarch, Sebastian Munster, John Bodin, Justus Lipsius, Isaac Casaubon, Claudius Salmasius, and many others. We then come to the text corrected throughout in many places, restored, properly pointed and divided, various of the chasms filled up, the various readings in the margin, with a perpetual commentary, in which dark passages are explained, and corrections accounted for, the author's sense supported from other writers on the same subject, historical passages illustrated, such as are alluded to only, produced and applied, with the parallel readings



(y) A Discourse  
Apologetical, &c.

(z) In his An-  
nus tenebrosus.

(a) See this point  
cleared in the  
Note.

quer, and in satisfaction for which he consented to accept of forty pounds a year; yet for all this he never attempted to disquiet them, but bore patiently, not this only, but several other acts of injustice, notwithstanding which he could not avoid the censure of evil tongues (y). In the evening of his days, when he earnestly desired that repose which his labours had so well deserved, he found himself very warmly attacked by an active and angry adversary infinitely beneath him in point of knowledge, but who had credit with some great men in the government, and who was looked upon as a person of transcendent abilities by the vulgar. This was the famous Astrologer William Lilly, who finding that our author had a very bad opinion of the art he professed, and still a worse of himself, had the confidence to fall upon him in print (z), but met with the success which he might easily have foreseen. For Mr Gataker being fully possessed of all the sacred and prophane learning relative to this subject, not only defended himself with great strength of argument, but very clearly detected all the plausible sophisms that could be urged in support of this pretended science (a) [S]. Yet notwithstanding he convinced the judicious and impartial

ings throughout, so as to make this piece in several passages a comment upon itself, the author discovering his true meaning, where briefly expressed in one place by what he has said more at large on the same topic in another. Upon the whole, it may be truly said, and indeed has been said, by the most able and judicious critics, that this admirable piece came in quite another dress from our author's hand than it had appeared in before; and tho' it cannot be affirmed that all the wounds are healed, or that no scars appear, yet we may with justice avow, that the body looks fair and sound, at least in comparison of what it was, and fully justifies the numerous commendations that have been bestowed upon it. It was indeed the work of many years, but then he had frequent avocations; the duties of his function required much of his time; his infirmities hindered him not a little; but besides all this, it was not barely the amending and explaining his author that required so much pains, but the fulfilling of his own design, which was to render the work of Antoninus, and his commentary upon it, a compleat body of the Stoick Philosophy, or, in other words, a perfect system of rational morality, sublime in sentiment, and yet not superior to practice. *It is*, says the judicious Morhoff, (25) and after him the candid Father Nicéron, (26), *a treasury, in which will be found the just reflections, the wise observations, the noble maxims of all the great writers of antiquity, as well Romans as Greeks, deposited in their proper places.* Not heaped together to shew the author's vast reading, but disposed with so much prudence, that he seems to have inserted nothing but what either the sentiments or the expressions of his author suggested. Yet so far is he from assuming any merit either from his indefatigable diligence, or from that success of which he could not but be a very competent judge; that, on the contrary, he modestly desires his reader would not examine his performance with rigour, but consider it as the work of an old man broken with age and sickness, not altogether his own master, writing as his occasions would permit, liable to mistakes, sensible of oversights, and desirous therefore of bespeaking a mild and compassionate reception from such as considering the difficulty of the task, and the accidents which disabled him from coming up entirely to what he proposed, would accept his good-will in excuse of his defects, and allow something for his endeavours, tho' attended with imperfections. All this he delivers with such apparent truth, and with such visible sincerity, that one cannot help standing as much amazed at his humility, as at his perseverance and good fortune, in bringing so acceptable a tribute to the Republic of Letters.

[S] *In support of this pretended science.* The ground of this controversy was our author's, Mr Gataker's, Annotations upon the second verse of the tenth chapter of the prophet Jeremiah, in which chapter the sacred writer warns the Jews against two great sins, to which they might be particularly tempted in the places of their captivity, listening to the predictions of Astrologers, and complying with the practice of idolaters: it was in handling the first of these that our author gave offence to William Lilly, who had been a great agent for a certain faction during the civil war, and thereby a fatal instrument of much mischief to church and state. Our author therefore apprehended it his duty to expose the vanity of predictions from the stars, and to shew such as were truly Christians, that

it was not only folly and ignorance, but downright wickedness to rely upon them. His exposition is in itself so curious, so full of solid sense and sound learning, and so effectually destroys the credit of that delusive art, by which, in all ages, weak and wandering minds are apt to be misled; that, as well for this reason as to set the point under our consideration in it's proper light, we will transcribe what he has delivered (27).

*Thus saith the Lord, learn not the way of the Heathen.*] Because the Jewish people were a great party of them to go in captivity into Babylon, and other the regions adjacent, yea, many of them in likelihood were in captivity already, (see ver. 11. ch. xxiv. 1. and xxix. 1, 2.) God by the prophet endeavoureth to confirm and strengthen them, the pious especially among them, (for such also there were of them, chap. xxiv. 5. Ezek. xi. 16.) against those superstitions and vanities that were rife in those parts, and they might be in danger, being exiles and captives in a strange land, to be strongly tempted unto: Heb. *Learn not to the way*, where either the particle is superfluous, omitted therefore Psal. cvi. 35. chap. xii. 16. or else it may be rendered, *Accustom not yourselves to the way of the Heathen*; and so some render it, *do not imitate them*, see chap. ix. 5. *their way*, that is, their superstitious courses, Lev. xviii. 3. and xx. 23.

*And be not dismayed at the signs of Heaven.*] The first head of superstitions, which he beginneth with, is Astrology, a study and practice so rife among them, in those parts, Esai xlvii. 13. that the professors and practisers of it not with them alone, Dan. ii. 2. and v. 7. but among other nations also are generally designed by the name of *Caldeans*, see Strabo, l. 17. Cicero of *Divination*, l. 2. Pliny, l. 6. c. 26. *Astrology*, I say, not that which we commonly term *Astronomy*, whereby the true nature and motion of the celestial bodies are by grounds of reason and rules of art, thence taking their rise, enquired into and discovered; but that *judiciary astrology*, as it is usually stiled, whereby men take upon them, from the postures and aspects of them, to foretel the issue of human affairs, either publick or private, and what casual events shall befall either persons or people: a practice grown of late with us into great esteem, being either countenanced or connived at by those in authority with us, though having entered themselves, and caused others with them to enter into a religious bond of a solemn oath and *Covenant*, to endeavour the *extirpation* of all those things among us that are *contrary to sound doctrine, and the power of godliness*, whereof this is none of the least. For the original whereof (since it hath not, nor can be shewed to have any ground from the light of nature, or natural reason, we shall not need to go far to find it out) we have a blind but insolent buzzard (I may well so term him) among us, one that professeth himself no small doctor in these impostures and dotages, (where-with he hath bewitched not a few with us esteeming his predictions as no other than divine oracles) and taketh upon him, by the stars, to steer the affairs of our state, pretending to *read in the book of Heaven* all that he writes, who will sufficiently inform us herein. Now this man to justify the warrantableness of this his practice telleth us, that *the good Angels of God in former ages, at first by personal conference acquainted the sons of men with this learning of the stars; and those holy men, saith he, so instructed, living many years, and*

(27) In the second Volume of the Assembly's Annotations, which cannot be more particularly cited as it is not paged.

(25) Polyhist.  
literar. l. i. §. 1.

(26) Memoires  
pour servir a la  
Histoire des  
Hommes illustres,  
Tom. viii.  
p. 85.



impartial enquirers into the subject of the vanity of this delusive doctrine; yet he could never silence his self-conceited and obstinate antagonist, who, to say the truth, had his  
broad

in purer airs, where they curiously observed the planets, and their motion, brought this art to some maturity, without the least hint of superstition. But, as the sons of men fell from God in divine worship, so in sitting and shifting their habitations, they forgot the purer part of this art, and in some countries added superstitious conceptions. The holy Angels then belike by this man's relation, did at first inform those holy men, which they could not otherwise have known, of the nature of the planets, to wit that Saturn was a melancholick malignant planet, Mars a choleric and litigious one, Mercury a thievish, Venus a lascivious and wanton one, and that they do accordingly affect and dispose such people or persons, as are either bred under them, or whom they have special relation unto. For these and the like ridiculous fopperies and impious calumnies of those glorious creatures, are with them as the popish purgatory with the Papists, the main grounds and principles of their whole art; which being taken away the whole fabrick and frame of their superstitious structures will presently fall and fall flat to the ground, as with those other, all their masses, dirges, obites, pardons, and indulgences, if you deny them their purgatory, which because they can produce no clear scripture for, they run with these men to their forged revelations. But whence these frivolous conceits, and irreligious surmises, concerning those celestial bodies, (which if you question you shake the ground of all their conjectural skill) and their original may well be conjectured from the very names the heathen imposed upon them, being borrowed from their counterfeit deities, whom they deemed so qualified; assure ourselves we may, that God's holy Angels never raised any such foul aspersions, and groundless defamations, upon those pure and spotless creatures, far from and wholly incapable of any tincture of such vicious dispositions. But all that this man relateth, we may if we please, and be so silly as so to do, take upon his credit, for he telleth us not what times those were wherein it was thus, or who those holy men were, unto whom the holy Angels at first revealed those things, or out of what records he hath these relations concerning such pretended revelations. And, as little reason have we to engage our faith to his antagonist, another fowl of the same feather, that flieth yet somewhat higher than he, and pretending his predictions to be grounded on art and nature, telleth us that we may not misdoubt or question his art, that this art was deduced from God to Adam, to Seth, to Abraham, for proof whereof he referreth us to a knight of note for his studies in this kind, who in favour indeed of this art, which he was overmuch addicted to and befottered with, affirmeth in part what he saith, but bringeth no better proof of it, than a tale out of Joseph the Jew, who in his *Antiquities*, l. 1. c. 3. telleth us, that those of Seth's issue living long, and without disturbance, gave themselves to the study of heavenly things, and the constitution or administration of them; and because Adam had foretold a twofold destruction of the world that should come, the one by water, the other by fire, they left the sum of what they had of that kind of learning observed, engraven on two pillars, of brick the one, of stone the other; but neither is any word in the Jew, of this their judicial astrology, nor of any skill in this kind, or any other by God imparted unto Adam, which they yet father upon him, and the whole relation of the two pillars seems as true as that, which he addeth of the continuance of the latter of them in Syria unto his time. And indeed, if any sons of Adam ever had any such immediate communion, either with God himself, or his holy Angels, it must be those ancient patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and those prophets of God among his people, unto whom God used sometime immediately, sometime by the ministry of Angels, to impart his mind concerning future events, as well publick as private; but no where in scripture read we, that God did this either by the natural course of the celestial signs, or as from thence to be observed, nor undoubtedly had any such art, and skill been taught the godly ones among God's people, whether

by God himself or his Angels, would they either have concealed it from them, or much less committed it unto Paynims and Pagans, and by such have transmitted it unto posterity, for from such incorrupt times it crept in among Christians, being yet ever among them liable to censure, nor was any in the ancient Church that had professed such arts, admitted into the profession of Christianity, unless that, first, they renounced those damnable practices, and recanted such their superstitious conceits. But men may easily guess what Angels they were, that acquainted men at first with these things, and set them on work to busie their brains about such matters, as neither light of nature nor grounds of reason were able to inform them of, but must have some revelation either divine, or angelical, or diabolical rather, for the finding of them out. So far are God himself and his prophets from taking notice hereof, as some such heavenly discovery or giving any approbation thereunto, that God by them sometime derideth it, Esay xlv. 25, and xlvii. 13. and sometime disswadeth and condemneth it as an heathenish practice, not befitting his people to heed, as here so else where Deut. xviii. 10, 14. From the prince of the air, therefore, it may justly, by this man's own grounds and grants, be deemed to have proceeded at first, by him taught the heathen, that were ruled and swayed by him, and from them together, with the worship of them in their idols, conveyed unto God's own people. For what of further observation he subjoyneth to omit, that those ridiculous principles must first be made good, ere any observation can be grounded upon them; the like did the heathen magicians report of their charms, and other superstitious divinations by the flight of fowls, and from the bowels of beasts, to wit, that observations had been made of them for many hundreds of years. See Pliny l. 28. c. 2. and this, and those, may well go together one with the other, unto him that was the first founder of them the father of lies, John viii. 44.

And be not dismayed at the signs of Heaven.] As if the event of things, or the issue of your affairs, depended upon them, which those fond star gazers bare people in hand, and took upon them thereby to determine and foretel what good or bad success mens designs should have, Esay xlvii. 12, 13. Howbeit signs there are of two sorts; first, natural and ordinary, the stars themselves being set in the sky to distinguish the times and seasons of the year, to which may be added the conjunctions of them one with another, or oppositions of them one to another, whence the eclipses of some of them at sometime do proceed, and these are those signs which coming in a constant course, and continued tenor (in regard whereof men skilful therein are able, either going backward to tell how it hath been with them for thousands of years past, or looking forwards how it will be for as many, if the world itself should so long continue): God would not have his people to be affected or affrighted with, as if in regard of them, or from them, any evil in the success of their affairs could betide them; other signs there are extraordinary in dreadful apparitions, besides the ordinary course of the creatures, by which the Lord doth sometime give notice unto his people of his displeasure, and warning of ensuing wrath, and these God doth not inhibit his people to be affected with, and taking of them unto heart. See Joel ii. 30, 31. Luke xxi. 11, 25.

For the heathen are dismayed at them.] Or rather though the heathen be dismayed at them. Though they be so silly or superstitious, as to be therewith thus affected; yet ought ye not so to be. So is the particle very frequently used in our versions, also, not seldom expressed, Gen. viii. 21. Josh. xvii. 18. Psal. xxiii. 4. Esay xii. 1. Dan. ix. 9. Mic. vii. 8. Hab. iii. 17.

For the customs of the people are vain.] Heb. The statutes or ordinances of the people, (that is those courses of this nature, which people of several countries herein concurring do, as if it were some sacred or divine ordinance, very precisely and superstitiously observe)

—vanity



(b) He was assisted by Henry Carpenter, John Gadbury, &c.

bread in some measure at stake, and was therefore bound by the strongest tie imaginable to defend that craft by which he lived (b). It is no wonder, therefore, that writing and publishing

—vanity itself, i. e. are each of them exceeding vain, as vain as *vanity itself*, and a matter therefore very ill befitting such as profess themselves to be God's people, as did the Jews then, and as Christians at this day do, to be taken and carried away with such frivolous and ridiculous fancies and fopperies.

These annotations roused all the tribe of Astrologers against our learned author, from the highest to the lowest. William Lilly, John Swan, and Sir Christopher Heydon, conceived themselves to be personally attacked, and therefore fell upon him without mercy, as if he had been guilty of some very great offence; and the more liberty was taken in this respect, because it was well enough known, that those in power would be pleased to see a divine of great credit with the people, and who had signified his disapprobation of things that were then doing, humbled. Upon this our author wrote a discourse in defence of himself, and of all that he had advanced against the illuminated tribe of star gazers, under the following title.

*A Vindication of the Annotations on Jeremiah Chap. X. ver. 2. against the scurrilous aspersions of that grand impostor Mr William Lilly; as also against the various expositions of two of his advocates, Mr John Swan, and another by him cited but not named. Together with the annotations themselves; wherein the pretended grounds of judiciary astrology, and the scripture proofs produced for it, are discussed and refuted. By the author of the Annotations, Lond. 1653. in 4to.* In this treatise he dealt very roundly with his opponents, and with that science of which they professed themselves masters; enforced all that he had said against it, by solid arguments, and produced in support of his own sentiments, a numerous train of authorities, and amongst others alledged this, that, having asked the celebrated mathematician, Mr Henry Briggs (28) what his sentiments were concerning Astrology, he answered readily, *that it was a system of groundless conceits.* William Lilly perceiving the deep impression these pieces made upon the wiser sort of people, grew still more angry; and, therefore, in a discourse upon a comet which appeared in 1652, and which he prefixed to his Astrological Predictions for 1654, he writes thus (29). ‘My discourse may the more freely be admitted public view, sith no meaner a man then T. G. B. D. i. e. Thomas Gataker, Bachelor of Divinity, parson, rector, or rather receiver of the tithes, profits, and all appurtenances of church duties of Redriff near London, (tho’ my simple antagonist) sith he, I say, in those pitiful and illiterate annotations of his, upon Jer. x. ver. 2. seems to warrant this inquiry, nay he doth positively affirm it lawful. These are that old silenced or dumb minister’s words, as himself renders them in his impudent pamphlet, writ against me, containing twenty-six sheets of scolding, viz. Other signs there are extraordinary, thus master Gataker, formerly a stiff prelate preaching impudently for the liberties or sports of the Sabbath, viz. cards, dice, &c. afterwards in hope of Bishops, Deans, or Chapter Lands, a pretended Presbyterian, since its decay, the poor man is mute, and hath willingly silenced himself from preaching, and now like a child teaches, or is taught, a new mode of spelling to his profelytes, and cants the art of lying and scolding to the wives of Billingsgate, himself being unmarried.’ In his postscript to the same almanack he has more to the same purpose, and in this kind of scurrilous war, he wanted not some allies, as will appear from the title of our reverend author’s reply to his ill usage and ill language.

*A Discourse Apologetical, wherein Lillies lewd and lowd lies in his Merlin or Pasquil for the year 1654, are clearly laid open; his shameful desertion of his own cause is further discovered; his shameless slanders fully refuted, and his malicious and murderous mind; inciting to a general massacre of God’s ministers, from his own pen evidently evinced; together with an advertisement concerning two allegations produced in the close of his postscript; and a postscript concerning an epistle dedicatory of one J. Gadburie, by Thomas Gataker, B. D.*

*author of the Annotations on Jer. x. ver. 2. and of the vindication of them. Lond. 1654. 4to (30).*

In this treatise our author takes occasion to speak of the most considerable transactions of his life, relates at large, the manner in which he arrived at his several preferments, and very fully refutes all the malicious and idle reflections, that Lilly and his associates had thrown upon him. Amongst other particulars he mentions his sentiments upon church-government, professing that he was never an advocate for the power and splendour of the Prelacy, but that on the other hand he had ever inclined to a moderate episcopacy; that as for the sake of doing good in his generation, he had submitted to the Bishops, so when they were taken away by what he esteemed the supreme power, he had submitted to that likewise, but never fought any, nay, on the contrary, had refused preferment from both sides. This must have been written but a very little while before his death, which gave great satisfaction to Lilly, and those of his party; who as they had served to run down the royalists in favour of the parliament, and the Church of England, to gratify the non-conformists; so now they were as ready to run down the parliament in behalf of Oliver Cromwell, and to asperse the Presbyterians, who had honestly and courageously opposed the King’s murder to gratify the sectaries.

Lilly in particular in the preface to his Astrological Predictions for the year 1655, insists largely upon this subject, and in the postscript speaks thus of our author then lately deceased, for that postscript is dated November the eleventh 1654. ‘Our pen doth willingly pass by some injurious speeches delivered publicly in a sermon, at Master Gataker’s funeral, by a very unworthy ashye mouth. We honoured Master GATAKER whilst alive, accounted him a man of as much learning and reading as any, and endued with as much choler and spleen as any mortal man. We wish he had kept close unto the text, when he commented on Jeremiah chap x. ver. 2. and not bespattered ourself with very obscene language, not befitting a man of gravity, especially in a commentary upon a text of scripture, for which many learned Divines have much condemned his rashness or illguided zeal. But he is dead, having left very few Divines of our English nation comparable, or equal in learning, unto himself, especially in History or the Hebrew tongue. We predicted his death as it fell out in August 1654, and we were so civil as to bestow an epitaph upon him, viz. *Hoc in tumbo jacet presbyter, &c.* seriously he mistook our meaning in every particle of his forty sheets of paper wrote against us.’

We will conclude this note, with shewing the dissimulatio and equivocation of Lilly’s false prediction, and counterfeit moderation. At the close of his observations on the month of August 1654, stands this line by itself, *Hoc in tumbo jacet presbyter & nebula*, that is in English, as coarse as his Latin, *Here in his tomb lies a presbyter and knave, or worthless fellow.* Now with what justice this line at the end of August can be stiled a prediction of the death of Mr Gataker, which happened on the twenty-seventh of July, is left to the reader to decide. It was a very great chance, if either some eminent man in that persuasion had not died, or the party itself received some mortification, to which this stroke might be applied; for it was an ordinary artifice of his, to throw out such ambiguous oracles, and then to entitle them prophecies of such events, as either resembled, or by his sophistry could be brought to resemble, them. If instead of placing it at the bottom of his observations, he had set it at the top, it would have run against the very day in which Mr Gataker was interred, which had been a lucky hit indeed; but as it stood in his almanack, none but himself would have had the assurance to have called it a prediction. After weeping like a crocodile over the ashes of a good man, whom he had insulted to his last breath, he most shamefully hides a falsehood under an &c. in hopes that his readers would forget what that &c. stood for. If Mr Gataker was a

(30) This is the Treatise we have so often cited.

(28) Vindication of the Annotations, p. 19.

(29) Merlini Anglici Ephe-meris or Astro-logical predictions for 1654.

knave



publishing so frequently as he did, he should persecute our author to the end of his days, or that happening to outlive him, he should as he did insult him in his grave contrary to all the rules either of religion or humanity (c). As for the pious and learned Mr Gataker, he continued to pursue the same useful and innocent course of life, till years, infirmities, and perpetual labours, wore him out. He was very willing to have resigned his living of Rotherhith, if the person who had the right of presentation would have fixed upon an able and learned Minister, which he pressed for several years together, as being not more weak for sustaining, than weary of bearing on his shoulders a burthen which, however envied, was to him very uneasy, but with which however he was compelled to travel to the grave. He was seized with a fainting fit on Friday July the seventh 1654, as his historian relates (d), or rather on the ninth of that month as we are told by his son (e). It happened about day-break, and by speedy and skilful assistance he was quickly brought to himself, but continued very weak and feeble, as well as sensible of his approaching end. Three days after he was seized with a fever, with which under these circumstances, and at his time of life, he was very little able to struggle; on the twenty-eighth he lost the use of the lower part of his body, but retained his senses clear and strong to the very last: towards evening the next day his son prayed by him, in which prayers he also joined with great fervency, and being seized soon after with his last agony, expired in the eightieth year of his age (f). He was interred on the first of August following at his own church, and his funeral sermon preached by his old and faithful friend Mr Simeon Ashe, which discourse was not long after published, with a narrative of Mr Gataker's life, and acts; at the close of this there are several copies of verses as well in Latin as in English, in honour of his memory (g). He would never suffer his picture to be taken, but the following is said to be a just description of his person. He was of a middle stature, a thin body, a lively countenance, and fresh complexion; of a temperate diet, a free and chearful conversation, addicted to study, but not secluding himself from useful company; of a quick apprehension, sharp reason, solid judgment, and so extraordinary a memory, that tho' he used no common-place book, yet he had in readiness whatever he had read, as his prodigious number of quotations shew. His house was a private seminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners resorted to him, and lodged at his house in order to receive from him advice in their studies (h). His extensive learning was admired by the great men abroad, as Salmasius, and others, with whom he held a correspondence; and at the bottom of the page we shall collect a few of the many testimonies in honour of this great man and his writings, which have fallen from the pens as well of foreign writers as of our own nation [T]. He was in the course of his long life

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know or a worthless person, why this high character of him? But if he deserved this character and a better, what did this man deserve for fixing upon him such an epitaph? In the beginning of this note the reader has Mr Gataker's detection of astrology, and in the close of it we have detected the art of his adversary.

[T] From the pens as well of foreign writers as of our own nation] As the course of our author's life and labours, was attended with many circumstances, that recommended him to the esteem and veneration of men of true learning and sincere piety; so, as he well observed himself, there wanted not other circumstances, that kept him from making so great a figure as he might have done in his life-time, and which it is possible may have also operated upon his memory. He was a man so moderate and conscientious, that he could not go the length of any party, which was the true reason of his not accepting preferments. In the reigns of King James and King Charles, he disliked the high notions that were regarded, as the maxims of the government by churchmen, which he rightly foresaw would be fatal, not only to them but to the Church. This kept him at a distance from those that were in highest authority, and tho' his patrons at Lincolns-Inn would have procured him a prebend at least, yet he refused it; and when it appeared he was not to be gained, it was natural to hold him suspected, in which state he continued for many years. When he came to sit in the Assembly of Divines, for which he never received any thing, he drew upon himself the dislike at least if not the hatred of such as were zealous for the Hierarchy; but when he declared himself in that Assembly in favour of Episcopacy, and excepted against the solemn league and covenant, till the words were so altered, as to be understood to exclude only Ecclesiastical Courts, and what he and those of his own opinion took to be exorbitant in the power of Bishops, he lost the affections of the other party, who were for destroying episcopacy root and branch. His open declaration against the subsequent proceedings of those

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who resolved all power and authority, into that of the sword, heightened the aversion of the dominant faction to his person, and exposed him to that ill treatment he met with from their tools, who, as we have shewn in the last note, charged him with inconstancy, changing sides, and squaring his doctrines to the times; whereas in truth he was always consistent in his principles, and instead of shifting from party to party, was never the instrument of any party, but lived contented upon a very small provision, at most one hundred pounds per annum, and was reviled for keeping that.

Yet as we have said he had the esteem and veneration of the wise and moderate of all parties, grounded solely upon a true sense of his merit. Mr Edward Leigh, his contemporary, and who was well acquainted with him, has given him this short and just character (31). 'Thomas Gataker, of the Gatakers of Gataker in Shropshire, a solid judicious and pious Divine, as his divers learned Latin and English treatises shew.' Dr Edmund Calamy gives the following account of those which are filed the Assembly's Annotations, and bestows therein just praises upon our author, the whole passage is very curious and instructive, and therefore we will not curtail it (32). 'There is one work unjustly ascribed to this Assembly, and that is the Annotations on the Bible which commonly bear their name. It is true, as is hinted in the preface before the said notes, the same parliament that called the Assembly, employed the authors of those annotations: for letters were directed to them by the chairmen of the committee for religion, urging their undertaking that work: and they were by order of that committee furnished with whatsoever books were needful. It is also true, that several of those that were concerned in it, were members of the Assembly: and yet it was not undertaken by the direction, or with the consent of the Assembly, nor were the major part members of the Assembly, nor did any deputed by the Assembly review the work when it was finished: so that it cannot upon any account

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(c) In the observations upon Acts part 16 4, and his Postscript to his Epiphemion 1655.

(d) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(e) In the Appendix to his Father's account of his own Life.

(f) Narrative and Appendix.

(g) By many eminent Persons.

(h) Discourse Apologetical, p. 50.

(31) Treatise of Religion and Learning, p. 205.

(32) Life of Baxter, p. 86.



four times married. First to the widow of Mr William Cupper, who by her first husband had two daughters, towards whom the affection of Mr Gataker in their tender years was so extraordinary, and his care of providing them suitable matches in their riper age so manifest, as well as his tenderness for their children, and whatever regarded the families, into which they married, that the generality of the world made no doubt of their being his own children; yet by this wife he had only one son, of whom she died in childbed. He bore both his father's names, lived to man's estate, visited most parts of the world, and returning home much improved in every respect, died in his father's house; his second wife was the daughter of the Reverend Mr Charles Pinner, by whom he had a son Charles, whom we have already mentioned as attending his father in his last moments, and publishing some of his Posthumous Works. Of this son his second wife died in childbed, so that he was twice a widower in the space of a few years, and having two young children of his own to bring up, brought up also those daughters of his first wife with them, so that it was purely an act of christian beneficence, and did not at all proceed from any influence their mother might have upon his mind: some years after the death of his second he married his third wife, who was the sister of Sir George and Sir John Farwel, by whom he had three children, a son and a daughter who died before him, and another daughter who survived him. His fourth wife was the widow of a citizen, with whom he lived twenty-four years, and survived her two years within a few days (i). The reader has now seen the best account we can give of his public and his private life; and as his modesty restrained him not only from seeking, but from accepting, preferments, hindered him from so much as leaving his picture to posterity, and living and dying kept him from every thing that had even the smallest appearance of ostentation: so perhaps it was in compliance with his desire that not so much as a tombstone was erected where his body laid (k). But notwithstanding this, a learned and ingenious foreigner, the celebrated Hermannus Witfius, has erected a most noble monument to his memory, by collecting into one volume, and publishing with great care and correctness, all his critical works, a monument far more lasting than either brass or marble, for it will last as long as there is any sense of true religion, or any regard to true taste in literature [U], the

(i) Narrative of the Life and Death of Mr Gataker.

(k) See an account of Persons buried in Rotherhith Church, in the fifth Volume of Aubrey's Natural History of Surrey.

count be said to be theirs. However it was a good work in its season, and I shall add the names of the true authors, as far as my best enquiry would help me to intelligence. Mr Lee, Sub-Dean of Chester, did the Pentateuch. Dr Gouge had the two books of Kings, and Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, for his province. Mr Meric Casaubon did the Psalms, Mr Francis Taylor the Proverbs, and Dr Reynolds Ecclesiastes; Mr Smalwood, who was recommended by Archbishop Usher, did Solomon's Song. The learned Gataker did Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Lamentations: and is in the opinion of many competent judges, exceeded by no commentator, ancient or modern, on those books. Ezekiel, Daniel, and the small prophets, were in the first edition done by Mr Pemberton, and in the second by Bishop Richardson. The notes on the four Evangelists are Mr Ley's, and those on St Paul's Epistles, Dr Featley's, which latter are broken and imperfect, on the account of the author's dying, before he had revised or finished them. There were also two other persons concerned in this work, viz. Mr Downname and Mr Reading, who might probably have the other parts of scripture allotted them that are not here mentioned.

(33) Hist. of England, p. 713.

Mr Archdeacon Echard, speaking of our author's death, delivers himself thus (33). 'Thomas Gataker, of an ancient family in Shropshire, was educated in St John's College in Cambridge, and elected Fellow of Sidney College while it was building, where he became remarkable for his skill in the Greek and Hebrew tongues. He was afterwards rector of Rotherhith in Surry, and the most celebrated among the Assembly of Divines, being highly esteemed by Salmasius and other foreigners; and it is hard to say which is most remarkable, his exemplary piety, and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments.'

The celebrated Morhoff in his large and learned work, speaks of almost all our author's writings, that appeared in Latin, with the praises they deserve; but with that brevity, which the nature of his own design required. In reference to his edition of the Emperor Antoninus's Meditations, he delivers himself more largely than usual in these words (34). 'Opera illa, quam in Antoninum impendit Gatakerus, plane egregia est. Primum premisit luculentam dissertationem de disciplina stoica, in qua eam confert cum

(34) Polyhistor. Philosoph. II. 1, 4. 4.

peripatetica, & academica vetere, epicurea, &c. Variæ lectiones notentur in margine, parallelismus autorum, in Antonino occurrentium, ad minutias usque eos ostendit, lateri appositus. Denique commentarii uberrimi, aliorum philosophorum sententias græcas, latinas, Antonini effatis respondentes, magno cumulo congerunt ut librum hunc non immerito pandectas doctrinæ moralis stoicæ dicere possis.' Axemius styles him (35), a writer of infinite learning and accurate judgment. The celebrated Bayle mentions him with all the respect possible (36). Mr Colomes gives him the following character (37), 'Of all the critics of this age who have employed their pens in illustrating polite learning, there are very few, if indeed there are any, who deserve to be preferred to Thomas Gataker for diligence and accuracy, in explaining those authors whose writings he has examined.' Yet this curious and inquisitive person, whose peculiar talent lay in discovering the excellence, or the errors of the books he perused, was very far from sparing our critic; on the contrary, in looking over his works he mentions a few, and but a very few places, with which he was not entirely satisfied, and of these perhaps there is more than one, in respect to which severe judges might doubt whether his censures were well founded. Baillet has a chapter concerning his writings (38), in which he acknowledges his profound skill in the learned languages, his great accuracy and admirable sagacity; but adds, that he was sometimes so bold in his conjectures, that even his greatest admirers durst not adhere to his singular opinions. It is to be wished that he had explained himself more clearly upon this subject, and had pointed out what these opinions were. Sir Thomas Pope Blount speaking of him occasionally, calls him *vir ueritatis* (39).

(35) Epist. ad Gædium, p. 112.

(36) Ouvres de Bayle, Tom. iii. p. 830.

(37) Cimet. Littérar. c. XXIII. Mélanges historiques, p. 72.

(38) Jugemens des Savans, Vol. ii. p. 279.

(39) Censura celebriorum Auctorum, p. 119.

[U] To true taste in literature.] The title of this collection at large runs thus:

THOMÆ GATAKERI opera critica Dissertatio de N. Instrumenti stylo. Cinnus sive adversaria miscellanea. Adversaria miscellanea posthuma. Marci Antonini Imperatoris de rebus suis Libri XII Commentario perpetuo explicati. Opuscula varia. Omnia singulari cura recensita, ab infinitis typotheta rummendis expurgata, multorum græcæ dictorum latina interpretatione illustrata, & locupletissimis accuratissimisque indicibus ornata. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1698. 8vo. At the head of this collection stands a dedication, addressed to all who are inclined



the panegyrick before it is concise, perspicuous, and polite; affords us a true picture of the author, and does that justice to his candour, learning, and piety, that a long life spent in the exercise of virtue, and promoting useful knowledge so well deserved.

inclined to cultivate the study of the sacred scriptures, and found divinity, in which the learned Witfius begins with observing, that such as collect and publish the labours of great and able men, render thereby greater service to the commonwealth of letters, than by sending abroad new, but less perfect productions of their own. He then mentions the pains he has taken to facilitate the studies of youth, as his station required, and declares he never had greater hopes of being useful in that respect, than by putting this book into the hands of the publick. He is perswaded there will appear a very wide difference between his own writings and those of Gataker, but their superiority, continues he, can be to none better known, by none more readily acknowledged, than by himself. This, says he, is that Thomas Gataker, whose venerable name is so highly celebrated, that he must be a stranger in the commonwealth of learning, who is not acquainted with him, and a very ill judge of merit, who does not set a just value upon his exquisite knowledge, and rare virtues; if I should say that he has had few equals in this age, in his knowledge of the most abstruse antiquities, and more especially in regard to Greek literature, I should not be beside the truth. In this and other commendations he professes to speak for himself, and in that respect declares for his own part, he knew none who had better understood, or had more religiously dedicated his labours, to make others perfectly understand the sacred writings, than he; after this, he largely expatiates on the proper use he had made of his comprehensive learning, and perfect acquaintance with profane authors, all which, as became him, he piously consecrated to the explaining and illustrating the sacred word of God. Such is the scope of his large and elegant discourse, which the learned readers will no doubt be better pleased to see in his own words.

Quantum enim mea qualiacunque scripta a doctissimi istius viri operibus accurationis, elegantiae diffusissimaeque eruditionis laude superentur, & quanto ex hisce major utilitas in lectoris commodum redundatura sit, nemo me melius intelligit, nemo candidius testabitur. Is est GATAKERUS, eaque venerandi nominis istius celebritas, ut peregrinum in republica literaria esse necesse sit qui eum ignorat, & iniquum meritorum aestimatorem, qui tam praeclaræ eruditioni rarisque virtutibus suum non statuit pretium. Paucos esse si dixerō qui in abstrusioris antiquitatis, Græcanicæ præsertim, peritia paria hoc seculo præstiterint, a vero fortassis oratio mea non abludet. At fuerint aliqui quibus ad secularis literaturæ studia plus ab aliis occupationibus suis otii fuerit, quosque idcirco in isthac eruditionis parte nostro huic anteposendos esse nonnulli arbitrentur. Ego uti eorum iudicio pertinaciter obniti nolim; ita, mea quoque libertate usus, ingenue profiteor, neminem me nosse, qui literas suas sanctius habuerit, easque veræ virtuti promovendæ, & divinis voluminibus

illustrandis religiosus dicaverit. Ex omni hominum genere vix ulli mihi infeliciores iis esse videntur, qui, Græcæ Romanæque literaturæ elegantia capti; sacrorum librorum simplicitatem fastidiunt, quales & patrum, & nostra hæc ætas aliquammultos tulit. Hic enim profanæ sapientiæ saltu inflati, non modo sibi metipsis inutile efficiunt maximum illud divinæ beneficentiæ munus, quo solo perennis ac duratura conciliatur felicitas; dum circa rerum inania insanientes ea quæ solida ac stabilia sunt temere neglectui habent: sed & ingenti oppido injuria sanctissima afficiunt oracula. Non eo solum nomine, quod salubrem illum animorum pastum levibus postponent scitamentis; verum etiam quod dominatum sibi quendam in ea soleant arrogare scripta, quorum Majestati omnem se sapientiam obsequiosa fidei religione submittere oportet. Hæc enim ad exotica illa examinare non verentur: atque ubi, cum rebus, tum verbis, totoque orationis contextu, plurimum ab illis discrepare deprehendunt, vix temperant sibi, quin vel aliena interpretatione aliorum flectant, vel stilum ita vertant ut delicatulos aures suas minus offendant. Hinc licentiam sibi sumunt nonnulla addendi, alia demendi, aliqua etiam transponendi ac transformandi, prout præjudiciis aliunde haustis, neque optimo consilio in sacra ista illatis, consentaneum esse videtur. Quorum rerum tam dira passim occurrant exempla, ut horrorem piis lectorum animis incutiant. Alia prorsus GATAKERO nostro mens fuit: quippe qui unctiōne quæ a sancto illo proficiscitur largiter delibutus, & ab ipso edoctus Deo, singulas sacrarum literarum pericopas, ut totidem oracula, venerabundus exosculabatur; ac de cælesti earum origine firmiter persuasus, in omnibus sapientiam Deo dignam cum incredibili animi voluptate deprehendebat. Sapientiam, in quam, ad quam ipsi cælestes stupent genii, dum in recondita illius mysteria introspicere satagunt. Sapientiam, quam nemo principum hujus seculi cognovit; & ad quam omnis illorum imaginaria & fucata sapientia GATAKERO nostro sordescerebat, & pro stultitia reputabatur: nisi quatenus aliqua se residuæ lucis, in divinum hoc sacrarium inferendæ, scintillatione commendat. In hoc sacrario inveniebat, gustabat, plenoque ore hauriebat, sanctissimas illas delicias, quæ penitas afficiunt medullas, & quas terrestres animæ nec cupiunt, nec capiunt, nec intelligunt. Quæ in animum admixtæ mundanorum omnium amorum expectorant, cælestium rerum desiderium acunt, efficiuntque ut ea denūm vita esse videatur, quæ in sacrarum meditatione literarum, veluti in Dei contubernio, transigitur. Ita factum est, ut secularium librorum lectio excursas quidam, & animi majoribus intenti expatiatio GATAKERO fuerit; unde ad divina identidem regrediebatur. Neque regrediebatur, nisi opimis locupletates spoliis, in Augusto hoc æternæ veritatis templo, Deo ac Virtuti dedicandis. Huic enim rei omne ejus studium, omnis opera, omnis eruditio sacra erat.

(a) See the time of his Death, below.

(b) Newcourt, Repertor. Vol. II. p. 412.

(c) Wood, Athenæd. 1721. Vol. II. col. 311.

(d) Idem, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 262.

(e) Idem, Athenæ, ubi supra.

(f) Idem, Fasti, Vol. II. col. 2.

GAUDEN, or GAWDING (John) successively bishop of Exeter and Worcester in the last century, was born, in the year 1605 (a), at Mayland in Essex, of which parish his Father was Vicar (b) [A]. His education in Grammar-learning was at St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk; from whence, at the age of sixteen, being admitted a Student of St John's College in Cambridge, he made great proficiency in his studies, and there took the degrees in Arts. About the year 1630, he removed to Wadham-College in Oxford, where he became tutor to Francis and William Russel, sons of Sir William Russel of Chipenham in the county of Cambridge, Bart. (whose daughter he had newly married) and, after their departure, to other gentlemen, and persons of quality. While he continued there he appeared to be a man of great parts, which he very much improved by an uncommon industry, spending most part of the day and night in his studies (c). July 22, 1635, he took the degree of Batchelor in Divinity, as a member of Wadham College (d); and became Chaplain to Robert Earl of Warwick, Rector of Brightwell in Berkshire, and Vicar of Chipenham aforesaid (e). On the 8th of July 1641, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (f). As he was Chaplain in a family that were notoriously dissatisfied at the Court's measures, he took the same bias from the first, and ran with the

[A] Of which parish his father was Vicar.] His father, John Gawding, A. M. had institution to that living December 13, 1598 (1).

(1) Newcourt, Repertor. Vol. II. p. 412.

[B] And



the common cant of the times, against pictures, images, and superstitious formalities, &c. [B], as is manifest from a sermon of his, preached November 29, 1640. before the House of Commons: which was so agreeable to them, that they made him a present of a large silver tankard (g) [C]. In 1641, he was presented to the Rectory of Bocking in Essex. He had his first presentation from the parliament; but not looking upon it as a safe hold for so great and reputable a benefice, which is called a Deanery, through the intercession of friends, he procured himself to be collated thereto by Archbishop Laud, the rightful patron, then in the Tower. At Bocking, he contracted a friendship with his neighbour Mr Edward Symonds, Rector of Raine; of which some use will be made by and by (b). Dr Gauden held his preferment after the breaking out of the civil wars, and forbore the use of the Common-Prayer; tho' we are told, it was continued longer in his Church than in any thereabouts (i). In 1643, he was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, through the recommendation of Sir Dudley North, and Thomas Chichley Esq; Knights for the county of Cambridge; but was shuffled out, as he says, by a secret committee, and an unknown sleight of hand, because he was for regulating, not rooting up, Episcopacy (k). We are also assured, that he took the Covenant (l): notwithstanding he seems to deny it [D]; and published in 1643, certain doubts and scruples of conscience about taking the solemn League and Covenant [E]. However, he openly continued in the Parliament's interest, till he found they went beyond their first pretensions, and the expectations of himself and other good men. When he discovered that, he endeavoured to redeem his error, by bending to the contrary extreme (m): and, not only wrote a Protestation, and a just Invektive against the murderers of K. Charles I. [F], but also assisted in publishing that King's Meditations, as will be shewn in the sequel of this article. Still he enjoyed his preferment during the several periods of the Usurpation, halting between the opposite parties; and being only a secret, or rather an ambiguous and false friend to the Royal cause. However for some time before the Restoration he must have been dissatisfied with the various forms of Government set up in this kingdom; since, within that period, he composed a folio volume of 700 pages [G],

(a work

[B] *And ran with the common cant of the times, against pictures, images, &c.* This is evident from the following passage of the sermon referred to above, among other instances. 'To set up lying vanities, pictures, and images, and to cry down praying and preaching, whereby those toyles may be useful and necessary to the ignorant (because untaught) people. *Is this to love the truth?* To suffer Idolatry, or superstitious formalities in serving God to get ground upon our opinions and practices. *Is this to love the truth?* (2) *Quæ quo nudior eò venustior; which the lesse it hath of painting, the more it hath of true loveliness and native beauty.* Are not the lengthen and increase of ceremonious shadowes, a presage and signe of the shortning of our Day and setting of our Sunne, or diminishing of our light? (3) — However, he speaks afterwards with due abhorrence of civil wars.

'That we in this Iland, (says he) are divided from all nations is our safety under God, and by the providence of our gracious Sovereigne: but to be divided among ourselves will be infallibly our ruine. *Si collidimur, frangimur.* — Civil warres can neither merit nor expect Laurells, triumphs nor trophees: the memory and monuments of them are best, when buried in oblivion; *victory it selfe is sad*, and ashamed of it selfe; *weeping*, dejected, and blushing with its owne blood unnaturally and barbarously spilt; as having fought not so much against enemies as humanity; not so much conquering others, as wasting and destroying it selfe. — O! then (adds he) let us all take up thoughts, resolutions, &c. for peace: away with all bitterness, strife, malice, jealousies, and all those diabolish maxims of severing the interests of the prince and the people as inconsistent; whereas rightly considered they are, as the head with the body; united, both are safe and firme; severed, both inevitably ruine (4)."

[C] *That they made him a present of a large silver tankard* With this honorary inscription upon it, *Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parlamento congregati Johanni Gauden, &c.* which constantly went about his house (5).

[D] *Notwithstanding he seems to deny it.* I say he only seems to deny it. For, instead of affirming plainly and positively that he never took it; which would have been the most easy and natural way, if it had been the truth; he uses a thousand words, to shew the unlawfulness of the Covenant, as being inconsistent with former oaths, the laws of the land, the preservation of Episcopal government in its just rights and enjoy-

ments, and those duties of equity and charity, which every one owed to God or man; and therefore that it was no way binding against those prior obligations: or, that no man could be bound to any thing before, or after such a Covenant, but what is just and honest (6). Indeed he assures the world, in one place (7), that he never took any oaths, but those appointed by law, no protestation, no engagement, no league, vow, or negative oath, and for this Covenant he offered freely to some principal authors of it, his many just scruples and objections against it, both as to its matter and authority. — But the reader may observe, he doth not put the Covenant among the things which he never took; and quibbles greatly about that point. Considering, how strictly every man above the age of eighteen, and every minister in particular (8), was enjoined to take the Covenant, and withal what considerable preferments Dr Gauden enjoyed, it is not credible that he should escape taking it among the rest. Especially as it is affirmed by his intimate acquaintance, and fellow-chaplain at Lees, Dr Walker, that he took the said Covenant.

[E] *Certain doubts and scruples, &c.* The whole title of this treatise, was, *Certain scruples and doubts of conscience about taking the solemn League and Covenant, tendred to the consideration of Sir Laur. Bromfield, and Zach. Crofton.* Lond. 1643, and 1660. 4to.

[F] *And not only wrote a Protestation, and a just Invektive against the murderers of K. Charles I.* The Protestation was intituled, 'The Religious and Loyal Protestation of John Gauden Doctor in Divinity, against the present declared purposes and proceedings of the army and others about the trying and destroying our sovereign Lord King. Sent to a colonel to be presented to the Lord Fairfax and his general council of officers, the fifth of January 1648.' London 1648, 4to. — The just invective was written in 1648, but not published till 1662, as appears by the title, which was thus, 'A just Invektive against those of the army and their abettors, who murdered K. Charles I. on the 30th of Jan. 1648, with some other poetic pieces in Latin, referring to those tragical times, written 10 Febr. 1648.' Lond. 1662.

[G] *He composed a folio volume of 700 pages.* It is intituled, *Ἑστὸς Δάκρυα. Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria.* 'The tears, sighs, complaints, and prayers of the Church of England: setting forth her former constitution, compared with her present condition; also the visible causes, and probable cures, of her distempers. In IV. books.' Lond. 1659. fol.

[H] *And*

(g) Dr Walker's True Account of the author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. 1692. 4to. p. 6.

(b) Dr Hollingworth's Defence of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. Lond. 1692. 4to. p. 16.

(i) Dr Walker, ubi supra, p. 7.

(k) See his Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria, p. 377. and his Anti-Baal-Berith, p. 89.

(l) Dr Walker, p. 7. and Bp Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. edit. 1724. p. 50.

(m) Dr Walker, ubi supra, p. 6.

(2) The text was Zech. viii. 19.

(3) Sermon, p. 31, 32.

(4) Ibid. p. 38, 39.

(5) Dr Walker, ubi supra, p. 6.

(6) See his Analysis of the Covenant, and Anti-Baal-Berith.

(7) Anti-Baal-Berith, p. 275.

(8) See Ordinance of 2 February 1643-4. in Husband's Collections, and elsewhere.



(a work that could not cost less than three years, or more), wherein he speaks in as zealous a manner for the Church of England, and with as much bitterness against the sectaries, as the most rigid Episcopalian. Thus, having had either better luck, or better foresight, than the rest of his complying brethren, he reconciled himself betimes to Monarchy and Episcopacy: and 'having lived, (as his own words are) to see that the joy of hypocrites, the prosperity of the wicked, and the triumph of violent men is but short (n),' he heartily came into all the Court's measures at the Restoration. When, being a pushing man, and making a great merit of having published, and, as some say, written, the *Pourtraiture* of K. Charles I. [H] he was made one of the King's Chaplains, and promoted to the Bishopric

[H] And making a great merit of having published, and as some say, written, the *Pourtraiture* of K. Charles I.] That is, the book intituled, 'ΕΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ. The *Pourtraiture* of his sacred Majestie 'in his solitudes and sufferings.' Much hath been said, and written, upon the question, whether that book was composed by K. Charles I. or by Dr Gauden.

Those who maintain, that Dr Gauden was both the author and publisher of ΕΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, ground themselves upon these authorities. I. Upon certain papers, found at one Mr Arthur North's, a merchant in London; among which there was a letter of Dr Gauden, then bishop of Exeter, to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, dated 28 Decemb. 1661, and a petition to K. Charles II. wherein the bishop declares, what hazards he had run of life and estate; and what great advantage had accrued to the Crown by his service: adding these ambiguous words, that what he had done was for the comforting and encouraging of the King's friends, exposing his enemies, and converting, &c. that what was done like a King, should have a King-like retribution, &c.—In a letter to the Duke of York of the 17th Jan. 1661, he strongly urges the great service he had done, and importunately begs his Royal Highness to intercede for him with the King.—And the Lord Chancellor Hyde, in a letter to him dated 13 March 1661, has this passage, *the particular you mention, has indeed been imparted to me as a secret; I am sorry I ever knew it, and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but Mr Milton.*

II. There was also among those papers, a letter of Mrs Gauden to her Son John, after the bishop's death; wherein she called that book *the Jewel*; said, that her husband hoped to make a fortune by it; and that she had a letter of a very great man's, which would clear up that he writ it.—She moreover left a long story, or narrative, importing in substance; "that her husband penned that book, in order to shew the world, that the King's parts and piety were not inferior to Cromwell's. He gave it at first the title of *Suspiria Regalia*; and his design was, to have it put forth, as by some person who had found the papers in his Majesty's chambers at Holmeby, being by chance left or scattered there. When he had writ it, he shewed it to my Lord Capel, who did highly approve of it; and tho' he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he said it was not fit to do so without his Majesty's approbation. He sent therefore a copy of it to the King, by the Marquis of Hertford, when he was going to the treaty in the isle of Wight. At his Lordship's return, Dr Gauden went to him, and he told the Doctor, 'that his Majesty having had some of those essays read to him by Bp Duppa, did exceedingly approve of them, and asked whether they could not be put out in some other name (9). Bishop Duppa reply'd, that the design was, the world should take them to be his Majesty's. Whereupon the King desired time to consider of it.' And that was all the account the Marquis could give of it, neither did he know what was become of the manuscript. However Dr Gauden, in order to save his Majesty's life, by endeavouring to move the hearts and affections of the people as much as might be towards him; immediately resolved to print it with all speed; having a copy of that which he sent to the King. The instrument he employed to get it printed, was Mr Edward Symonds; and he got Mr Roylton to print it. When it was about half-printed, a discovery was made of it, and all the sheets then wrought off were destroyed. Notwithstanding all this, Dr Gauden attempted the printing of it again, but could by no means get it finished till some few days after his Ma-

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jefty was destroyed. When it came out, the people then in power were not only extremely displeased at it, but also infinitely solicitous to find out the author: and took the MS. which had been sent to the King: whereupon, they appointed a committee to examine the business. Of which Dr Gauden having notice, he withdrew privately in the night from his own house to Sir John Wentworth's near Yarmouth, on purpose to convey himself beyond sea (10). But Mr Symonds, who had been taken in a disguise, dying before he came to his examination: and the committee not being able to find out any thing by any means whatever; the Doctor altered his resolution of going out of England. After the Restoration, he expected a suitable reward for his endeavours to serve K. Charles I. and II. in that book.' But, whether in being the author, or publisher of it, I am certain his words, as related above, are far from determining.—These authorities were first produced by Edmund Ludlow (11), and J. Toland (12), persons full of inveterate prejudices against the memory of K. Charles, and enemies to the very name of old Royalists.

III. The next authority is that of Dr Anthony Walker, once Rector of Fyfield in Essex; who affirmed in print, that ΕΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ 'was written by Dr Gauden (except two chapters writ by Bp Duppa). His reasons for it were these; 1. 'Dr Gauden, some time before the whole was finished, was pleased to acquaint him [A. Walker] with his design, and shewed him the heads of divers chapters, and some of the discourses written of them; and, after some time spent in perusal, askt his opinion concerning the same. 2. Being both together in London, they went to Dr Duppa bishop of Salisbury (whom Dr Gauden had acquainted with his design) to fetch what he had left with his Lordship to be perused, or to shew what he had further written. And, as they were returning, Dr Gauden told Dr Walker, that the bishop had undertaken those points, which are the 16th and 24th chapters in the printed book. 3. Dr Gauden delivered a copy of it to the Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the treaty at the isle of Wight, and intreated his Lordship to deliver it to his Majesty, if he could obtain a private opportunity, and to know his Majesty's pleasure concerning it. But he never knew certainly whether the King ever saw it (13). 4. The Duke of York knew that Dr Gauden had writ it; but he could not positively and certainly say, that K. Charles II. knew so much; for he was never pleased to take express notice of it to Dr Gauden. 5. Mrs Gauden, Mr Gifford (who wrote the copy mentioned above in article the 3d), and Dr Walker believed it; and when they spake of that book, in Dr Gauden's presence or absence, they did it without the least doubt of his having writ it. 6. Dr Gauden delivered to Dr Walker, with his own hand, the last part of the copy that was sent up to be printed: and, after he had shewed it him, and sealed it up, gave him strict caution, with what wariness to carry and deliver it. And, according to his direction he delivered it Saturday Dec. 23, 1648. And, a few days after the impression was finished, he received six books (14).'

As for the Earl of Anglesey's *Memorandum*, see it above, with observations upon it, under the article.

On the other hand, those who affirm that K. Charles I. was the author of that book, alledge the following arguments to support their opinion. I. Part of that book, written with the King's own hand, was taken in his cabinet, among the rest of his papers, at the fatal battle of Naseby June 14, 1645. His Majesty being more concerned at the loss of those

the *Pourtraiture* of K. Charles I. p. 1.

(10) His publishing of that book, was sufficient to expose him to Cromwell's cruelty and rage; whether he was the author of it, or no.

(11) In a pamphlet intituled, *Truth brought to Light*, &c. Lond. 1693, 4to. p. 35, &c.

(12) In his *Amyntor*, p. 107, &c. Neither of them saw Mr North's papers, but only had extracts of them.

(13) Compare this with Mrs Gauden's Narrative; which it contradicts.

(14) A true Account of the Author of ΕΙΣΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ &c. by Anth. Walker, D. D. Lond. 1692, 4to. p. 3, 4, 5, 6.

(9) This is directly contrary to Dr Ant. Walker's account.



(9) By the death of Dr Ralph Brownrigg. He had succeeded that Bishop in the office of Preacher at the Temple, in 1659.

(11) See the Life of King Charles I. by Dr Perinchief, i. e. Mr Fulman, ed. 1685, p. 59.

(16) Dr Hollingworth's Defence of K. Charles the 1st's book, &c. Lond. 1692. 4to. Several evidences in the controversy concerning the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, &c. by I. Young, Lond. 1793. 4to. p. 5.

(17) T. Wagstaff's Vindication of King Charles the Martyr, &c. ed. 1697. 4to. p. 34, 35, 36, and Defence of the Vindication, &c. ed. 1699. 4to. p. 70. T. Long's Examination of Dr Walker's Account, &c. Lond. 1703. 4to. p. 37, 38. Dr Hollingworth's Character of K. Charles I. p. 27. Dugdale's View of the Troubles, p. 380.

(18) p. 21.

(19) Hollingworth's Defence, ut supra. p. 22.

(20) Ibid. p. 19. and T. Long, as above, p. 4.

(21) Several evidences, &c. as above by J. Young. p. 6.

(22) Ibid. p. 7.

(23) Ibid. p. 8.

(24) Ibid. p. 19.

(25) Ibid. p. 17, 18, and Hollingworth's Defence, p. 11.

(26) Several evidences, &c. as above, p. 8, 17, and Wagstaff's Vindication, p. 32, and Defence, p. 63.

Bishopric of Exeter, then vacant (o); to which he was elected November 3, 1660. confirmed the 17th and consecrated the next day (p). Tho' that Bishopric yielded him

twenty

his private thoughts and meditations, than of his other papers which fell that day into the enemies hands; he employed his Chaplain Dr Gorge, who had attended him in that battle, to retrieve them out of Sir Thomas Fairfax's hands. Through Dr Gorge's, and Archbishop Usher's intercession (15), Sir Thomas restored them again, at last, with great difficulty, and after a considerable time: and sent them back to his Majesty, at Hampton-Court, by Mr Robert Huntington, Major of Cromwell's own regiment. The Major having read them over, before he delivered them, found, they were the same for matter and form with those Meditations in the printed book [Εἰκὼν Βασιλική]. When he delivered them to the King, his Majesty appeared very joyful, and said, He esteemed them more than all the jewels he had lost in the cabinet (16). This account the Major gave at several times, and to several creditable persons, who attested it; namely, Sir William Courtney, Richard Duke, Esq; Mr Cave Beck, of Ipswich, and under his own hand to Sir William Dugdale (17).—Agreeable to Major Huntington's testimony, is the account given in a book intitled *The Princely Pellican* (18), published in 1649. namely, That 'at Naseby, those divine Meditations 'were seiz'd by the enemy, with other papers of concern, being inclosed in a Cabinet reserved for that 'purpose; and that by the benignity of the Conqueror, 'or divine Providence rather, it was recovered above 'all expectation, and returned to his Majesty's hand; 'which infinitely cheered him.'

II. Dr Dillingham of Emmanuel-College Cambr. did wait upon King Charles after he was seized by the Army in 1647. and when his Majesty was walking in the Garden, had by a special favour from those about him, admittance into his bed-chamber, where he saw and read under the King's own hand, fresh writ, a whole chapter of the King's book (19).

III. Dr Gauden himself often affirm'd, That he was fully convinced, that the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική was intirely the King's work (20).

IV. The Earl of Manchester, (when some Divines at his table questioned the King's being author of that book,) took occasion expressly to tell them, *that he saw the Book when taken at Naseby, written with the King's own hand*, so far as it relates to that time; adding, that he knew the King's hand so well as he did his own (21).

V. Oliver Cromwell, making a visit to the Lady Wenwood, and finding that book in her chamber, 'Madam, said he, I see you have Charles Stuart's 'book in your keeping! Yes, my Lord, said the Lady, but do you believe he was the author of it? Yes 'most certainly, said Cromwell, I know it his—he 'was a perfect hypocrite (22).'

VI. Unton Croke, a Colonel and creature of Cromwell's, and an inveterate enemy to the King and the Royalists, declared, that he had seen a copy of *Icon Basilice* of the King's own writing, and that he never doubted him to be the Author (23).

VII. Dr Edward Hooker certified, 'That Mr Edward Symonds consulted him about printing the 'King's book (he being then corrector of a press) and 'told him, that his Majesty was pleased to thank him 'for his *Vindication* &c. and to deliver him the copy 'of the *R. Icon*, written with his own hand, which 'he well knew, and that his Majesty took it from under his blew watchet waistcoat, when he gave it him, 'saying it was all the requital he could make him, and 'bid him use it to his best advantage (24).' And Mr Symonds declared, upon his death-bed, to Dr Bathurst, that it was the King's own work (25).

VIII. Mr Symonds being intimately acquainted with Dr Gauden, by reason of the nearness of Rayne and Bocking, shewed and lent the MS. to the Doctor, who took a copy of it. As he was obliged to return it soon; therefore besides what other time he employ'd in it, he sat up one whole night to transcribe it; as William Allen, who then attended upon him, hath testified (26). After Mr Symonds's death, Dr Gauden might perhaps pretend to be the author of that book,

as there was not any man living that could detect the plagiarism. And his small concern in the printing it, gave some umbrage to the fraudulent pretence.—These are the most consistent and probable Arguments, that have been used to prove, that K. Charles I. and not Dr Gauden, was the Author of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

But, besides these external evidences, there are Internal ones, taken from a strict and close examination of the Book itself; which plainly demonstrate, that it was not Dr Gauden's composition. And that is the very great and visible difference there is between the style of that book and of the Doctor's numerous writings. For, it is neither his diction, phraseology, nor manner of expression. Whatever he writ or published, is in a verbose, loose, and empty style, full of tautologies, affected bombast, and scraps of Latin (27). Whereas, in the judgment of Bp Burnet (28) and most others, 'There is, in the King's Book, a nobleness 'and justness of thought, with a greatness of style, 'that made it to be look'd on as the best writ book in 'the English language.—And this is certain, (adds 'he) that Gauden never writ any thing with that 'force, his other writings being such, that no man 'from a Likeness of style would think him capable of 'writing so extraordinary a Book as that is.'

Moreover (which doth not seem to have been observed before) the manner of Spelling there, is not like that used by Dr Gauden in his voluminous works. For instance, most of the final e's are left out in the Εἰκὼν: as in *son*, *sens*, &c. Double ee's, are almost constantly used, as in *bee*, *mee*, &c. And, in words ending in y, the final y, is always turn'd into *ie*; there being scarce any exception, unless in some monosyllables, as *my*, *thy*, &c.—All which was not Dr-Gauden's method, as appears by inspection of his works.

Bp Kennett's judicious observations upon the point in hand, shall conclude this note. 'After much and 'long enquiry and consideration, the Truth seems to 'lye between the two extremes as in many other cases. 'It is highly probable, that K. Charles amidst his 'solitudes and sufferings did write most of those Essays 'and Meditations upon the particular occasions, and 'soon after the special times to which they were adapted: And that such Papers written by the King's 'own hand were committed to a loyal chaplain Mr 'Edward Symonds, Minister of Rayne in Essex, to 'convey them to the press with all privacy in London, 'or elsewhere. But he being interrupted by sequestration, and under a necessity of flying and absconding, 'delivered the Royal papers to his friend and neighbour Dr Gauden, who being a man of an enterprising 'genius and a very luxuriant fancy, and finding himself the more at liberty by the absence of Mr 'Symonds, would not let them pass without some 'what of his own additions, and (as he thought) improvements of them. Accordingly he enlarged the 'draught with some new heads, and prevailed with 'Bishop Duppa to give him one chapter; and most 'likely of his own invention threw in most (if not all) 'of the ejaculations and devotions at the end of each 'subject (29), and set the title of his own devising.

—When he had thus dressed up the King's Papers, he thought it decent to send and shew them for his Majesty's approbation. This he did by the Earl of Southampton going down to wait upon the King in his confinement in the isle of Wight. Whether the King had time to revise the papers, and give his assent to the publishing of them (as some affirm) does not so well appear; but it seems probable, that Dr Gauden hearing nothing of the King's dislike or restraint, and finding his violent death to be soon after the universal subject of wonder and lamentation, he got the impression wrought off within a month after the tragedy was acted, and the cry of the times soon made way for several editions. Having had so much of his hand in it, it was natural for his ambition at the King's return to assume the honour of it, tho' his first pretensions reached no farther than writing a part of it. However, upon this great share of concern in it, he was very pressing for preferment 'at

(p) Reg. Juxon. But his own Regr. says he was consecrated Dec. 2. J. Le Neve's Fasti, ed. 1716, p. 84.

(27) See T. Long as above, p. 54, &c. Several evidences, &c. p. 10.

(28) History of his own Time, edit. 1724. fol. p. 50.

(29) This is carrying the supposition too far, as is plain from what hath been observed a little before.



twenty thousand pounds in fines, in a few months (*q*), yet he was not satisfied with that, but importuned his Majesty to translate him to the rich see of Winchester; alledging, that Exeter had a high rack but a low manger; and pleading his desert and great services (*r*). However, he was forced to sit down contented with the Bishopric of Worcester, (and not a mean one neither;) to which he was elected May 23, 1662, and confirmed June 10 (*s*). But his disappointment in Winchester stuck so close to him, that the regret and vexation is thought to have thrown him into a violent fit of the stone and strangury, which put an end to his life the 20th of September following, when he was aged but 57 (*t*). He was buried in the choir of Worcester-cathedral; and over his grave was soon after erected a fair monument, containing his effigies to the middle in his episcopal habit, with an inscription below (*u*). Having enjoyed his great preferments but a very little while; also the charge of his removing from Exeter to Worcester having been considerable; and his widow being left with four sons and a daughter; she petitioned the King for the half year's profits of the last Bishopric: and, in all probability, presented at the same time the Narrative mentioned in note [*H*]. But her petition was rejected (*w*); which unquestionably moved her resentment, and made her insist upon her husband's having had a greater share in K. Charles the first's Meditations, than he really had: especially as he was no longer in being to contradict her. As to Bp Gauden's character; Ant. Wood says (*x*), that he was 'esteemed by all that knew him a very comely person, a man of vast parts, and one that had been strangely improved by unwearied labour: and that he was much resorted to for his most admirable and edifying way of preaching.' But he is represented by others in a more unfavourable light, on account of his ambiguous and unsteady conduct both with regard to the Royalists and Presbyterians: and more especially, since the controversy about his being the author of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική* was set on foot. For, he is described as an inconstant, uncertain, ambiguous, and lukewarm person, and charged with vanity and folly (*y*): as a man of a very ambitious temper, covetous of preferment, hasty and impatient in the pursuit of it (*z*); and as the unhappy blemish and reproach of the sacred order (*a*). It is certain, as Bp Kennet observes, that he was capable of under-work, and made himself a tool to the Court, by the most sordid hopes of greater favour in it; for, in 1662, he drew up a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience extending to Papists, of which a few copies were printed off, tho' presently called in: and he was about the same time employed to draw up another Declaration of Indulgence to the Quakers, by an exemption from all oaths; though he little enjoyed the price of that servile compliance (*b*). The several pieces he published, besides those already mentioned in the body of this article, are set down in the note below [*I*].

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'at Court, and having obtained the see of Exeter, he urged this merit for a translation to Winchester (*30*).'

[*I*] *The several pieces he published, besides those already mentioned, &c.* They were as follows. I. Sermons. viz. Three Sermons preached upon several publick occasions. The first before his Majesty. The second before the Judges at Chelmsford. The third before the University of Oxford, July 11, 1641. being Aft-Sunday. Lond. 1642. 4to. A Sermon preached at Felsted March 5, 1657. at the interment of Robert Rich, heir apparent to the Earldom of Warwick. Lond. 1658. 4to. One preached Dec. 17, 1659. in the Temple-Chapel, at the funeral of Dr Brounrig bishop of Exeter. With an account of his Life. Lond. 1660. 8vo. One preached Feb. 28, 1659 in St Paul's Church London; before the Lord-Maior, General Monk, &c. Being a day of Thanksgiving for restoring the secluded Members, &c. Lond. 1660. 4to. One before the House of Commons, at their solemn fast before their first sitting, April 30, 1660. Lond. 1660. 4to. &c. II. *Hieraspistes*: or, a Defence by way of Apology of the Ministry and Ministers of the Church of England. Lond. 1653. 4to. III. The case of Ministers maintenance by Tithes (as in England) plainly discussed in conscience and prudence. Lond. 1653. 4to. IV. Christ at the wedding: or the pristine sanctity and solemnity of Christian marriages. This Tract is called elsewhere (*31*), A Treatise of Christian Marriages to be solemnly blessed by Ministers. Lond. 1654. 4to. V. A petitionary Remonstrance presented to O. P. (Oliver Protector) by John Gauden, D. D. a son, servant, and supplicant for the Church of England: in behalf of many thousands his distressed Brethren (Ministers of the Gospel, and other good Scholars) who were deprived of all publick Employment. [viz. by his Declaration of Jan. 1, 1655.] Lond. 1659. 4to. VI. *Antisacrilegus*: or, a Defensative against the plausible, or gilded poison of that nameless Paper (supposed to be the plot of Dr Cornelius Burges and his partners) which attempts the King's Majesty by the offer of 500,000 l. to make good by

an Act of Parliament to the purchasers of Bishops, &c. lands, their illegal bargain for ninety nine years. Lond. 1660. 4to. VII. *ΑΝΑΛΥΣΙΣ*. The loosening of St Peter's Bands. Setting forth the true sense and solution of the Covenant in point of Conscience, so far as it relates to the Government of the Church by Episcopacy. Lond. 1660. 4to. VIII. Analysis of the Covenant. Lond. 1660. 4to. IX. *Anti-Baal-Berith*: or the binding of the Covenant and all Covenanters to their good behaviour. By a just Vindication of Dr Gauden's Analysis (that is, his resolving of the Covenant to law and justice, to duty and conscience, to reason and religion: Or his dissolving it) against the Cacotomy of a nameless and shameless Libeller the worthy Hyperaspistes of Dr Burges. Also against the pittyful cavils and objections of Mr Zach. Croston, a rigid Presbyter. With an Answer to that monstrous paradox, of no sacrifice no sin, to alienate Churchlands, without and against all laws of God and man. Lond. 1661. 4to. X. Considerations touching the Liturgy of the Church of England in reference to his Majesty's late Declaration; and in order to an happy union in Church and State. Lond. 1660. 4to. XI. Counsel delivered to forty-four Presbyters and Deacons after they had been ordained by him, Jan. 13, 1660. folio. XII. Life of Mr Richard Hooker, prefixed to an edition of that great man's works by Dr Gauden, Lond. 1661. folio. But this Life is very full of faults (*32*). XIII. A pillar of gratitude, humbly dedicated to the glory of God, the honour of his Majesty, &c. for restoring Episcopacy. Lond. 1662. folio. XIV. A Discourse of artificial beauty in point of conscience between two Ladies, Lond. 1662. 8vo. XV. Discourse concerning public Oaths, and the lawfulness of swearing in judicial proceedings, in order to answer the scruples of the Quakers, Lond. 1649, and 1662. Latin and English. XVI. Prophecies concerning the return of Popery, Lond. 1663. 4to. XVII. The whole duty of a Communicant: being rules and directions for a worthy receiving the most holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Lond. 1681. 12mo. (*33*). C

(30) Register, and Chronicle, &c. as above, p. 774, 775, and p. 642.

(31) Ecclesæ Anglicanæ, Suspir. p. 711.

(g) Several evidences, &c. by J. V. as above, p. 26.

(r) See Truth brought to Light, by Ludlow, Lond. 1793. 4to. p. 39.

(s) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 300.

(t) Bp Kennet's Register and Chronicle, &c. p. 775. and Wood Athen. ut supra. col. 314, 315.

(u) Kennet and Wood, ibid. See also Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Browne Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 651.

(w) Truth brought to Light, &c. by Ludlow. p. 39.

(x) Ath. Vol. II. col. 312.

(y) Zach. Croston's Berith Anti-Baal, in the Preface.

(z) Wagstaffe's Vindication, p. 26.

(a) Appendix to the Life of Dr J. Berwick.

(b) Register, and Chronicle, &c. p. 775.

(32) See Mr Hooker's Life, by H. Walton.

(33) Wood, Ath. ubi supra, col. 312—315. and from the Books themselves.



(a) See Ayre's life of Pope Vol. 11. p. 96.

(b) Mr William Rayner, who had been bred at Westminster School, and taught in that method. General Dict. Article GAY.

(c) Our author himself declares, He never had been blest by Fortune's hand, Nor brightened plowshares in paternal land. *Rural Sports*.

(d) See his life p. 3. printed in 1733, 8vo. and Ayre ubi supra. These authorities are judged sufficient for a fact not improbable in itself, is no discredit to our author, and has never, that we know of, been questioned.

(1) In his Survey of Devonshire, Vol. I. 8vo. p. 80.

(2) In the 8th Vol. of Pope's Works.

(3) In his letter dated March 19th 1729. Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

(4) In a letter of Nov. 19, 1732. Ibid. Vol.

(5) It is dated Dec. 24, 1712. Ibid. Vol. 8.

GAY [JOHN] an excellent poet, was born in the year 1688, at or near Barnstaple (a) in Devonshire, and educated at the free-school there under a master (b) who was well qualified to give him a just taste of classical learning. Being descended of an ancient family [A], whose estate was greatly impaired (c), his friends thought proper to place him in a way of improving his fortune by trade. In this design he was put apprentice to a Silk-mercator in London. But that station not suiting his liberal spirit, he began to shew his disgust to a shop, almost from his first entrance therein, and giving little attendance, and less attention to the business, he procured a release upon easy terms, and in a few years took a final leave of his master (d). Having thus honourably got free from an ill-brooked restraint, he followed the bent of his genius, and it was not long before he gave the Public some admirable proofs of the character for which he was formed by nature (e) [B]. These first specimens of his poetical talents, added to the sweetness of his temper, and an almost unexampled simplicity of manners, immediately procured him the esteem and affection of several of his brother Poets, and particularly endeared him to Mr Pope, who was of the same age with him. In the society of such friends he passed a few years cultivating his muse in that kind of improvident indolence and independency (f), which only could make him perfectly happy. But his taste of life being too elegant for his fortune, he gladly accepted an offer made to him in 1712, of living with the Duchess of Monmouth, as her secretary [C]. This situation set him at full leisure to indulge his poetic vein (g), and a remarkable incident [D], the following year, furnished him with an opportunity of making it particularly serviceable to his friend Mr Pope. In this spirit he composed his *Shepherd's Week* [E], and

(e) In his Epistle to Mr Methuen, we find him complaining in these terms. But now that wight in poverty must mourn, (Who was (O cruel stars!) a Poet born. In the 2d Vol. of his Poems.

(f) Dr Swift observes, that Providence never designed him to be above two and twenty by his thoughtlessness and cullibility. Letter 33 in Pope's Works Vol. 9. edit. 1742.

(g) His celebrated Poem *Tiroia* was wrote about this time.

[A] *Descended of an ancient family.* Mr Risdon (1) observes, that Gilbert le Gay, who gave name to the family, was settled at a place called Hampton-Gay, in Oxfordshire, and that by a match with the daughter and heir of the family of Curtoys, or Curtis, he came into the possession of the lordship of Goldworthy in Devonshire, which was the ancient dwelling of the name of Gay for many descents.

[B] *Some proofs of the character for which he was formed by nature.* The principal of these is his *Rural Sports*, a Georgic. The poem is addressed to Mr Pope, who, in a letter to Mr Cromwell, dated Dec. 7. 1711 (2), having acknowledged the favour, takes notice of a play that our author had then upon the stocks, alluding, doubtless, to his comedy called *The Wife of Bath*, which was acted in 1714 at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, but with no success. It was then printed in 4to. He revised and altered it in 1729, when it was brought again upon the same stage, and met with the same bad reception. Dean Swift had no opinion of this second attempt, tho' Mr Pope had. 'I had never (says the Dean to Mr Gay) (3) much hopes of your vamped play, although Mr Pope seemed to have, and although it were ever so good. But you should have done like the parsons, and changed your text, I mean the title and the names of the persons. After all it was an effect of idleness, for you are in the prime of life, when invention and judgment go together.'

[C] *Secretary to the Duchess of Monmouth* This place furnished some recruits which were very seasonable. Mr Gay's purse was an unerring barometer of his spirits, and when these ran low, (tho' talkativeness was far from being his foible) the continual dread of a servile dependance filled his mouth too full of complaints. The Dean, as his manner was, deals very plainly with him on this head. 'I never charged you, says he, (4) for not talking, but the dubious state of your affairs in those days, was too much the subject.' This may serve as a fit contrast to the delicacy with which Mr Pope touches the same string on the present occasion. After many congratulations, he concludes his letter (5) thus: 'I shall see you this winter with much greater pleasure than I could the last, and I hope so much of your time, as your attendance on the Duchess will allow you to spare to any friend, will not be thought lost to one, who is as much so as any man. I must also put you in mind, tho' you are now secretary to this Lady, that you are secretary to nine other Ladies, and are to write sometimes for them too. *He who is forced to live wholly upon those Ladies favours, is indeed in as precarious a condition, as any He who does what Chaucer says for sustenance*; but they are very agreeable companions, like other ladies, when a man only passes a night or so with them at his leisure and away.'

[D] *A remarkable incident.* It was an affront which had been lately put upon Mr Pope by his great

rival in pastoral poetry, Mr Phillips: of this we have the following account, in a letter of Mr Pope to Mr Craggs, dated June 8. 1714 (6). 'The question you ask in relation to Mr Addison and Phillips, I shall answer in a few words. Mr Phillips did express himself with much indignation against me one evening at Button's coffee-house (as I was told), saying, that I was entered into a cabal with Dean Swift and others, to write against the Whig interest, and in particular to undermine his own reputation, and that of his friends Steele and Addison. But Mr Phillips never opened his lips to my face on this or any other like occasion, tho' I was almost every night in the same room with him, nor ever offered me any indecorum.' He then proceeds to relate Mr Addison's and Lord Halifax's kindness to him in procuring subscriptions to his translation of Homer's Iliad, and goes on thus: 'However Phillips did all he could secretly to continue the report with the Hanover club, and kept in his hands the subscriptions paid for me to him as secretary to that club.—It is to this management of Phillips, that the world owes Mr Gay's Pastorals.'

[E] *Shepherd's Week.* As there cannot be an instance given of greater friendship in an author, than is this undertaking by Mr Gay; so nothing could be sweeter than the success of it to Mr Pope; for although his Pastorals were allowed to excel in the Arcadian stile, yet those of his rival, formed upon Spencer's plan, had carried the prize; a true rural simplicity being generally esteemed the proper characteristic of the pastoral poem; but this rival had the mortification to see his garland blasted, at the appearance of Mr Gay's piece, which being found still more exquisitely pure in that taste, obtained far the loudest applause. Our author in the poem marks the defect of his predecessor, and in doing it gives a notable proof of his own perfection. 'Great marvel, says he, hath it been (and that not unworthily) to divers worthy wits, that in this our island of Britain, in all rare sciences so greatly abounding, more especially in all kinds of poesy highly flourishing, no poet, tho' otherwise of notable cunning in roundelays, hath hit on the right simple eclogue after the true ancient guise of Theocritus, before this mine attempt.—Certes such it becometh a pastoral to be, as nature in the country affordeth, and the manner also meetly copied from the rustical folk therein.' The following specimen will shew how perfectly he has executed this plan. It is the contest among the lovers for the prize of beauty to their respective mistresses.

*Lobbin Clout.*

' My Blouzalinda is the blithest lass!  
' Than primrose sweeter, or the clover grass.

' Fair is the king-cup that in meadow blows,  
' Fair is the daisy that beside her grows,

' Fair

(6) Ibid. Vol. 7.



(b) The Dean in 1722 calls this dedication Mr Gay's Original Sin against the Court. Pope's Works. Ibid. letter VI.

and printed it with a dedication to Lord Bolingbrooke (b), in 1714. The same year he resigned his post to the Ducheſs, being appointed to attend the Earl of Clarendon in the like character on an embaffy from Queen Anne to the Court of Hanover [F]. The Queen's death put an end to all his tow'ring hopes; however, upon his return home ſoon after, under the weight of that miſfortune, he was received with the warmeſt welcome by his never-failing friend abovementioned, who adviſed him withal to puſh the advantage which his laſt employ had given him of being perſonally known to the new Sovereign and his Family [G]. Accordingly he took the opportunity of making his court to the Princeſs of Wales (i), [afterwards Queen Caroline] on the arrival of her Royal Highneſs in England ſhortly after (k). This compliment was well received, and our author's Farce intitled *The What d' ye call it*, being brought upon the ſtage [H] before the end of the ſeaſon, both their

(i) See his Epiſtle to a Lady, occaſioned by the arrival of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Wales.

(k) She arrived with the two eldeſt Princeſſes, Oct. 13, 1714, and Mr Pope's advice, is dated Sept. 23.

- Fair is the gilliflow'r, of gardens ſweet,
- Fair is the marygold, for pottage meet;
- But Blouzalind's than gilliflow'r more fair,
- Than daiſy, marygold, or king-cup, rare.

*Cuddy.*

- My brown Buxoma is the feateſt maid
- That e'er at wake delightſome gambol play'd.
- Clean as young lambkins, or the goole's down,
- And like the gold-finch in her Sunday-gown;
- The witleſs lamb may ſport upon the plain,
- The friſking kid delight the gaping ſwain,
- The wanton calf may ſkip with many a bound,
- And my cur, Tray, play deſteſt feats around;
- But neither lamb, nor kid, nor calf, nor Tray,
- Dance like Buxoma on the fiſt of May.

*Lobbin Clout.*

- Sweet is my toil when Blouzalind is near,
- Of her bereſt, 'tis winter all the year;
- With her, no ſultry ſummer's heat I know;
- In winter, when ſhe's nigh, with love I glow:
- Come, Blouzalinda, eaſe thy ſwain's deſire,
- My ſummer's ſhadow, and my winter's fire.

The following lines from Mr Phillips on the like con-  
teſt, being ſet in this place, will bring the difference in-  
to full light.

- Mild as a lamb, and harmleſs as a dove,
- True as the turtle, is the maid I love;
- How we in ſecret love I ſhall not ſay;
- Divine her name, and I give up the day.

By this ſpecimen we ſee, that even in ſome places where this poet can't be charged with want of ſimplicity, though the character of the country is retained, yet it is evident, the true manner of the ruſtical folk therein is not *meetly* copied. In the former every thing is not only in character, but beautifully ſo. Thus Vandyke painted, ever copying nature with the moſt religious exactneſs, and ever ſhewing it beautiful. In the dedication, Mr Gay thus deſcribes his own dreſs at that time, when he was waiting for Court favours.

- I fold my ſheep and lambkins too
- For ſilver loops and garment blue. &c.

(7) dated Dec. 8, 1713, and inſerted in Lord Orrery's account of Swift. Letter V.

Mr Pope took an opportunity of touching upon this vanity in a very humorous letter to the Dean (7), who had with equal humour offered him twenty guineas to turn Proteſtant. This the former propoſes to do upon a ſubſcription proportionable to that of the Dean, but with certain conditions, one of which is, that a ſufficient ſum be advanced to purchaſe (according to the practice of the Romiſh Church) the ſalvation of the ſouls of ſome of his friends, amongſt whom he reckons Mr Gay. 'There is one —, ſays he, who will die within theſe few months, with one Jervas, who hath grievouſly offended in making the likeneſs of almoſt all things in Heaven above, and Earth below; and one Mr Gay, an unhappy youth, who writes Paſtorals during the time of divine ſervice, *whoſe caſe is the more deplorable, as he hath miſerably lavished away all that ſilver he ſhould have reſerved for his ſoul's health, in buttons and loops for his coat.*

[F] *An embaffy to the Court of Hanover.* The occaſion of this embaffy was, the demand that had been made by Baron Schutz, Envoy-extraordinary from the Elektor of Hanover, of a writ for ſummoning the Elektor Prince his preſent Majeſty, to ſit in the Houſe of Lords as Duke of Cambridge (8).

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(8) See more of this in the Earl of Halifax's Article.

[G] *Mr Pope received him with the warmeſt welcome, and adviſed him to puſh the advantage, &c.*

This letter is dated Sept. 23. 1714 (9), and begins thus: 'Dear Mr Gay, Welcome to your native ſoil, welcome to your friends, thrice welcome to me! whether returned in glory, bleſſ'd with Court-intereſt, the love and familiarity of the Great, and filled with agreeable hopes, or melancholy with dejection, contemplative of the change of fortune, and doubtful for the future; whether returned a triumphant Whig, or deſponding Tory, equally all hail! equally beloved, and welcome to me.—I know you will be an honeſt man, and an inoffenſive one;—incapable of being ſo much of either party, as to be good for nothing. Therefore once more, whatever you are, or in whatſoever ſtate you are, all hail!' After apologizing for not having written to Mr Gay while abroad, on account of the talk he had ſet himſelf in carrying on the tranſlation of Homer, which was now finiſhed, he continues in the ſame vein as before. 'Rejoice with me, O my friend, that my labour is over; come and make merry with me in much feaſting. We will feed among the lilies (10) (by the lilies, I mean the ladies). Are not the Roſalindaes of Britain, as charming as the Blouzalindaes of the Hague? Or, have the two great paſtoral poets of our nation renounced love at the ſame time? For Phillips, immortal Phillips! hath deſerted, yea, and in a ruſtic manner kicked his Roſalind.' Mr Pope writes this letter from Bath, whither giving his friend this hearty invitation, 'Talk not of expences, Homer ſhall ſupport his children.' He concludes thus: 'Pardon me if I add a word of advice in the poetical way. Write ſomething on the King, or Prince, or Princeſs. On whatſoever foot you may be with the Court, this can do no harm.'

[H] *The What d' ye call it was brought upon the ſtage* He called it a tragi-comi-paſtoral farce. It has been always eſteemed a maſter-piece of our author, and the tide of party, which ran extremely high at this time, threw out many curious remarks upon it to his no ſmall diverſion, as is ſeen in ſome letters to Mr Congreve. In one of which dated March 19. 1714-15 (11), he writes thus: 'The farce of the What d' ye call it has occaſioned many different ſpeculations in the town, ſome looking upon it as a meer jeſt upon the tragic poets, others as a ſatire upon the late war; Mr Cromwell hearing none of the words †, and ſeeing the action to be tragical, was much aſtoniſhed to find the audience laugh, and ſays the Prince and Princeſs muſt doubtleſs be under no ſmall amazement on the ſame account. Several Templers, and others of the more vociferous kind of critics, went with a reſolution to hiſs, and confeſſed they were forced to laugh ſo much, that they forgot the deſign they came with. The Court in general has in a very particular manner come into the jeſt, and the three firſt nights (notwithſtanding two of them were Court nights) were diſtinguiſhed by very full audiences of the firſt quality. The common people of the pit and gallery received it at firſt with great gravity and ſedateness, ſome few with tears; but after the third day they alſo took the hint, and have ever ſince been very loud in their claps. There are ſtill ſome ſober men, who cannot be of the general opinion; but the laughs are ſo much the majority, that one or two critics ſeem deter- mined to undeceive the town at their proper coſt by writing grave diſſertations againſt it. To encourage them in this laudable deſign, it is reſolved, a preface ſhall be prefixed to the farce in vindication of the nature

(9) It is in the 8th Vol. of Mr Pope's Works.

(10) This may perhaps allude to the following lines in Phillips's Paſtorals. Breathe ſoft, ye Winds, ye Waters, gently flow, Shield her, ye trees, ye flowers around her grow. Ye ſwains, I beg you paſs in ſilence by, My Love in yonder vale aſleep does lie. Compare theſe with Canticles. Ch. xi. 5. In this view Mr Pope's tranſlation is beautiful.

(11) In Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

† By reaſon of his deafneſs.



(7) The Princess of Wales was delivered of a young Prince, Nov. 20, 1717. And Mr Pope in a letter dated the 8th of that month gives him joy of this Prince, because says he he is the only Prince from

their Royal Highnesses honoured it with their presence. The very kind reception, he met with from persons of the first distinction at this time, filled him with the fond hopes of more substantial favours [I]; and the failure of these (I) made too deep an impression upon his tender nature, which upon that account was but ill suited to the wavering state of a slender fortune. To divert this melancholy, Mr Pulteney (m) took our author in company with him to Aix [K] in France in the year 1717, and the following year he was invited by Lord Harcourt to his seat in Oxfordshire [L]. In 1720 he published his poems

(m) He was then out of favour at Court, having resigned his place of Secretary at War the April before. Salmon's Chronol. Historian, in the Year 1717.

by

(12) This was executed with incomparable humour.

(13) Pope's Works, ubi supra

(14) This humour in the character of Timothy Peasecod was imitated in a Poem called the Horn-back, published in 1733.

(15) Mr Gay published another Farce called the Mockers, but it was never acted.

(16) Mr Cibber tells us, it was very ill received, if not condemned, the first night. Lives of the Poets, Vol. 4. edit. 1733.

(17) In Pope's Works, Vol. 8.

(18) In this play two Lovers of a Virtuoso's wife to gain access to her, got themselves sent to the husband as two rarities in the forms of an Egyptian Mummy and a Crocodile.

(19) In a short advertisement prefixed to the play.

(20) It was acted at Drury-Lane in 1717.

(21) In his first letter to Mr Pope published in 1742.

'nature and dignity of this new way of writing (12).' Accordingly there came out soon after, *A compleat Key to the What d' ye call it*, which was written by one Griffin, a player, assisted by Lewis Theobald. Upon this Mr Gay, in a letter to Mr Congreve, dated April seventh 1715 (13), makes the following remarks: 'There is a sixpenny pamphlet lately published upon the tragedy of the *What d' ye call it*, wherein he with much judgment and learning, calls me a block-head, and Mr. Pope a knave. His grand charge is against the Pilgrim's Progress (14), which, he says, is directly levelled at Cato's reading Plato. To back this censure, he goes on to tell you, that the pilgrim's being mentioned to be the eighth edition, makes the reflection evident, the tragedy of Cato having just eight times (as he quaintly expresses it) visited the press. He has also endeavoured to shew, that every particular passage of the play leads to some fine part of that tragedy, which he says I have injudiciously and profoundly abused.' *The What d' ye call it* (15) was also attacked by Mr (afterwards Judge) Burnet, in one of his papers called the Grumbler.

[I] Filled him with the hopes of more substantial favours.] It was in this flow of spirits, that the *Three hours after marriage* was brought upon the stage, and he bore the ill success (16) of it very manfully, as is evident from the following letter (17). 'Dear Pope, too late I see and confess myself mistaken in relation to the comedy; yet I do not think, had I followed your advice, and only introduced the mummy, that the absence of the crocodile (18) had saved it. I cannot help laughing myself (though the vulgar do not consider, that it was designed to look very ridiculous) to think, how the poor monitor and mummy were dashed at their reception; and when the cry was loudest, that if the thing had been wrote by another, I should have deemed the Town in some measure mistaken: and, as to your apprehension that this may do us any future injury, do not think it. The Doctor has a more valuable name than can be hurt by any thing of this nature, and your's is doubly safe. I will (if any shame there be) take it all to myself, as indeed I ought, the motion being first mine, and never heartily approved of by you. As to what your early enemy said at the Duke of Dorset's, and Mr Pulteney's, you will live to prove him a false prophet, as you have already a liar, and a flatterer, and a poet in flight of nature. Whether I shall do so or no, you can best tell; for with the continuance of your dear friendship and assistance, never yet withheld from me, I dare promise as much.

I beg of you not to suffer this or any thing else to hurt your health. As I have publicly said, that I was assisted by two friends (19), I shall still continue in the same story, professing obstinate silence about Dr Arbuthnot and yourself. I am going to-morrow to Hampton-court for a week notwithstanding the badness of the weather; where, though I am to mix with Quality, I shall see nothing half so engaging as you, my dear friend. I am (not at all cast down) your sincere friend,

JOHN GAY.

The satire of this play seems to be levelled at Dr Woodward in the character of Fossile, which was admirably represented by the best comedian of that time in his style of acting Mr Johnson, as was that of Mrs Fossile by Mrs Oldfield (20); but no advantage in the acting was able to support it. How greatly Mr Pope interested himself in it's reception, we are informed by Mr Cibber (21), who likewise tells us he had a fling at it in the character of Bays, when the Rehearsal was acted soon after. Thus upon the coming of the two Kings of Brentford from the clouds into the throne

again, instead of what his part-directed, he said. *Now, Sir, this revolution I had some thoughts of introducing by a quite different contrivance; but my design taking air, some of your sharp wits I found had made use of it before me; otherwise I intended to have stolen one of them in the shape of a mummy, and t'other in that of a crocodile.* This was so much resented by Mr Pope, that, after the play, coming behind the scenes in an extraordinary agitation of spirits, he fell upon the actor in very foul language; and Mr Cibber's persisting in the same insult several succeeding nights, is assigned by him for the first cause of Mr Pope's persecuting him with his pen ever afterwards.

[K] He was taken by Mr Pulteney to Aix.] He had been entertained the year before with a visit to his own country [Devonshire] at the expence of the Earl of Burlington, and had repaid his Lordship with a humorous account of the journey (22). He made the same return for this succeeding favour of Mr Pulteney. This jaunting about with some decent appointments, was one of the sweetest pleasures of his life, and never failed of provoking his muse. However, Dr Swift rallies the foible with his usual kind severity. 'I wish (says he to him in 1729) you had a little villakin in his [Pope's] neighbourhood; but you are yet too volatile, and any Lady with a coach and six horses, would carry you to Japan.' The same foible comes again cross the Dean's mind in 1732, when he writes thus to his friend. 'I find by the whole cast of your letter, that you are as giddy and as volatile as ever, just the reverse of Mr Pope, who hath always loved a domestic life from his youth. I was going to wish you had some little place that you could call your own; but I profess I do not know you well enough to contrive any one system of life that would please you. You pretend to preach up riding and walking to the Dukes; yet, from my knowledge of you after twenty years, you always joined a violent desire of perpetually shifting places and company, with a rooted laziness, and an utter impatience of fatigue. A coach and six horses is the utmost exercise you can bear, and this only when you can fill it with such company as is best suited to your taste (23).'

[L] He went to Stanton-Harcourt, in Oxfordshire.] Here an unfortunate accident again engaged his muse jointly with Mr Pope; of this he sent an account to Mr Elijah Fenton in a letter (24), soon after it had happened. 'The only news, says he, that you can expect to have from me here, is news from Heaven; for I am quite out of the world, and there is scarce any thing can reach me, except the noise of thunder.' Upon that subject he proceeds (in contrast to Horace) to acquaint his friend, that Blenheim stood untouched in the neighbourhood, while a cock of barley in the next field to them, was consumed to ashes. 'Would to God, continues he, that this heap of barley had been all that had perished! For, unhappily beneath this little shelter, sat two much more constant lovers, than ever were found in romance under the shade of a beech-tree. John Hewet was a well-set man, of about five-and-twenty. Sarah Drew might be rather called comely than beautiful, and was about the same age. They had passed through the various labours of the year together with the greatest satisfaction; if she milked, it was his morning and evening care to bring the cows to her hand; it was but last fair, that he bought her a present of green silk for her straw-hat, and the posy on her silver ring was of his choosing. Their love was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; for scandal never affirmed, that they had any other views, than the lawful possession of each other in marriage. It was that very morning, that he had obtained the consent of her parents, and it was but till the next week they were to wait to be happy. Perhaps in the intervals of their work, they were now talking

(22) It is called *A Journey to Exeter*, in an Epistle to that Lord.

(23) Letter 49, and 57. in Pope's Works, Vol. 9. edit. 1742.

(24) It is dated August 3, 1718, and the lightning fell the last day of July. Ibid. Vol. 8.



by subscription with good success (*n*), but this was presently damped by the misfortune he had of being involved in the general calamity which happened [*M*] that remarkable year. So that by degrees he fell into such an utter dependency as, being attended with the cholic, brought his life in danger. In this unhappy condition he removed for the benefit of the air in 1722 to Hampstead, where he received some very tender proofs of Mr Pope's affection [*N*]. Recovering from this disorder, he finished, in 1724, his tragedy called *the Captives*; which being honoured with a particular mark of favour from her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales (*o*), he was further encouraged to write a set of fables [*O*] in verse, for the use of the

(*n*) See his Epistle to Mr M. then, quoted above.

(*o*) Viz. that of hearing him read it to her in the manuscript.

Duke

' talking of their wedding-cloaths, and John was sowing several sorts of poppies and field flowers to her complexion to chuse her knot for the wedding-day. While they were thus busied (it was on the last of July, between two and three in the afternoon) the clouds grew black, and such a storm of lightning and thunder ensued, that all the labourers made the best of their way to what shelter the trees and hedges afforded. Sarah was frightened, and fell down in a swoon on a heap of barley; John, who never separated from her, sat down by her, having raked together two or three heaps, the better to secure her from the storm. Immediately there was heard so loud a crack, as if Heaven had split asunder: every one was now solicitous for the safety of his neighbour, and called to one another throughout the field. No answer being returned to those who called to our lovers, they stepped to the place where they lay; they perceived the barley all in a flame, and then 'spied this faithful pair, John with one arm about Sarah's neck, and the other held over her as to screen her from the lightning. They were struck dead, and stiffened in this tender posture. Sarah's left eye-brow was singed, and there appeared a black spot on her breast; her lover was all over black, but not the least signs of life were found in either. Attended by their melancholy companions, they were conveyed to the town, and the next day were interred in Stanton-Harcourt church-yard. My Lord Harcourt, at Mr Pope's and my request, has caused a stone to be placed over them, upon condition that we furnished the epitaph, which is as follows:

When eastern lovers feed the fun'ral fire,  
On the same pile the faithful pair expire.  
Here pitying Heav'n that virtue mutual found,  
And blasted both, that it might neither wound.  
Hearts so sincere th' Almighty saw well pleas'd,  
Sent his own light'ning, and the victims seiz'd.

It is thus our poet entertained his friends when he was properly himself, which ought to be remembered in reading the remark of a noble author (25), who, speaking of Mr Gay's letters to Dr Swift, observes, 'they have nothing in them striking, or commendatory, and his sentiments only those of an honest, good-natured man:' it will presently appear that in that correspondence we never see him but in an ill state of health, and under some dejection of spirits; besides, it is allowed he had an awful regard of the Dean as his father, it might have been said, as his preceptor.

[*M*] *Involvement in the calamity of that year.* No body will be surprized that a person of Mr Gay's turn was caught in the alluring snare that was laid at this time by the projectors of the South-Sea scheme. He had the ill luck to be possessed of as much original stock as swelled to the imaginary value of about ten thousand pounds. Upon which, Mr Pope and Mr Fenton, with others, not a little delighted with the prospect of seeing their friend settled in an independent fortune, so indispensably necessary to support his spirit in cheerfulness, were very assiduous in urging him to sell: he gave them an absolute denial, and even treated the advice (as thousands did at that time) with an air of disdain. Then they endeavoured to prevail on him at least to let as much stock go, as would raise wherewithal to purchase an annuity of one hundred pounds for his life; observing to him, that by this means he would be placed out of the reach of want, and be sure of a clean shirt and a shoulder of mutton every day (26). It was further added, that this prudent step was very consistent with any higher views which might possibly arise, since the remainder was enough to give him still a considerable

hand in the play, of which he would also wait the event with much less anxiety after this necessary provision; but all this preaching, however sound the doctrine, was given to the winds. Their friend was seized with the general new spirit of prophecy of much greater things than they simply talked of, and all this while lived suitably to that prospect; nor was this spirit quenched, but in the general inundation that presently broke the charm, and stripped poor Gay even of the small pittance of his original stock. This original stock seems to be the thousand pounds, about the disposal of which we are told (27) our author had a consultation with his friends, when Mr Lewis Lord Oxford's steward advised him to intrust it to the funds, and live upon the interest; Dr Arbuthnot to intrust it to providence, and live upon the principal; and Mr Pope was for purchasing an annuity for life; *fecisti probe*, says the author of this story, *incertior sum multo quam dudum* †. Dr Swift, who was also for his buying an annuity, having received no agreeable answer, in reply thereto tells him, *You are the most refractory, honest, good-natured man I ever knew* (28).

[*N*] *He received some tender proofs of Mr Pope's affection.* Mr Pope's mother lying very ill at this time hindered him from visiting his friend in person, he therefore wrote to him in the following most affectionate terms: 'In the afflicting prospect before me, I know nothing that can so much alleviate it, as the view now given me (heaven grant it may increase) of your recovery—May your health augment as fast as I fear her's must decline; I believe that would be very fast—May the life that is added to you be passed in good fortune and tranquillity, rather from your own giving to yourself, than from any expectations or trust in others—May you and I live together without wishing more felicity or acquisitions than friendship can give and receive, without obligations to greatness.

' P. S. As I told you in my last letter, I repeat it in this; do not think of writing to me. The Doctor, Mrs Howard, and Mrs Blount, give me daily accounts of you.'

In another letter he expresses himself thus: 'No words can tell you the great concern I feel for you; I assure you it was not, and is not lessened, by the immediate apprehension I have now every day lain under of losing my mother. Be assured no duty less than that should have kept me one day from attending your condition. I would come and take a room by you at Hampstead to be with you daily, were she not still in danger of death. I have constantly had particular accounts of you from the doctor, which have not ceased to alarm me. God preserve your life, and restore your health. I really beg it for my own sake, for I feel I love you more than I thought in health, though I always loved you a great deal.' He then made a proposal to attend him to the southern parts, as soon as he should recover strength enough for the journey; and concludes thus: 'Dear Gay, be as cheerful as your sufferings will permit: God is a better friend than a Court; even any honest man is better. I promise you my entire friendship in all events, heartily praying for your recovery.

' P. S. Do not write if you are ever so able; the doctor tells me all (29).'

[*O*] *Encouraged to write a set of fables.* Dean Swift, who informs us that our author was promised a reward for this piece, intimates likewise his opinion how that promise came to put on the face of an affront. 'It must be allowed, says the Dean (30), speaking of the Beggar's Opera, this is not the first of Mr Gay's works wherein he hath been faulty with respect to courtiers and statesmen; for to omit his other pieces, even

(27) By Mr Warburton in a note to Letter XXIXth in Vol. 9. of Pope's Works, edit. 1753.

† Well done; you have hung me more upon the tenters than before.

(28) Ibid.

(25) Lord Orrery in his account of the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, Letter the XXth.

(26) That was the Expression of Mr Fenton, from whom we had the account of this particular.

(29) These two Letters are in Vol. 8. of Pope's Works, without a date.

(30) The Intelligencer, No. III. p. 23. published in 1729.



(p) This was against Mr Pope's advice. See Remark [U].

(q) Viz. in the beginning of November 1727.

Duke of Cumberland; these he published in 1726, with a suitable dedication to that Prince (p), who was then very young. Upon the accession of his present Majesty to the Crown the following year, in settling Queen Caroline's Household, the Post of Gentleman-Usher to the youngest Princess Louisa, was marked out for Mr Gay; but he declined the offer as unworthy of him [P], and his famous Beggar's Opera [Q] appeared upon the stage early in the ensuing season (q). The unparalleled success of that piece induced him to carry on the plan in a second part, which being excluded the theatre by the Lord Chamberlain [R], our author thought proper to print it by subscription, and the

'even in his fables, published within two years past, and dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, for which he was promised a reward, he hath been thought somewhat too bold upon courtiers.'

(31) See Letter xxviii. in Pope's Works, Vol. 9. edit. Warb.

(32) The Dean in answer is very merry upon his excuse to the Queen, and observes that Oliver Cromwell did not begin to appear till he was older, Letter xxix.

(33) This Letter is dated, Oct. 6, 1727. See Ibid. Vol. 8.

(34) See his Verses to Dr Delany, occasioned by his Epistle to his Excellency, John Lord Carteret.

[P] He declined the offer as unworthy of him.] Our author gives an account of this matter to his last mentioned friend (31), intimating the excuse he had made in a letter to her Majesty, was his being too far advanced in life. 'So, continues he, now all my expectations are vanished, and I have no prospect but in depending wholly upon myself, and my own conduct. As I am used to disappointments, I can bear them; but, as I can have no more hopes, I can no more be disappointed; so that I am in a blessed condition (32). These last words are an echo of those which had been sent him on this occasion by Mr Pope, who writes thus: I have many years ago magnified in my own mind, and repeated to you a ninth Beatitude, added to the eight in Scripture, 'Blessed is he who expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed.'—He afterwards declares his approbation of the excuse sent by Lord Grantham to the Queen, and concludes in these remarkable terms: 'Dear Gay, adieu! I can add a plain uncourtly speech, While you are no-body's servant, you may be any one's friend; and as such I embrace you in all conditions of life. While I have a shilling, you shall have six-pence, nay, eight-pence, if I can contrive to live upon a groat (33). The Dean, two years afterwards, revenged his cause in the following lines (34).'

Thus Gay the hare with many friends,  
Twice seven long years at Court attends;  
Who under tales conveying truth  
To virtue form'd a princely youth;  
Who paid his courtship with the crowd,  
As far as modish pride allow'd;  
Rejects a servile usher's place,  
And leaves St James's in disgrace.

[Q] His famous Beggar's Opera.] This piece was received with greater applause than was ever known. Besides being acted in London 63 days without interruption, and renewed the next season with equal applause, it spread into all the great towns of England, was play'd in many places to the 30th and 40th time, at Bath and Bristol 50, &c. It made its progress into Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, where it was performed 24 days successively. The Ladies carried about with them the favourite songs of it in fans, and houses were furnished with it in screens. The fame of it was not confined to the author only. The person who acted Polly, 'till then obscure, became all at once the favourite of the town: her pictures were engraved, and sold in great numbers; her life written, books of letters and verses to her published, and pamphlets made even of her sayings and jests. Furthermore, it drove out of England (for that season) the Italian Opera, which had carried all before it for ten years (35). Dr Swift attributes (36) this unprecedented, and almost incredible success, to a peculiar merit in the performance, wherein what we call the point of humour is exactly hit; a point, he observes, 'which whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a great majority; and which in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to wit, if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it.' The Dean likewise remarks, that in this piece the author 'bath by a turn of humour, entirely new placed vices of all kinds in the strongest and most odious light, and thereby done eminent service both to religion and morality.' He then proceeds to vindicate this assertion, by examining the several particulars; after which, upon the whole, he concludes, that 'nothing but servile attachment to a

'party, affectation of singularity, lamentable dulness, mistaken zeal, or studied hypocrisy, can have the least reasonable objection against this excellent moral performance.'

This, it must be owned, was to the purpose, since the Beggar's Opera lay most exposed on the side of morality, and was at that time warmly attacked from the pulpit (37). Another method to ruin its character on that account, was taken by Mr Colley Cibber, who introduced on the stage a rival piece drawn upon the same general plan, where none but virtuous characters were exhibited. But let the author himself tell us the fate of this attempt: 'After the vast success, says he (38), of that new species of dramatic poetry, the Beggar's Opera, the year following I was so stupid as to attempt something of the same kind upon a quite different foundation, that of recommending virtue and innocence, which I ignorantly thought might not have a less pretence to favour, than setting greatness and authority in a contemptible, and the most vulgar vice and wickedness in an amiable light. But behold how fondly I was mistaken! *Love in a Riddle*, for so my new-fangled performance was called, was as vilely damn'd and hooted at, as so vain a presumption in the idle cause of virtue could deserve.—Yet this, continues Mr Cibber, is not what I complain of. I will allow my poetry to have been as much below the other, as taste or criticism can sink it. I will grant likewise, that the applauded author of the Beggar's Opera had in that piece more skilfully gratified the public taste, than all the brightest authors that ever writ before him; and I have sometimes thought, from the modesty of his motto, *Nos hæc novimus esse nihil* (39), that he gave them that performance as a satire on the depravity of their judgment, (as Ben Johnson of old was said to have given his *Bartholomew-fair* in ridicule of the vulgar taste which had disliked his *Sejanus*), and by artfully seducing them to be the champions of the immoralities he detested, he should be amply revenged on their former severity and ignorance (40). This were indeed a triumph which the author of Cato might have envied. Cato, 'tis true, succeeded; but reached not by full forty days the progress and applause of the Beggar's Opera. Will it however, admit of a question, Which of the two compositions a good writer would rather wish to have been the author of? Yet on the other side, must we not allow, that to have taken a whole nation, high and low, into a general applause, has shewn a power in poetry, which (though often attempted in the same kind) none but this one author could ever yet arrive at.' Thus did Mr Cibber strain his voice against the Beggar's Opera in 1740, but all in vain. We have seen that deathless performance since flourish as before, and succeeding Pollies make their fortunes by it.

[R] Excluded the stage by the Lord Chamberlain.] The title of it is *Polly, or a second part of the Beggar's Opera*. To conceive an idea of the ferment raised by this suppression, we must compare what our author says, with what we are told by Mr Cibber. The first intimates (41) that it had been given him by some as a reason for the prohibition, that he had written many disaffected libels, and seditious pamphlets; by others, that particularly in this piece he had been charged with writing immoralities; that it was filled with slander and calumny against some particular great persons, and that Majesty itself was endeavoured to be brought into ridicule and contempt. In answer to the first, he protests his innocence, and solemnly declares his loyalty; for the rest, he appeals to the play, which he gives as the reason of printing it. Here we perceive how high the tide ran at Court. In the next place, Mr Cibber will tell us, what an uproar was raised in the town: 'Vast numbers, says he (42), were the speculations upon this act

(37) Particularly by the present Archbishop of Canterbury then preacher at Lincoln's Inn.

(38) In his Apology for his own Life, p. 142, 3. 8vo. edit. 1740.

(39) This instance of his modesty is not forgotten by the author of the above-cited note to the Dunciad.

(40) In condemning some of his former plays.

(41) In the Preface to Polly.

(42) In his Apology, &c. p. 144. ubi supra.

(35) See Notes to verse 326 of Pope's Dunciad, book III.

(36) In the Intelligence, ubi supra.



the advantage he made of it that way, might well be deemed a sufficient ballance for any supposed damage from the prohibition; especially as he was taken immediately into the protection of the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, who made his case their own (r), and used him with an uncommon degree of kindness. But these extraordinary favours, besides the heartening reflections which the new eclat of his poetical fame must needs inspire, assisted too with the diversions that were affectionately suggested by Mr Pope [S], and the constant lessons with equal affection inculcated by Dr Swift [T], all put together, were not able intirely to remove a certain painful sense of his ill fortune at Court, *be-rebat lateri letbalis arundo*. In a little time he relapsed into his old distemper the cholic (s), after which he lived, or rather languished the remainder of his days under an incurable dejection of spirits [U], residing mostly at Amesbury, a seat of his noble Patron's, near Stone-henge upon Salisbury-plain. In so sweet a retirement he was not without some chearful intervals, which he still enjoyed in the company of his muse (t). In the winter seasons he came with the family to London, and was at their house in Burlington-gardens, when he was suddenly seized with a violent inflammatory fever, which in three days put a period to his life [W], on the 4th of December, 1732. After a very decent funeral solemnity [X] his body was interred on the 23d of that month, in the south cross-isle over against Chaucer's tomb in Westminster-Abbey, where a handsome monument is erected to his memory by the just-mentioned illustrious persons, with an inscription by Mr Pope, to which we must refer for his character [Y]. He died intestate,

(r) They both quitted the Court on this occasion.

(s) See a letter to him from Mr. Pope, 23 Oct. 1730.

(t) Besides revising the *White of Bath*, he composed some more Fables, which were added to a new edition printed soon after his death, as also the *Opera of Achilles*.

act of power. Some thought that the author, others that the town was hardly dealt with; a third sort, who perhaps had envied him the success of his first part, affirmed when it was printed, that whatever the intention might be, the fact was in his favour; that he had been a greater gainer by subscriptions to his copy, than he could have been by a bare theatrical representation. He then goes on to tell us, how greatly he suffered by this ferment. 'Soon after this prohibition, my performance was to come upon the stage, at a time when many people were out of humour at the late disappointment, and seemed willing to lay hold of any pretence of making a reprisal. Great umbrage was taken that I was permitted to have the whole Town to myself, by this absolute forbiddance of what they had more mind to have been entertained with. And some few days before my bawble was acted, I was informed, that a strong party would be made against it. Accordingly *Love in a Riddle* was assassinated. Indeed it held up its head a second day, and would have spoke for mercy, but was not suffered.—Not even the presence of a royal Heir apparent could protect it.

[S] *The diversions suggested by Mr Pope.* Among others, he proposed the royal hermitage (built by the Queen in Richmond Gardens) as a good occasion for Mr Gay to try his muse upon; urging, that it was expected from him by several of his friends. One should not bear in mind, continues he, all one's life, any little indignity one receives from a Court. But all this dear friend's arguments availed nothing; he answers them all, and concludes, that he *knew* himself unworthy of Royal Patronage (43).

[T] *The lessons of Dr Swift.* Almost every letter the Dean wrote to him at that time had some instance of these pointed kindnesses. Lord Orrery (44), in his remarks on these letters between Swift and Gay, having observed, that the latter loved the former to a degree of veneration, and that the friendship was returned with great sincerity, concludes, that 'Swift writes to him [Gay] in the same strain as he would have written to a son, and seems to distinguish him as the correspondent to whom he had not the least grain of reserve.'

[U] *He languished under an incurable dejection of spirits.* The whole series of the letters between him and his two (so often mentioned) friends, affords a melancholy proof of this truth. The following extract (45) will be sufficient to produce for a sample. 'Dear Mr Pope, My melancholy increases, and every hour threatens me with some return of my distemper; nay, I think I may rather say, I have it on me. Not the divine looks, the kind favours and expressions of the divine Duchess, who hereafter shall be in place of a Queen to me, nay she shall be my Queen, nor the inexpressible goodness of the Duke, can in the least cheer me. The drawing-room no more receives light from these two stars. There is now (what Milton says is in Hell) darkness visible.—O that I had never known what a Court was! Dear Pope, what a barren soil (to

me so) have I been striving to produce something out of! Why did I not take your advice, before my writing fables for the Duke, not to write them, or rather to write them for some young Nobleman? It is my very hard fate, I must get nothing, write for them, or against them.'

[W] *Put a period to his life* He was attended by two physicians, besides Dr Arbuthnot, who thought him irrecoverable from the beginning, and that it ended in a mortification of his bowels. The Doctor observes, it was the most precipitate case he ever knew. Hence it is that Mr Pope (46) calls it an unexpected death; it could be so to him only in that view (47), since Mr Gay had prepared him for it in several letters. After a Somersetshire journey, in the preceding summer, for his health, he writes (48), that he was little better for it, and began to fear the illness he had so long and so often complained of, inherent in his constitution; and concludes, that he had nothing for it but patience. In another letter he expresses himself in the following terms:—'I find myself in such a strange confusion, and depression of spirits, that I have not strength even to make my will; though I perceive, by many warnings, I have no continuing city here. I begin to look upon myself as one already dead, and desire my dear Mr Pope, whom I love as my own soul, if you survive me, as you certainly will, if a stone should mark the place of my grave, see these words put upon it.

'Life is a jest, and all things show it:  
'I thought so once, but now I know it.

'With what you may think proper. If any body should ask, how I could communicate this after death? Let it be known, it is not meant so, but my present sentiments in life (49). What the bearer brings beside this letter, should I die without a will, which I am the likelier to do, as the law will settle my small estate much as I should myself, let it remain with you, as it has long done with me, a remembrance of a dead friend. But there is none like you, living or dead (50).'

[X] *After a very decent funeral solemnity.* His body was brought by the company of Upholders from the Duke of Queensberry's, to Exeter Change in the Strand; whence, after lying in very decent state, it was drawn in a hearse trimmed with plumes of black and white feathers, attended with three mourning coaches and six horses to Westminster-Abbey, at eight o'clock in the evening, on Dec. 23. The pall was supported by the Earl of Chesterfield, Lord Viscount Cornbury, the Hon. Mr Berkeley, General Dormer, Mr Gore, and Mr Pope; the service being performed by the present Dean, Dr Wilcox, Bishop of Rochester, the Choir attending (51).

[Y] *His character.* It would be tedious to insert an inscription so well known. We shall only take notice, that the last line in the poetical part was written at first thus, *Striking their aching bosoms—here lies Gay*; but upon Dr Swift's admonition of the cacophony in the two participles, Mr Pope altered it as it now

(51) See Mr Gay's Life printed in 1733.

(43) These two Letters are dated, in 1732. See Pope's Works, Vol. 9.

(44) In his Account of the Life and Writings of Dr Swift, &c. Letter xx.

(45) From a letter in Pope's Works, as above.

(46) In a Letter to Swift the 62d, Vol. 9. of his Works, edit. 1742.

(47) It was far from being so to Dr Swift, as appears from his remarkable indorsement to the above Letter, viz. On my dear friend Mr Gay's death, received Dec. 15, but not read till the 20th by an impulse foreboding some misfortune.

(48) In a Letter dated Oct. 7, 1732.

(49) In this light the objection against the double rhyme has less weight.

(50) See Pope's Works, Vol. 9.



(u) About 3000 l.  
(w) See Remark [U].

so that his fortune, which was not large (u), fell (as he desired it should) (w) to his two widow sisters (x). The week before his death he gave the play-house his opera called *Achilles*, which was acted soon after with applause [Z]. Since this there came out a comedy, said to be written by him, called *the Distressed Wife*, the second edition of which was printed in 1750; and very lately his name has appeared to a humorous piece with this title, *The Rehearsal at Goatham*.

(x) Katharine and Joanna, the first was the relict of Mr Baller, and the other of Mr Fortescue. See the dedication to his Life in 1733, 8vo.

(52) See Letter, 66 in Vol. 9. of Pope's Works edit. 1742.  
(53) See Mr Gay's Life in his Lives of the Poets.  
(54) In Book III. lines 149, 150, first edition.

stands (52). His friend's moral character is here finely drawn, and perhaps he was the more solicitous to exert himself on that head, as it had been grossly misrepresented, particularly by Mr Jacob (53), which procured him a place in the *Dunciad* (54).

[Z] *Achilles was acted with applause.* The profits of it were given to his sisters (55). It was very assiduously patroniz'd by the Duke of Queensberry, who, Mr Pope observes, acted more than the part of a brother to our au-

thor. His papers fell partly into Mr Pope's hands; who, for as much as did so, no doubt took care (as he promised Dr Swift) to suppress things unworthy of him; but he expresses his concern in regard to the rest, which were at the discretion of the administrators, whose partiality he was afraid of (56). Upon the whole, his account does by no means lessen the authenticity of those few pieces mentioned above, which have been published in Mr Gay's name, since his death.

(55) So says Mr Theoph. Cibber in the Life of Gay, Vol. 4. of the Poets Lives.

(56) See Letter 64, in Vol. 9. of his Works 1742, as also Letters 65, and 67.

GELLIBRAND [HENRY] a very able Mathematician, a learned Writer, and Astronomy Professor in Gresham College in the XVIIth century. He was the grandson of John Gellibrand, who resided, and who died at St Paul's-Cray in Kent, Nov. 25. 1588. and the son of Mr Henry Gellibrand some time Fellow of All-Souls College in Oxford, who marrying and settling at the place before mentioned, died there August 15, 1615 (a). This Henry of whom we are treating, was the eldest of his five sons, and a native of the City of London, being born in the Parish of St Botolph Aldersgate, Nov. 17, 1597 (b). The same year that his father died, he was admitted a Commoner of Trinity College in Oxford, being then in his eighteenth year. He took his degree of Bachelor of Arts Nov. 25, 1619, at which time, as Wood tells us in his blunt manner, he was esteemed to have no great matter in him (c); but happening to hear one of Sir Henry Savile's Mathematical Lectures, either by pure accident, or to save the sconce of a groat if he had been absent, he was so much taken with it, that he applied himself immediately to that noble science (d). This tho' treated as a wonder by Anthony Wood, is no more than what fell out to Des Chales, Paschal, and other eminent mathematicians. Our author pursued this study with so much vigour, that before he took his degree of Master of Arts, which was May 26, 1623, he was distinguished, and esteemed for his great knowledge therein, both in the University, and at London. To the first perhaps his making a dial, which yet remains on the east side of the old quadrangle of Trinity College might contribute, and the latter in a great measure arose from his intimate acquaintance with the celebrated Mr Henry Briggs, and other able mathematicians, who flourished at that time (e). He was, while Bachelor of Arts, curate of Chidringstone in Kent, but it is probable resigned it that he might pursue his mathematical studies with the greater freedom. Upon the death of the ingenious Mr Edmund Gunter, December 10, 1620. Mr Briggs encouraged our young mathematician to become a candidate for his Professorship at Gresham College (f). Upon this occasion he had a certificate from the Rector of that parish, in which he had officiated as curate, and from others of the Clergy in Kent, in respect to his learning and piety; and another from the President, Vice-President, and Fellows of Trinity College in Oxford, which is conceived in very strong terms, and acknowledges not only his assiduity in his studies, but his great frankness in the communication of knowledge, as also his disinterestedness in contenting himself with his own little patrimony, that the pursuit of preferment might prove no detriment to his studies. In all probability these papers had great weight since within a few days after, viz. January 2, 1626, he was elected Astronomy Professor (g). He lived from that time as he had done before in a close intimacy with Mr Henry Briggs, who took great pleasure in communicating to him his mathematical notions and discoveries, and at the time of his decease he recommended to Mr Gellibrand the perfecting and publishing a large book, which he did not live to finish (h). Some time after this, one William Beale, who was Mr Gellibrand's servant, published, with his master's knowledge and consent, an Almanack for the year 1631, in which the saints names usually put were omitted, and the names of other saints and martyrs mentioned in Mr Fox's book were placed in their room, for which Mr Gellibrand was brought into some trouble (i) [A]. This might very probably retard the publication of the *BRITISH TRIGONOMETRY*, which as he had undertaken to perfect at the request of Mr Briggs, so there wanted not several other eminent persons who pressed him very much upon the same head to whom he gave full satisfaction, by causing that work when compleat to be printed in Holland in 1633, which was received with very great applause (k) [B]. The same year there came abroad at the end of Mr

[A] *Was brought into some trouble.* The person chiefly offended with this almanack, was Dr William Laud, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; and by his means, it is said, that Mr Gellibrand, and his servant Beale, were called into the High-Commission Court; where however they escaped censure, by shewing that this was no innovation of theirs, but had been done before, and pleading also,

that they had no ill intention. After Mr Gellibrand's death, this was made part of the accusation against Archbishop Laud, and Major Thomas Gellibrand was produced before the House of Peers as a witness upon this Prelate's prosecution (1).

[B] *Which was received with great applause.* The title of this work at large runs thus: *Trigonometria Britannica, sive, De doctrina triangulorum: Libri duo Quorum*

(1) Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 513.

(a) Wood's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 336.

(b) Wood's Hist. & Antiquit. Oxoniæ, lib. II. p. 296.

(c) Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 212. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 612.

(d) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 81.

(e) College certificate, dated Jan. 26, 1630.

(f) Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 336.

(g) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 612. Ward's Lives of G. Professors, p. 82.

(h) See the Article BRIGGS [HENRY] in this Dictionary. Certificate of the President, and Fellows of Trinity College, dated Jan. 26, 1630.

(i) Canterbury's Doom, p. 142.

(k) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. c. 612.



Mr Thomas James's account of his voyage, for the discovery of a north-west passage, and wintering in Hudson's Bay a short discourse of our author's concerning the longitude, which at that season was very much admired, and which notwithstanding the great improvements that have been since made, may be very justly stiled a curious and a useful piece, even now (1) [C]. It is commonly believed that our author made the discovery of the variation of the Magnetic Needle, and this upon the credit of a very great man, who has positively affirmed it, but in this, without doubt there is an error as will be shewn more largely in another place (m). In respect to this, however, thus much is true, that Mr Gellibrand was extremely well acquainted with, and wrote a very learned book upon the subject, which has been and ever will be esteemed by competent judges [D]. He

(1) Appendix to Thomas James's Voyage for Discovery of the N. West Passage, &c. Lond. 1633. 4to.

(m) See the Article of GUNTER [EDMOND] in this Dictionary.

wrote

Quorum prior continet constructionem canonis sinuum, tangentium, & secantium, una cum logarithmis sinuum & tangentium ad gradus & graduum centesimas, & ad minuta & secunda centesimis respondentia: a clarissimo doctissimo integerrimoque viro domino *Henrico Briggsio*, Geometriæ in celeberrima academia Oxoniensi professore Saviliano dignissimo, paulo ante inopinatam ipsius è terris emigrationem compositus. Posterior vero usum five applicationem canonis in resolutione triangulorum tam planorum, quam sphaericorum, è geometricis fundamentis petita, calculo facillimo eximisque compendis exhibet ab *Henrico Gellibrand* Astronomiæ in collegio Greshamensi apud Londinenses professore constructus. Goudæ 1633. fol. that is, 'British Trigonometry, or the Doctrine of Triangles, in two Books; the first of which contains the construction of the canon of sines, tangents, and secants, together with the logarithms of sines and tangents, &c. by that famous, learned, and worthy man, Mr *Henry Briggs*, late Savilian Professor of Geometry in the celebrated university of Oxford, composed by him a little before his unexpected death. The latter shewing the use or application of the canon in the resolution of plain and spherical triangles upon the principles of Geometry, and by a short and easy method of calculation, by Henry Gellibrand, Professor of Astronomy in Gresham College, London. Printed at Gouda, 1633. folio.' Mr John Newton, in the year 1658, published a work of the like import, and under the same title; the first part of which, analogous to that of Mr Briggs, was his own; but the second a translation of our author's work into English (2).

(2) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 632.

[C] *A curious and a useful piece, even now.* The title of this little piece is, *An Appendix concerning Longitude*, Lond. 1633. 4to, in three leaves. The beginning of this treatise is at once so weighty, and so perspicuous, and represents some points of useful knowledge in so clear, and at the same time in so concise a manner, that the reader cannot but be pleased to peruse it.

'Latitude and longitude are two primary affections of the earth; by the help of these two doth the Geographer strive to represent the parts of the earth, that they may keep symmetry and harmony with the whole. Latitude then is an arch of the meridian comprehended between the equator and a parallel; but longitude is an arch of the equator, intercepted by the prime meridian, and the meridian of a place, the difference of longitude being the difference of two meridians. The measure of the former is the meridian, the equator of this latter. For the exact settling of latitudes, we have many and absolute helps; so that the error, if there any happen, ought to be imputed to the imperfect handling of the artist. But the longitude of a meridian, is that which hath, and still wearie the greatest masters of Geography. Nevertheless, hath not the wise Creator left man furnished of many excellent helps to attain his desire: for besides eclipses, especially of the moon (whose leisure we must often wait, and perhaps go without, if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the concourse of quick-paced inferior planets, with superior slow ones, or their appulses with some fixed star of known place, or else some other artifice derived from their motions and positions. As for the magnetical needle, to argue a longitude from its variation, is altogether without ground; and though well-furnished seamen are able by their dead reckonings, as they term them, to determine the difference of meridians somewhat near, yet by reason of the unknown quantity of a degree in a given measure, which is the

'rule of the ship's way, varieties of adverse winds, different sets of tides, and other involved incumbrances, they come often wide of the mark they aim at. The best way yet known to the world, is that which is deduced from the celestial appearances, which being performed by judicious artists, may in a short time rectify our geographical and hydrographical charts hitherto in most places foully distorted. It is my intent here to give an instance from two several observations drawn from the celestial bodies, by the author of this discourse, in his discovery for the north-west at the bottom of the Bay, being his wintering-place, and called by the name of Charlton, which for judgment, circumspection, and exactness, may compare with most: the first, from the eclipse of the moon; the second, from the moon's meridian of Heaven, or her coming to the plane of his meridian of Charlton.' This eclipse happened Oct. 9. 1631. and it so fell out, that Mr Gellibrand himself observed the eclipse at the same time at Gresham College, from whence he determines the longitude of Charlton to be west from London 79 deg. 30 min. by the second method he determined it to be one degree less, and to shew that this was no very considerable error, as things then stood, he gives an instance of much greater variations with respect to Rome and Nurembergh, and this from the observations of the best Astronomers Europe had produced. Regiomontanus making this difference 36, Werner 32, Appian 34, Metlin and Origan 33, Stofler 18, Maginus 26, Schoner 12, Mercator and Hondius as much, Stadius 13, Janfonius 10, Longomontanus 16, Lansperg 10, Kepler by two observations on two lunar eclipses, but 4 minutes of time. The reader must observe, that every four minutes of time makes a whole degree in longitude; so that the difference between the first and last of these computations, is no less than eight whole degrees, which will afford a competent judge of these things, matter of great speculation. Some and even great errors, without doubt, there must be in several of these operations; but that they did not wholly proceed from such inaccuracies, there is good ground to suspect. At the end of some copies of Captain James's voyage, there is another discourse after this of Mr Gellibrand's, with this singular address, *To the venerable artists, and younger students in Divinity in the famous university of Cambridge*; subscribed X. Z. but said to be written by Mr W. W. Whoever was the author, it is a very curious piece, and may be reckoned among the first apologies in our language, for the free exercise of thought in Philosophy, and on this account has been very properly reprinted in a late Collection of Voyages and Travels, to which we shall refer the reader for its contents (3).

[D] *And ever will be esteemed by competent judges.* The title of this curious and most considered of all Mr Gellibrand's works, runs thus: *A Discourse mathematical on the Variation of the magnetic Needle. Together with the admirable diminution lately discovered.* London, 1635. 4to.

At the opening of his work, our author declares his chief intention to be the treating of the deflection of the needle from the terrestrial meridian, together with that abstruse and admirable variation of the variation lately discovered to the world. The variation then, is the deflection of the magnetical meridian, from the terrestrial, the horizon determining its quantity and quality. These meridians sometimes are coincident, and in such cases there can be no variation. Sometimes again, they are different; and then, that hemisphere wherein either extremity of the needle lies, denominates its quality; for if it be the eastern hemisphere, it

(3) Harris's Voyages, Lond. 1748. Vol. II, p. 435.



(n) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. p. 613.  
Ward's Lives of  
Gresham Profes-  
sors, p. 32, 83.

wrote besides these several other treatises in his own profession, which were published some before and some after his death; which added to the great reputation that he had before obtained, and raised very high expectations of what he might perform in the course of his studies; and others of his labours, there are yet remaining in manuscript, which are no way inferior either in merit or importance to those which are published (n), and which taken together

it is called easterly variation; if the western, westerly. And the horizon, supposed (as all great circles are) to be divided into 360 parts, and each part subdivided into centesms, or millesms, defines the quantity, as 10, 20, 30, &c. parts of variation. He then remarks, that for the more distinct proceeding, and to give some satisfaction to those who are not altogether mathematical, it will not be impertinent to the present purpose, to give some probable reason for this variation, or swerving of the needle from the meridians of most places. Take a vigorous magnet, convert it into a spherical body, and having found its poles, delineate the same with meridians, æquinoctials, and parallels, then take a fine sewing needle, and applying it to the intersection of a meridian and the equinoctial, it will be found precisely to point out the poles of the stone; and if the needle be moved towards either pole, according to its own direction, it will trace out a circle over the said magnetic pole. But if this spherical magnet shall have a part of it excavated, as admit about the forty-fifth parallel, and forty-fifth meridian, or degree of longitude, the needle moved forwards from the aforesaid intersection, as soon as it shall draw near to the limb of this excavation, will forthwith leave its former position, as lying in the plane of the prime meridian, and incline to the other solid side, not respecting at all the aforesaid poles; and this deflection we call the variation of the needle. And the greater will this variation be, the nearer it approaches to the poles. For whereas before the excavation, each side being alike potent, the needle, like an upright and indifferent arbiter, inclined to neither part; after the excavation it will convert itself to the more solid side, rejecting the imperfect and defective, and so much the more powerfully, by how much the other side shall be found to have lost more of its magnetic vigorous substance. The like will fall out if the needle be so placed as that it shall bisect the excavated part; for then it will accurately point out the true poles of the stone formerly found, but suddenly swerve from them after any little dislocation, strongly applying itself to the more solid one. As it is with this little, so likewise with the greater magnet of the earth, whose solid magnetic parts are great continents; the defective excavated, the deep and vast channel of the sea. For if there were observations made in the mid-way between the easterly coast of China, and this western of Europe, it is very probable there would be found no variation at all, the terrestrial and magnetical meridians being congrual. But if we shall incline to either side, as admit to the westward, the needle will in like manner move itself to the eastern continent, as the more prevalent side, the channel of the sea being a part deficient of the spherical body of the earth, and the needle finding no encouragement to apply itself thereto. And so likewise for the ocean, which palliates the imperfect parts of the earth; it is evident, that if the needle shall equally divide the marine distance between two continents, there will be found no variation, as having both the meridians united, the needle equally disposing itself to either continent. But if we shall swerve from this mediety, it will preponderate with the next continent. Our author observes, that with respect to the variation of the needle, it was a maxim laid down by our learned countryman Dr Gilbert, *that in the same place the variation is always the same.* This Mr Gellibrand adds, was an assertion, that for any thing he ever heard, had never been questioned; but notwithstanding this, magnetical experiments shewed that the variation is accompanied with a variation. This he proves by observations made by Mr Burrows, at Limehouse, near London, in 1580. who found the variation there to be 11 deg. 15 min. or near one point of the compass: whereas in 1622 Mr Gunter, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, found the variation in the same place to be but 6 deg. 13 min. and our author, in 1634. with some friends, had recourse to Deptford, where Mr Gunter had before made the same observations with those at Limehouse, and found it not

much to exceed 4 deg. It is evident enough from hence, that this variation of the variation was first observed at least in England, by Mr Gunter; and from the best accounts we have hitherto had, was not observed so early any where else. At the close of his treatise our author, who was very far from being a positive or an assuming man, proceeds thus (4). 'I will not here enter into a dispute concerning the cause of this sensible diminution, whether it may be imputed to the magnet, or the earth, or both. It is not unknown to the world, how the greatest masters of Astronomy which this age hath afforded, for the more easy solving the apparent anomalous motions of the fixed and erratic celestial lights, and avoiding that supervacaneous furniture of the Ancients, do with all alacrity embrace that admirable Copernican hypothesis of the diurnal, annual, and secular motions of the earth; insomuch as conferring with that great astronomer D. Phil. Lansberg, in Zealand, about astronomical matters, he did most seriously affirm unto me, he should never be dissuaded from that truth. This, which he was pleased to stile a truth, I should readily receive as an hypothesis, and so be easily led on to the consideration of the imbecility of man's apprehension, as not able rightly to conceive of this admirable opifice of God, or frame of the world, without falling foul on so great an absurdity. Yet sure I am, it is a probable inducement to shake a wavering understanding. And, which adds somewhat more, I understand by Galilæus, a Florentine, and most acute and learned mathematician, that an Italian gentleman, of the family of the Marsilii, hath lately found the mutation of the terrestrial meridians, and penned a treatise thereof, not yet published, which the said Galilæus hath seen and read con stupore, not without amazement. His words are these: Surge di presente una quinta novita, &c. which in English runs thus: Now there ariseth a fifth novelty; from which we may argue the mobility of the terrestrial globe, by the means of that which most subtilly the most illustrious gentleman, Sign. Cæsar, of the most noble family of the Marsilii of Bologna, a Lyncean academic, also hath discovered, who in a most learned tract plainly sheweth, how he hath observed a continual mutation, although very slow, in the meridian line; which discourse, which with wonder I lately saw, I hope he will impart to all those who are studious of the wonders of nature. Surely if it be so, the due consideration of the premises doth, as I conceive, lay open a fair way for the solving of that irregular motion imputed to the axis of the earth; I mean the alterable obliquity of the ecliptic, which to deny (as some yet do, not without great violence offered to the Antients) I shall hardly, without very strong arguments, be persuaded. I pretermitt likewise, a supposition which might be made of the correspondent motion of the pole of the magnet, with those of some of the planets, and divers other conceits, which must be all left to future times to discover, this invention being but newly presented to the world in its infancy.' It may perhaps afford the reader some satisfaction, if we add, that in 1657 there was no variation at all at London, and that in 1747. the variation being observed by the accurate Mr George Graham, at his house in Fleet-street, it was found 17 deg. 40 min. west (5). We will take the liberty of making a small addition to these observations, which is, that there is a variation even in this second variation, which is slower when it first recedes from its due direction, and quicker as the deflection increases. If any established learned society would direct very exact observations to be made of the magnetic variation every month for a course of years, and if two such assemblies, in places at a considerable distance, would concur in observing punctually all lunar eclipses, and would communicate the result of these observations constantly, we should in a few years learn more of this matter, than hitherto we have done in above a century and a quarter.

(4) Discourse  
Mathematical on  
the Variation,  
&c. p. 39.

(5) Philosophical  
Transactions,  
1749, 4to, p.  
279.

[E] Should



together; fully shew that his diligence and application were equal to his sagacity and penetration, and that he did great honour to the learned foundation to which he belonged; and fully answered the hopes that were entertained of him; when his friends at the University recommended him thither, as one that had a great genius for mathematical learning, and was willing that the world should be the better for it [E]. His situation at the college, free converse with the lovers of mathematical studies, and diligent enquiries, gave him an opportunity of contributing much to the improvement of navigation, which probably would have owed more to him, had he lived longer. But he was taken off yet earlier in life than his predecessor Mr Gunter, for he died on the ninth of February 1636, in the fortieth year of his age, and was buried likewise in the church of St Peter the Poor, without any tomb or inscription to his memory (o). Dr Hannibal Potter, formerly his tutor in Trinity College, and afterwards President of it; preached his funeral sermon, in which he commended his piety and worth (p). It will not be amiss to add here concerning this learned man Dr Hannibal Potter, that he was ejected from his office of President of Trinity-Hall by the parliament, in which he was succeeded first by Robert Harris Bachelor in Divinity, next by William Hawes Master of Arts, then by Dr Seth Ward successively Bishop of Exeter and Salisbury, but surviving to 1660, he was restored to his just rights, and remained President to his death, after which his corps was interred in the chapel belonging to that learned foundation (q). He had himself a mathematical disposition, and his brother the Reverend Mr Francis Potter set up the dial on the north side of the old quadrangle by which he is still remembered (r).

(o) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 295.  
(p) Wood's Lives of Great Men in Britain, p. 83.

(q) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. II. p. 295.  
(r) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 632.

[E] *Should be the better for it.* The titles of such works of our author as have been published shall follow.

*A Preface to the Sciographia of John Wells, of Brembridge, in Hampshire, Esq; Lond. 1635. 8vo*

*An Institution trigonometrical, explaining the doctrine of the dimensions of plain and spherical triangles, after the most exact and compendious way, by tables of sines, tangents, secants, and logarithms; with the application thereof to questions of Astronomy and Navigation. Lond. 8vo. After the decease of the author, this book, having been corrected and enlarged by William Leybourn, was re-printed at London in 1652. 8vo.*

*An Epitome of Navigation; to which were added, Several necessary tables pertaining to Navigation: as, a triangular canon logarithmical, or a table of artificial sines and tangents, &c. Two chiliads, or the logarithms of absolute numbers, from an unite to 2000. An appendix concerning the use of the fore-staff, quadrant, and nocturnal, in Navigation. Lond. 1674. 8vo.*

*Oratio in laudem Gassendi astronomiæ habita in aula Aedis Christi Oxon. that is, "An Oration in praise of the Astronomy of Gassendus, spoken in the hall of Christ-Church in Oxford."* At what time this was spoken does not appear, but in all probability it was before he left the University.

Besides these, he wrote also some other pieces, which have not yet seen the light; as

At the end of his *Trigonometria Britannica* he says, that he had by him *Integram eclipsium doctrinam*, or the doctrine of eclipses; which he designed to have added to that treatise; but that the printer could not wait till he had revised and fitted it for the press.

'Astronomia lunaris sive Diatriba in appulsam lunæ ad lucidam Pleiadum per triangulorum ratiocinā è tabulis ac hypothesibus Ptolemæi, Alphonsi, Copernici, Tychonis, Longomontani, & Lansbergii.' That is, Lunary Astronomy, or a discourse upon the appulse of the moon to the bright star (which is the third) in the constellation of the Pleiades, according to the hypotheses of the most eminent astronomers. In the beginning of this work, he mentions the day on which the observation was taken that gave rise to this discourse, which was Dec. 20. 1634. at St Paul's Cray, in Kent. This little piece, fairly written in his own hand, is now in the possession of Sir Hans Sloane, Bart. A. Wood mentions likewise a treatise of *Building of ships*, left by him in MS. which after his death came into the hands of Edward Lord Conway.

GILBERT [Sir HUMPHREY], a gentleman equally distinguished by his great abilities, and heroic courage, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He descended from a very ancient and honourable family in the county of Devon, as the industrious and very learned collectors of that Shire unanimously agree (a) [A]. His father's name was Otho Gilbert of Greenway, Esq; his mother Katherine daughter of Sir Philip Champernon of Modbury, in the same county, who afterwards married Walter Raleigh of Fardel, Esq; and by him was mother to the famous Sir Walter Raleigh, who was no less allied to him

(a) Collection of Arms, &c. of the ancient families in Devonshire, by Sir J. Northcote, Bart. MS. Mr Westcot's Pedigrees of families in the County of Devon, MS. Sir William Pole's Description of Devonshire.

[A] *Unanimously agree.* If we may rely upon the authority of Mr Thomas Westcot, who spent many years in searching into the descents of the most antient families in this county, we must believe that this house, of which we are now speaking, was fixed here in the time of the Saxons; for his words are express, *that Gilbert possessed lands in Manaton, in or near Dartmoor, in Edward the Confessor's days* (1). The most skilful genealogists however, have not been able to trace up this pedigree near so high; in excuse of which however it is said, that it was very differently spelt, which very much increases those difficulties that commonly attend on such enquiries (2). It is agreed, that Jilbert, Jerebert, and Gislebert, are all the same name with Gilbert (3). The old family seat was at Greenway, near Brixam, standing very pleasantly on the east side of the river Dart, upon a rising ground about a mile from Dartmouth, and had a large quantity of lands with a Royalty belonging to it (4). Thomas Gilbert, of Greenway, had a son Jeffery, who marrying Joan, daughter and coheirefs of William

Compton, of Compton, near Torbay, in the same county, brought that estate into the family, in the reign of King Edward II (5). From him descended Otis or Otho Gilbert, who in the 15th of Edward IV. was High-Sheriff of this county, and who was afterwards knighted (6). There were also many other eminent men of this family, which have intermarried with some of the most honourable houses in the west of England; such as Champernon, Croker, Hill, Chudleigh, Ager, Molineux, Pomeroy, &c. and have yielded matches to others; in particular to the noble family of the Granvils, from whom descended the Earls of Bath, and the present Earl of Granville (7). They have married also divers daughters and heiresses, as Compton, Champernon, Valetort (whereby they touch the Blood Royal) Reynward, Trenoch, Littleton, alias Westcot, Kelly, and others (8). We may therefore justly affirm, that this of which we are speaking was scarce inferior to any gentleman's family in England (9).

(5) Sir William Pole's Description of Devon. in Compton. MS.

(6) Ex Transcript. Evident. Dom. Barn. Granville. Fuller's Worthies, p. 270.

(7) Ex Evident. prædict.

(8) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 326.

(9) Westcot's View of Devonshire, in Compton, MS.

(1) Westcot's Desc. of Devonshire in Manaton, MS. in Bibl. Harl.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, Devon, p. 260.

(3) Sir John Northcot's Collections of Arms, Seals, &c. MS.

(4) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 326.



by genius than by blood [B]. The gentleman of whom we are now writing is thought to have been born Anno Domini 1539, and, tho' a second son, derived from his father, who had a good estate, and was a good oeconomist, a very considerable fortune. But it was principally to his mother's care, that he owed that excellent education, first at Eton, and next at Oxford, which enabled him to make the figure he did in the world, and to distinguish himself in an age so fruitful of great men (b). His genius naturally led him to the studies of Cosmography, Navigation, and the art of war, which he improved by a diligent application, as well as by continual practice, for after a short stay at Court, where he was introduced to the Queen's knowledge by his aunt (c), he exposed himself early in the service of his country, and acquired a great reputation from his actions, before any of his great projects reached the public ear (d) [C]. The first place in which notice was taken of his ripe judgment, as well as daring courage, was in the expedition to Newhaven Anno Dom. 1563, where he behaved with so much prudence, and his attempts were attended with so great success, that tho' then but a young man he was much admired, and his prudence and modesty raised high expectations in all who knew him (e). In several expeditions undertaken in those troublesome times he added to his fortune, as well as to his fame, and being at all times ready, both in discourse and with his pen, to render a reason for his own conduct, and to apologize for others, he came to be very justly considered by some of the most eminent persons in the court of Queen Elizabeth, as one capable of rendering his country great service, particularly in Ireland, where men of true abilities, were at that juncture much wanted (f). Their conceptions concurring with Mr Gilbert's views, and with that ambition of making himself known by great achievements, which was the ruling passion of his mind, he accepted the advantageous offers that were made him, and passing over into that island, arrived by merit at the honourable post of commander in chief and governor of the province of Munster, where in Anno Dom. 1569, he performed great things with a handful of men, and became more dreaded by the Irish, than any Englishman employed in that service (g) [D]. In an action at Kilkenny,

[B] *By genius than by blood.* It is very remarkable that the lady mentioned in the text, Mrs Katherine Champenon, had by two husbands five sons all of whom were made Knights, in a reign when that honour was as sparingly bestowed, as it has been lavishly conferred in others (10). As for Sir Carew and Sir Walter Raleigh, our author's half-brothers, they will be mentioned in another part of this Work, and therefore we shall speak in this note of those only that were of the whole blood. His elder brother, Sir John Gilbert, received that honour from Queen Elizabeth, in 1570 (11), and was Sheriff of Devonshire four years, and afterwards (12) he is also said to have been Custos Rotulorum of the county, and a man of such consummate prudence, that scarce any thing in those parts was done without consulting him (13). He was likewise distinguished for his charity and beneficence to the poor, which gained him universal reputation. He married the daughter of Sir Richard Chudleigh, of Ashton, by whom he had no issue, and lies buried with her in the cathedral church of St Peter, in the city of Exeter (14). The younger brother of our hero was Sir Adrian Gilbert, who was also a person of great worth and learning. He it was that a little after his brother, Sir Humphry Gilbert's death, took out a patent for a discovery of a north-west passage; under which the famous John Davis was sent to discover and actually did discover the streights that bear his name (15). He also recovered the silver mines at Combe-Martin in Devonshire, which were afterwards wrought with more credit than profit by Sir Bevois Bulmer (16). We might mention other marks of this gentleman's great learning and public spirit, but these are sufficient for our purpose, and will abundantly account to the reader for that general support which Sir Humphry Gilbert's projects met with, whether successful or not, and even after his death; for not only his family, but his friends, supported his very last project, in which he perished (17); and whether they were gainers by it or not, this is very certain, that the nation has drawn a perpetual benefit ever since from the discoveries made by him, and profecuted by those who assisted him.

[C] *Reached the public ear.* His father, Mr Otho Gilbert, died when this son of his was very young, but had so great expectations from the extraordinary spirit and quickness which he discovered even while a child, that he made a good provision for him, and particularly desired that the utmost care might be taken of his education. It is very singular, that though he was so much admired and distinguished for his writings, there

is no mention at all made of him by Anthony Wood. When he came from the university, there was, it seems, an intention of sending him to the inns of court, which was in that age (and a good custom it was) the usual method of finishing a gentleman's education; but his aunt, Mrs Katherine Ashley, who waited upon Queen Elizabeth, was so extremely pleased with her nephew, and had so good an opinion of his parts, that instead of suffering him to be made acquainted with the Laws, she would needs introduce him at Court; and there he was for some time not only in the Queen's service, but in her favour, who would often confer with him in matters of learning, and in all probability about his favourite studies of Cosmography and Navigation (18), which could not but be favourable to his fortunes in the succeeding part of his life, and entitle him to such marks of his Sovereign's favour, as even his great merit would scarce have procured, if he not been so early brought into her majesty's family. This produced in the breast of our hero so true an affection, and so warm a loyalty to his Sovereign, that there is scarce an action of his life that has escaped oblivion, which is not tinged therewith. In 1571, when he served in Parliament as Burgess for Plymouth, he drew upon himself very ill treatment from one Mr Wentworth, for the pains he took to moderate that licentiousness of speech, which he conceived might become as dangerous to the liberties of the subject, as offensive to the Queen's prerogative (19). He was not however so much a courtier, as either to desire to pass his days in ease and pleasure, or to dream of arriving at great things, but by patience and perseverance in a road beset with perils, as clearly appears by the choice he made of a device (20), as the custom of those times was, and which very probably he did when he was a young man, and just entering into the world, viz. *Mars and Mercury* joined by a cross, with this motto, *Quid non? i. e.* What not? intimating, that almost any thing may be achieved, if to strength and wit there is added patience.

[D] *Than any Englishman employed in that service.* The reputation our young soldier had acquired under the command of Ambrose Earl of Warwick, raised him so high in the general esteem of the Court, that he seems to have gone to Ireland with no ordinary circumstances of favour and confidence, as may be collected from the letters of Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy, both before and after his arrival (21); by whom he was immediately made a Captain upon that establishment; a command of greater weight, and consequently of more honour, than it is now: and he was farther,

(b) See the dedication of Mr Hooker's discourse of a Commonwealth, addressed to Sir John Gilbert. Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(c) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(d) Fuller's Worthies, in Devon. p. 260. Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 812.

(f) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 626.

(g) Stowe's Annals, p. 812.

(10) Risdon, Fuller, Prince, &c.

(11) Sir William Pole's Description of Devon MS.

(12) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 274.

(13) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 327.

(14) Izacke's remarkable Antiquities of Exeter.

(15) Hakluyt's Voyages, tom. III. p. 96, 98.

(16) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 245. Prince's Introduction, p. 2, 3.

(17) See Sir George Peckham's treatise of Western Planting.

(18) Hooker's Supply of Irish Chronicles, p. 132.

(19) D'Ewe's Journal of Parliaments, p. 175.

(20) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328.

(21) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 23, 36, 38.



Kilkenny, under the command of Sir Peter Carew, Captain Gilbert, and Captain Davels, with only ten private men, had the courage to begin the charge, by which they opened a path to a glorious victory, which struck the Irish with amazement (b). His march directly to Limerick, and the consternation which appeared in the people thereupon, induced the proud Earl of Glencar or Glencarty to offer his submission, and this being accepted, he and Mac Donnogh came to the governor, and acknowledged their offences upon their knees. Having thus restored the quiet of the province, his next care was to provide for its continuance, which with great spirit and vigilance he performed, putting proper garrisons into all the strong places that were requisite to keep the rebellious natives in awe, and proper magistrates into the towns, that strict justice might be done to those who remained in their duty (i). When he had settled all in the best order possible, he went to make a report of what he had done to the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sydney, who to shew his approbation of his services, conferred on him the honour of Knighthood at Drogheda on New-year's-day 1569-70, and soon after granted him licence to repair to England, where his private affairs at that time required his presence (k). His successor in his government was Sir John Perrot, who had the title given him of Lord President of Munster, and who in those days was generally believed to be the Queen's natural brother. It was not long after his return to England, that he married a young lady, who was an heiress, which added considerably to his fortune, but abated nothing of his public spirit, for in 1572 he sailed with a Squadron of nine ships to Flanders, with a reinforcement for Colonel Thomas Morgan, who at that time meditated the recovery of the port of Flushing (l). How long he continued there does not appear, but upon his return to England he seems to have resumed his studies with fresh vigour, and to have formed a design of adding to the glory of his Queen and Country by some generous and useful undertaking, worthy of that great reputation which he had already obtained, as well for extensive learning as undaunted courage (m). The first public discovery he made, both of his mathematical knowledge, and of his patriot intentions, was in his discourse to prove that there is a north-west passage to the East Indies, which was first printed in the year 1576, tho' in all probability it was written some time before (n). It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece [E], at the close of which there is an account of another treatise of

(b) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(i) Cox's History of Ireland, part i. p. 335.

(k) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(l) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 264.

(m) Supply of Irish Chronicles, by Hooker, p. 132.

(n) This treatise is still preserved in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III, p. 11.

(22) Hooker's Supply of Irish Chronicles, p. 132.

(23) Sydney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 39.

(24) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, part i. p. 332, 333.

(25) Hooker's Supply of Irish Chronicles, p. 130.

farther, by that noble person's interest, chosen a member of that Parliament, which sat in 1568 (22). But, in order to give the reader a more distinct idea of these transactions, it will be requisite to acquaint him with the nature of that rebellion, in the suppression of which our hero was employed. Whilst the Lord Deputy and the Parliament were endeavouring the prosperity and peace of Ireland, by enacting good and wholesome laws, others were as busy to put all into disorder and confusion; for some of the looser sort of the Irish Lords were distasteful to that degree at the loss of their Captainries, and Irish extortions, as also at the impost on wine, that they resolved by force to procure the repeal of those laws, or at least prevent the execution of them, and so making religion their pretence, they confederated together (23). James Fitzmorris was the ringleader of all this mischief; he added to the general grievances, the particular injuries done to his own family by the imprisonment of the Earl of Desmond, and his brother, Sir John; and he inveigled the Earl of Glencarty, by telling him that the Queen was to be married to the Earl of Leicester, and that thereupon the Lord Deputy, who married that Earl's sister, was to be King of Ireland; and when the Earl of Glencarty was once engaged, Mac Donnogh, and many more of the Cartyes, came in of course; and Fitzgerald, Seneschal of Imokilly, was as forward in this rebellion as any of them; and although Sir Edmund Butler, who was Seneschal to his brother, the Earl of Ormond, and consequently hated all the family of Desmond, and had formerly served against James Fitzmorris, yet, because he did not dare to appear before commissioners sent by the Lord Deputy to Kilkenny, to examine and redress the grievous complaints made against him, and partly thro' zeal for the Catholic Cause, and fondness of the Irish usurpations, he joined with the rest of the rebels (24). The confederates being resolved to make something considerable for their own benefit of this rebellion, if it were possible, sent the titular Bishops of Cashel and Emly, and the youngest brother of the Earl of Desmond, as their Ambassadors to the Pope and the King of Spain, to implore aid and assistance to rescue their religion and country from the tyranny and oppression of Queen Elizabeth (25). It was for the suppressing this rebellion, that Mr Gilbert was raised to the rank of Colonel, which seems to have been in those days a

title of supreme command; for his forces consisted of 100 horse, 400 regular foot, and a certain number of that kind of Irish militia distinguished by the name of Kerns (26). When he was sent over to the assistance of the Dutch he had the same title, and is reported to have been the first Englishman that bore it in that service, where he was instrumental in settling the new discipline, as is evident from the following letter of Mr Camden's, to Sir Edward Cecil, afterwards Lord Viscount Wimbleton (27). 'The proposition you make is out of the reach of my profession, and not of antiquity, but of late memory. By reason of Sir Robert Cotton's absence, I can impart nothing from him as yet, and for my own observation, it is very slender. Only I remember, that after Captain Morgan in the year 1572, had first carried to Flushing 300 English, and had procured Sir Humphry Gilbert to bring over more, and to be Colonel of the English there, a new military discipline was shortly after brought in, and the new march, by some that had served the Duke of Alva, and entertained especially by the important instance of Sir Roger Williams, although strong opposition was then made against it by Captain Pykeman, and after by Captain Read, ancient leaders, and Sir William Pelham, who were scornfully termed by the contrary party, St George's souldados, and Sir John Smith, who had served under the Constable Momorancy, twice in Hungary, at Penon de Velez, and Malta, yea, and under Dalva, encountered with his pen against the new discipline, and did write much, which was never published.' We may very well collect from hence, that if Sir Humphry Gilbert had been a man who had nothing in view but his own satisfaction and interest, in some easy, honourable, and beneficial employment, he had by this time raised himself to such a height in the Queen's esteem, to so great credit with her Ministers, more especially of the Leicesterian faction, and such extensive reputation amongst persons of distinction throughout the kingdom, that he might without difficulty have fixed himself where he pleased, since he that soars upon the wings of favour and merit, can hardly fail of reaching any height.

[E] It is a very plain, methodical, and judicious piece.] We may assert, without any danger of being thought to flatter the memory of this most worthy person,

(26) Cox's Hist. of Ireland, part i. p. 333.

(27) Camdeni & illustrium Viro-rum Epistolæ, p. 330, 331.



of Navigation, which he had then written, and intended also to publish, and which is now probably lost. The design of this discourse was in all likelihood to stir up a spirit of discovery

son, that there is no treatise written in that age of speculative and practical knowledge in our country, that has come down to us with more honour to its author, in point of various and extensive learning, soundness and sagacity of judgment, or of clearness and candour in all that he has delivered; and therefore we may presume it will be very agreeable to our ingenious and inquisitive readers, if we give them an abstract of this little work, that is not in every hand, and the rather, because this is a subject as warmly debated, and of which as high hopes have been entertained in our days, as in his. The title equally plain and modest, runs at large thus (28):

(28) Hakluyt's  
Voyages, tom.  
III. p. 11.

*A Discourse written by Sir Humphry Gilbert, Knt. to prove a passage by the North-west to Cathaia and the East-Indies.* The first thing worthy of observation in this curious and instructive piece, is the natural, perspicuous, and accurate method in which it is written, being divided into ten chapters, each of which fully answers its title, and comprehends all if not more than can be expected from it. In the *first* he undertakes to prove by authority, that America is an island, and consequently, that there is a passage on the north side of it to Cathaia, China, and the East-Indies. In this he lays down all that is delivered by antient authors concerning the great island of Atlantis, compares the opinions of later writers, who have endeavoured to render those accounts more intelligible, and who are all of them led from thence to conclude, that America is an island. He then proceeds to the maps and charts published by the best Geographers, from which the same thing appears; and foreseeing that an objection might be made against this method of reasoning, taken from the uncertainty that there may be, whether these writers did not speak more confidently than they ought to do of things with which they were but indifferently acquainted; he undertakes to make it manifest, that the passage by sea to Muscovy, which was esteemed the great glory of their own times, was really known 700 years before. His own words upon this head will best content the reader, if he can bear (which sure may be easily done) with his style, that is now a little antiquated. 'What moves, (says he) these learned men to affirm thus much, I know not, or to what end so many and sundry travellers of both ages have allowed the same. But I conjecture, that they would never have so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to have led them thereunto. Now, least you should make small account of antient writers, or of their experiences which travelled long before our times, reckoning their authority amongst fables of no importance, I have, for the better assurance of those proofs, set down some part of a discourse written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into English by M. Nowel, servant to Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and Lord High-Treasurer of England; wherein there is described a Navigation which one Ochther made in the time of King Alfred, King of West Saxe, anno 871. the words of which discourse were these: *He sailed right north, having always the desert land on the starboard, and on the larboard the main sea, continuing his course until he perceived that the coast bowed directly towards the east, or else the sea opened into the land, he could not tell how far, where he was compelled to stay until he had a western wind, or somewhat upon the north; and sailed thence directly east along the coast, so far as he was able in four days, where he was again enforced to tarry until he had a north wind, because the coast there bowed directly towards the south, or at least opened he knew not how far into the land; so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full south, so far as he could travel in the space of five days; where he discovered a mighty river, which opened far into the land, and in the entry of this river he turned back again.* Whereby it appeareth, that he went the very same way that we now do yearly trade by St Nicholas into Muscovy, which way no man in our age knew for certainty to be by sea, until it was since discovered by our

Englishmen in the reign of King Edward VI. but thought before that time, that Groenland had joined to Normoria, Byarmia, &c. and therefore was accounted a new discovery, being nothing so indeed, as by this discourse of Ochther appeareth. Nevertheless, if any man should have taken this voyage in hand by the encouragement of this only author, he should have been thought but simple; considering, that this Navigation was written so many years past, in so barbarous a tongue, by one only obscure author; and yet we in these our days find, by our own experiences, his former reports to be true. How much more then ought we to believe this passage to Cathaia to be verified by the opinions of all the best both antient and modern Geographers, and plainly set out in the best and most allowed maps, charts, globes, cosmographical tables, and discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denied, but left as a matter doubtful? The design of his *second* chapter is to prove that there is such a passage by reason and argument; as in the former chapter he had shewn himself an excellent Cosmographer, so in this, he makes it clearly appear, that he was a very knowing Seaman; all bodies of water growing shallower as they approach either to shore or source, he thinks, that the sea growing still deeper in this north-west course, argues a passage to some mighty ocean, rather than to any coast. If America had not been an island, he thinks, that the Tartars or the Japonese would have found some way into it, which was never alledged; or that some beasts at least would have found their way over mountains impassable to man; but our eldest travellers into Asia, never heard there any thing of America; nor did the first conquerors of America find the least reason to believe the inhabitants of that part of the world had any knowledge of Asia; neither were any beasts seen, that with any shadow of reason could be judged to come from thence. He proceeds next to the doctrine of tides and currents, concerning which he discourses with great judgment and perspicuity, supporting all along his arguments by facts, and concluding with this remarkable doctrine, which is the best hitherto laid down, in favour of such a passage, viz. *That the current in the great ocean could not have been maintained to run continually one way from the beginning of the world unto this day, had there not been some thorough passage by the fact aforesaid, and so by circular motion be brought again to maintain itself.* For the tides and courses of the sea are maintained by their interchangeable motions, as fresh rivers are by springs, by ebbing and flowing, by rarefaction and condensation.

The scope of the *third* chapter is to establish from facts, that part of this north-west passage has been already visited by several eminent persons, which affords a strong probability that the rest may be discovered. He observes, that Marco Polo affirms, he sailed 500 miles north-east from the continent of Asia, and found the sea all open; Franciscus Vasques de Coronado, says he, passing from Mexico by Cevola, through the country of Quivira, to Siera Nevada, found there a great sea, where were certain ships laden with merchandize, carrying in their prows the pictures of certain birds, called Alcatraz, part whereof were made of gold, and part of silver; who signified by signs, they were thirty days coming thither; which likewise proveth America, by experience to be disjoined from Cathaia on that part, by a great sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as natives thereof; for, that so far as is discovered, there hath not been found there any one ship of that country. He cites also John de Barros to prove this opinion is received in China, and Francisco Lopez de Gomara, who positively asserts America to be an island, and shews how it lies in respect to Groenland. It is at the close of this chapter that the passage occurs concerning Sebastian Cabot, of which we shall hereafter have occasion to speak at large.

In his *fourth* chapter he produces evidence in order to make it plain, that this passage has been actually sailed thorough. He alledges first the authority of Gemma Frisius, who says, that there went from Europe three brethren through this streight, from whence it took the name



discovery in his countrymen, and to facilitate a design he had formed for planting unknown countries, as well as for the discovery of the north-west passage; for that he had still

name of *Fretum trium fratrum*; he next quotes Pliny, who speaks of certain Indians cast upon the coast of Germany; he mentions another instance of the same kind, which happened anno Dom. 1160. and upon these grounds he asserts, they could come no other way than by this north-west passage.

In his *fifth* chapter he offers the reasons upon which this position is founded. The passage, he thinks by the Cape of Good-Hope, must have been utterly impassable to an Indian vessel. He alledges the same thing with respect to Africa. In case they had come by a south-east passage he shews, that they must have touched on other European countries, before they came to Germany. To have gone through the freights of Magellan was too hard a task in his opinion for so slight a vessel; and if any should conclude, that these people did not come from India, but from Africa, or America, he refutes this by observing, that the inhabitants of both these parts of the globe never had, so far as we know, before the arrival of the Europeans, any ships in which they made use of sails.

In his *sixth* chapter he produces many arguments to render it more than probable, that either there is no north-east passage, or if such a passage there be, it can only be passable for a small part of the year. What he has delivered upon this part of his subject, is not only very rational, and discussed throughout with the utmost sagacity, but his observations have been many of them verified by the attempts that have been made since his time; so that to one who is well versed in the nature of this dispute, and is also well acquainted with the history of the endeavours used to discover it, cannot fail of entertaining a very high opinion of Sir Humphry Gilbert's style and penetration, from the weight and shrewdness of his remarks upon this topic.

The business of the *seventh* chapter is to enforce the point before laid down, that if those Indians came not by any of the other passages but by the north-west, then this has been certainly passed, and there must be such a passage open. His suggestions to facilitate the full persuasion of this, are so happily imagined, and so concisely expressed, that it may not be amiss to give some few of them in his own words. 'First, the one half of the winds of the compass might bring them by the north-west, beating always between two sheets, with which kind of sailing the Indians are only acquainted, not having any use of a bow-line, or quarter-wind, without the which no ship can possibly come, either by the south-east, south-west, or north-east, having so many sundry capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of winds. And it seemeth likely, that they should come by the north-west, because the coast whereon they were driven lay east from this our passage; and every wind doth naturally drive a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by art, which the Indians do utterly want; and therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might do with one wind; for if they had come by the cape de Buona Speranza, then must they (as aforesaid) have fallen upon the south parts of America; and if by the fret of Magellan, then upon the coasts of Africa, Spain, Portugal, France, Ireland, or England; and by the north-east, then upon the coasts of Cerenceffi, Tartary, Lappia island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and upon these coasts, as aforesaid, they have never been found; so that by all likelihood they could never have come without shipwreck upon the coasts of Germany, if they had first stricken upon the coasts of so many countries, wanting both art and shipping to make orderly discovery, and altogether ignorant both in the art of navigation, and also of the rocks, flats, sands, or havens, of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentiful.' He then mentions other instances of persons who had passed this freight, and then concludes with a fact that fell within the compass of his own knowledge. 'There was, says he, one Salvaterra, a gentleman of Victoria, in Spain, that came by chance out of the West-Indies into Ireland, anno 1568, who affirmed the north-west pas-

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sage from us to Cataia constantly to be believed in America navigable; and further said, in the presence of Sir Henry Sydney (then Lord Deputy of Ireland) in my hearing, that a friar of Mexico, called Andrew Urdaneta, more than eight years before his then coming into Ireland, told him, that he came from Mer dul Sur into Germany through this north-west passage, and shewed Salvaterra at that time (being then with him in Mexico) a sea-card, made by his own experience and travel in that voyage, wherein was plainly set down and described this north-west passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius's map. And further this friar told the King of Portugal, as he returned by that country homeward, that there was (of certainty) such a passage north-west from England, and that he meant to publish the same; which done, the King most earnestly desired him not in any wise to disclose or make the passage known to any nation; for that, said the King, if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the King of Spain and me. This friar (as Salvaterra reported) was the greatest discoverer by sea that hath been in our age. Also Salvaterra being persuaded of this passage by the friar Urdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered most willingly to accompany me in this discovery, which it is like he would not have done if he had stood in doubt thereof.'

The *eighth* chapter contains the reasons that were advanced by our author at the Council-table, in the presence of her Majesty and the Lords, to shew, that the arguments offered by Mr Anthony Jenkinson, as to the probability of a north-east passage, were not convincing. It seems, Mr Jenkinson, who was a very great traveller, and to whom his countrymen are indebted for many useful informations, did not at all contest the probability of a north-west passage; but, from the general tradition amongst the people in the northern parts of Russia, concluded, that there was also a passage to the north-east. The reasons alledged by Mr Jenkinson are certainly far enough from being conclusive, and the answers of Sir Humphry Gilbert overthrow them plainly; but then, these are very far from being the strongest arguments that might be urged to prove there was such a passage. One thing deserves particular attention, that this was a matter discussed before the Privy-Council, and even in the presence of Queen Elizabeth. In her reign, not only matters relating to the Crown, but such affairs as had any relation to her subjects welfare, passed for concerns of State, and were treated accordingly.

The *ninth* chapter comprehends the motives upon which, supposing that there is a north-east passage to the Indies, this by the north-west should be preferred. He observes, that all circumstances considered, the passage is shorter, the voyage far safer, and more wholesome, the return easy, the necessary winds (both going and coming) more certain, and above all, the power of maintaining ourselves in possession of the north-west passage, as long as we continue superior to our neighbours in a naval force.

In the *tenth* chapter are laid down the advantages that would attend this discovery, such as the putting it in our power to obtain larger quantities of the most valuable commodities of the East, and at less expence than any other nation, by which we might be enabled to sell them cheaper; the carrying on this trade by the exchange of our own commodities, instead of sending silver; the increasing our manufactures at home, establishing useful colonies abroad, augmenting our shipping, multiplying our seamen, and giving a new incitement to the industry of our people of all ranks. He afterwards mentions several circumstances that may farther prove, as well the certainty as the facility of succeeding in this undertaking, concluding his whole discourse in the following manner: 'Further, because it sufficeth not only to know that such a thing there is, without ability to perform the same, I will at leisure make you partaker of another simple discourse of navigation, wherein I have not a little travelled to make myself as sufficient to bring these things to effect,



still this among other public spirited and glorious projects in view, is plain from the letters patents granted to his brother Adrian Gilbert (o). For the present, however, he adhered to his design of planting, and with that view procured from the Queen, an ample patent, dated at Westminster June 11, 1578, wherein he had full powers given him to undertake the discovery of the northern parts of America, and to inhabit and possess any lands, which at that time were unsettled by Christian Princes, or their subjects (p). Immediately after procuring these letters patents, Sir Humphry applied himself to the getting associates in so great an undertaking, wherein at first he seemed to be very successful, his reputation for knowledge being very great, and his credit as a commander thoroughly established; yet when the project came to be actually executed, many receded from their agreements, and others, even after the fleet was prepared, separated themselves, and chose to run their own fortunes in their own way (q). These disappointments, however, did not hinder Sir Humphry from prosecuting his scheme, in which he was seconded by his brother Sir Walter Raleigh, and a few other friends of unshaken resolutions. With these he sailed to Newfoundland, where he continued but a short time, and being then compelled to return, he in his passage home met with some Spanish vessels from whom he cleared himself but not without great difficulty. This seems to have been in the summer of 1579, but we have a very dark account of it, without either dates or circumstances, further than those which have been already given (r). Yet his miscarriage in this his first undertaking, was far from discouraging him; for after his return he went on as cheerfully as he had done before, in procuring fresh assistance for completing what he had intended, and for promoting Christian knowledge, by means of English settlements in undiscovered lands. This conduct of his is sufficient to shew not only the steadiness of his courage, but the extent of his credit, since after such a disappointment, another commander would scarce have persuaded any adventurers to join with him, which, however, was not by any means his case (s) [F]. At this time it is most probable he received from

(o) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr Oldys, p. 22.

(p) This patent is extant in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 135.

(q) See Mr Haies account in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 145.

(r) Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mr Oldys, p. 13.

(s) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage, Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 165.

'fect, as I have been ready to offer myself therein. And therein I have devised to amend the errors of usual sea-cards, whose common fault is to make the degrees of longitude in every latitude of one like bigness; and have also devised therein a spherical instrument with a compass of variation, for the perfect knowing of the longitude; and a precise order to prick the sea-card, together with certain infallible rules for the shortening of any discovery, to know at the first entering of any fret, whether it lie open to the ocean more ways than one, how far soever the sea stretcheth itself into the land. Desiring you hereafter never to mislike with me for the taking in hand of any laudable and honest enterprize: for, *if through pleasure or idleness we purchase shame, the pleasure vanisbeth, but the shame remaineth for ever.*

The great credit of the author, and the high reputation which his treatise had obtained amongst the best judges, was in all probability the reason that so great hopes were raised of the expedition by Capt. Martin Frobisher, who failed the very same year this piece was published, in order to carry this design into execution, and make the actual discovery of a north-west passage; and though that great man failed, yet so strong an impression was made by the facts and arguments alleged by Sir Humphry, that his brother afterwards formed a company under the Queen's letters patents (29), which was styled *The Collegues of the Fellowship for the Discovery of the North-West Passage*, in which Sir Walter Raleigh, and other persons of distinction, were likewise concerned.

[F] *Was not by any means his case.* In this note we shall endeavour to discuss those points relating to the life of our author, in respect to which, some who have gone before us are strangely mistaken. The Rev. Mr Prince, in his life of Sir Humphry Gilbert, assures us, that he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1577 (30); whereas we have shewn the reader, that he was really knighted by the Lord Deputy of Ireland near seven years before. It is true, that he cites a great authority for this (31), and is therefore the more excusable, but that he is in an error notwithstanding, may not only be proved by the testimony of Mr Hooker, who was well acquainted with Sir Humphry, but in Parliament with him at Dublin, wrote a history of things which passed under his own eye, singled out Captain Gilbert as his countryman and acquaintance, that he might furnish the world with such notices about him, as might otherwise be buried in oblivion, and dedicated his book to his brother Sir Walter Raleigh (32); but from an incontestable evidence, which is a letter of Sir Thomas

Smith, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, to Sir Sir Francis Walsingham, in which he styles him Sir Humphry Gilbert, in 1572 (33), as Camden also does (34), and other writers, who could not be mistaken.

But there is another and a greater error in Prince's Life, for which he cites no authority, and for which indeed it is impossible that any authority should be cited. The case is this; instead of two, he will needs have it, that Sir Humphry Gilbert made three expeditions for discovery, but gives us the dates of none, except the last. The first voyage, he says, was undertaken by himself, to his great charge and hazard, and was almost overthrown in the prime, by the failure of divers of the adventurers in their contracts and promises (35). If he had stopped here, it had been well, because this is matter of fact; but, says he, though in this he failed in a great measure of his expectation, yet being of a noble disposition he was not daunted, and so proceeded to a second voyage, wherein he made great discoveries, and gave name to a certain fretum in the northern seas, called Gilbert's Streights, to this day. Now this voyage was not only unknown to that worthy register of the great actions performed by our countrymen at sea, Mr Hakluyt, but to Captain Edward Haies, who mentions very particularly his first attempt in that copious and accurate account which he gives us of his second expedition, wherein he was Rear Admiral, in the Golden Hind, of which he was both captain and owner; it was also unknown to his intimate friend, Sir George Peckham, who contributed largely to his last expedition, and wrote an excellent book to vindicate his friend's memory, and in support of his undertaking, immediately after his decease. But what is still stranger, and indeed not a little absurd, Mr Prince, who makes both these expeditions the consequences of his patent, as indeed they must have been, places them nevertheless before the year 1577, whereas the patent bears date on the 11th of June, 1578 (36). That there can be no mistake in figures, is evident from that motive which pressed him to his last undertaking, viz the fear that his patent would expire, as it must have done if he did not take possession of some country within the space of six years. Now that time would have been much more than elapsed, if he had made two fruitless expeditions under that patent before 1577, for he failed on his last adventure the very day that the sixth year commenced from the date of his patent, viz June the 11th, 1583.

But however, all this is very accurate, or at least very pardonable, in comparison of another writer, who though an Englishman born, was so little master of his mother-

(33) Sir Dudley Digges's compleat Ambassador, p. 299.

(34) Camden's Illustrium Virorum Epistolæ, p. 350, 351.

(35) Worthies of Devon, p. 327.

(36) See the Patent as before referred to in Hakluyt.

(29) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 27.

(30) Worthies of Devonshire, p. 327.

(31) Sir William Pole's Catalogue of Knights made in the reign of Queen Eliz. in Devon.

(32) Hooker's Supply of Irish Chronicles, p. 132.



from that gracious princess Queen Elizabeth, as a mark of her peculiar favour an emblematical Jewel, being a small anchor (*t*) of beaten gold, with a large pearl at the peak, which he wore ever after at his breast; so that he had the satisfaction of perceiving that his credit with the Queen was not weakened, either by distance or disasters, the sense of which (such was the loyalty of those times) gave him the courage to affront any dangers, since he was now sure of not being shipwrecked at home. One thing which accelerated this second expedition of Sir Humphry's, was, that, tho' his patent was perpetual, yet there was a clause in it, by which it was declared void, in case no possession was taken within the space of six years. This term drawing to a close, he in the spring of the year 1583 hastened his friends in their preparations, so that by the first of June his little fleet was in readiness to sail. It consisted of five ships, 1. The Delight, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, Admiral, in which went the General Sir Humphry Gilbert, and under him Captain William Winter. II. The bark Raleigh, a stout new ship of two hundred tons, Vice-Admiral, built, manned, and victualled, at the expence of Sir Walter, then Mr Raleigh, under the command of Mr Butler. III. The Golden Hind, of forty tons, Rear-Admiral, commanded by Captain Edward Hayes, who was also her-owner. IV. The Swallow, of like burthen, commanded by Captain Maurice Brown. V. The Squirrel, of the burthen of ten tons, under the command of Captain William Andrews (*u*). They sailed from Plymouth on the 11th of June, and on the 13th the bark Raleigh returned, the Captain, and most of those on board her, falling sick of a contagious distemper. On the 30th of the same month the rest of the fleet had sight of Newfoundland. On the third of August they landed, the General read his commission, which was submitted to by all the English vessels upon the coast, and on the fifth he took possession of the harbour of St John, in the name of the Queen of England, and granted as her patentee certain leases, unto such as were willing to take them. At the same time a discovery was made of a very rich silver mine, by one Daniel, a Saxon (*w*), an able miner, brought by the General for that purpose. Sir Humphry now inclined to put to sea again, in order to make the best use of his time in discovering as far as possible, and having sent home the Swallow, with such as were sick or discouraged through the hardships they had already undergone, he left the harbour of St John's in 47° 40' N. L. on the 20th of August, himself in the small sloop called the Squirrel, because being light she was the fitter for entering all creeks and harbours, Captain Brown in the Delight, and Captain Hayes in the Golden Hind (*x*). On the 27th they found themselves in the latitude of 44°, and tho' the weather was fair, and in all appearance like to continue so, yet on the 29th of August in the evening a sudden storm arose wherein the Delight was lost, twelve men only escaping in her boat (*y*). This was a fatal blow to Sir Humphry Gilbert, not only with respect to the value of the ship and the lives of the men, but also in regard to his future hopes, for in her he lost his Saxon miner, and with him the silver ore, which had been dug in Newfoundland, and of which he was so confident as to tell some of his friends, that he doubted not to borrow

(*t*) Sir William Paley's determination of Devonshire.

(*u*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage, Hakluyt Vol. III. p. 143.

(*w*) Mr Haies account of Sir Humphry's Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 154.

(*x*) Sir George Peckham's Relation of Sir Humphry's Voyage in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 166.

(*y*) Richard Clarke's account of the shipwreck of the Delight, in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 164.

mother-tongue, that from a very plain quotation in one of our old chronicles, he took it into his head, that Sir Humphry Gilbert flourished in the reign of Henry the VIIth; we will first produce the passage that occasioned this blunder, and then the life itself, which is very short. 'This year 1489 (but it ought to be 1497) says John Stowe (37), one Sebastian Gabato, the son of a Genoese, born in Bristol, professing himself to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and islands of the same, as by his charts and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed, caused the King to man and victual a ship at Bristol to search for an island which he knew to be replenished with rich commodities; in the ship divers merchants of London adventured small stocks, and in the company of this ship sailed also out of Bristol three or four small ships fraught with sleight and gross wares, as course cloth, caps, laces, points, and such other. Sir Humphry Gilbert, Knight, in his book intituled A Discovery for a new Passage to Cataia, writeth thus: Sebastian Gabato, by his personal experience and travel, hath set forth and described this passage in his charts, which are yet to be seen in the Queen's Majesty's Privy-Gallery at Whitehall, who was sent to make this discovery by King Henry the VIIth, and entered the same fret, affirming that he sailed very far westward with a quarter of the north on the north side of Terra de Labrador, the 11th of June, until he came to the septentrional latitude of 67  $\frac{1}{2}$  deg. and finding the seas still open, said that he might, and would have gone to Cataia, if the enmity of the master and mariners had not been.

The life written by Pits is conceived in the following terms. 'Hunfredus Gilbertus (38) Anglus Equestris ordinis, vir Mathematicarum scientiarum peritissimus,

navigationis valde expertus, cujus chartæ totius mundi, & aliæ particularium regionum dicuntur adhuc in magno precio haberi, & Londini in domo regia, quæ vulgo Alba Aula dicitur, servari. Hic Henrici septimi Regis jussu & expensis varias navigationes ad investigandas terras novas suscepit. Scripsit Itineraria multa, Libras plures. De Navigatione ad terram Cataiam, Librum unum. Et chartas exquisitas multas. Claruit Anno Domini 1500, dum in Anglia rerum potiretur Henricus hujus nominis septimus.' That is, Humphry Gilbert, an English Knight, was a person thoroughly versed in the mathematical sciences, very skilful in navigation, whose maps of the whole world, and of many particular countries, are said to be still much esteemed, and are yet preserved in the Royal Palace at London, which is stiled Whitehall. This gentleman, by the command and at the expence of Henry the VIIth, undertook several expeditions for the discovery of new countries. He wrote accounts of many of his voyages in several books; of the navigation to the land of Cathaia, in one book; we have likewise several excellent charts of his drawing. He flourished Anno Domini 1500, in the reign of Henry the VIIth.

This is an admirable feature of Dr Pits, and is a convincing proof of his knowledge and accuracy in writing lives; but as wonderful as this is, it is perhaps not less so, that this life should be transcribed into the works of a learned prelate (39), not only without alteration, but without the least notice taken of the error of Pits. The desire of setting these matters right, and preventing posterity from being misled, while that is a thing practicable, induced us to state these points so largely, that there might not remain so much as a shadow of doubt concerning them.

[G] That

(37) Chronicles, p. 480, 481.

(38) De illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 366.

(39) Bibliotheca Britannica Hibernica, sive de Scriptoribus, &c. p. 316.



(z) Mr Haies  
account as above.

(a) Sir George  
Peckham's Re-  
lation.

(b) Mr Haies  
account of this  
Voyage.

(c) See also Sir  
George Peck-  
ham's Relation.

borrow ten thousand pounds of the Queen for his next voyage (z) [G]. On the second of September he went on board the Golden Hind, in order to have his foot dressed, which by accident he had hurt in treading on a nail. He remained on board for that day, and those who were in the vessel, did all that in them lay, to persuade him to make his voyage home in her, which he absolutely refused to do, affirming, that he would never desert his bark, in which, or his little crew, with whom, he had escaped so many dangers (a). A generous, but fatal resolution; for the vessel being too small to resist the swell of those tempestuous seas, about midnight on the 9th of September was swallowed up and never seen more. In the evening, when they were in great danger, Sir Humphry was seen sitting in the stern of the ship, with a book in his hand, and was often heard to say with a loud voice, *Courage, my lads! we are as near Heaven at sea, as at land* (b). Thus he died like a christian hero, full of hopes, as having the testimony of a good conscience. Mr Edward Hayes, who accompanied Sir Humphry in his voyage, and who hath left us an account of it, affirms, that he was principally determined to his fatal resolution of failing in the Squirrel, by a malicious report that had been spread of his being timorous at sea. Upon which he very justly observes, that it was rather rashness, than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Other particulars he mentions, amongst which there are some very worthy of the reader's knowledge (c) [H]. As to the person of this wise and brave man, it was such as recommended him

[G] *That he doubted not to borrow ten thousand pounds of the Queen for his next voyage.* In order to give the reader the best satisfaction in our power upon this subject, which some time or other perhaps may be of use, we must have recourse to that description of Newfoundland, which was penned by Captain Edward Haies upon the spot, with great perspicuity and accuracy, and with such intrinsic marks of veracity, as cannot escape the notice of an intelligent reader. After describing the produce of the sea, lakes, and rivers, he goes on thus.

(40) Upon the land beasts of sundry kinds, red deer, buffaloes, bears, ounces, or leopards, some greater, and some lesser, wolves, foxes, which to the northward a little further, are black, whose fur is esteemed in some countries of Europe very rich; otters, beavers, martins, and, in the opinion of most men that saw it, the General had brought unto him a fable alive, which he sent unto his brother Sir John Gilbert, Knight, of Devonshire, but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundredth part of creatures in those uninhabited lands, but these mentioned may induce us to glory the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures, serving for the use of man, though man hath not used the fifth part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish sloth in many of our nation, chusing rather to live indirectly, and very miserably to live and die within this realm, pestered with inhabitants, than to adventure as becometh men to obtain an habitation in those remote lands, in which nature very prodigally doth minister unto men's endeavours, and for art to work upon. For, besides these already recounted, and infinite more, the mountains generally make shew of mineral: iron very common; lead, and somewhere copper; I will not aver of richer metals, albeit, by the circumstances following, more than hope may be conceived thereof. For amongst other charges given to enquire out the singularities of this country, the General was most curious in the search of metals, commanding the mineral-man and refiner especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon born, honest, and religious, named Daniel; who after search, brought at first some sort of ore, seeming rather to be iron than other metal. The next time he found ore which with no small shew of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation, that if silver were the thing that might satisfy the General and his followers, there it was, advising him to seek no further, the peril whereof he undertook upon his life (as dear unto him as the Crown of England unto her Majesty, that I may use his own words) if it fell not out accordingly. Myself at this instant liker to die than to live, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my own satisfaction; but afterward demanding our General's opinion therein, and to have some part of the ore. He replied, Content yourself, I have seen enough, and were it but to satisfy my private humour, I would proceed no

further. The promise unto my friends, and necessity to bring also the south countries within compass of my patent near expired, as we have already done these north parts, do only persuade me further. And touching the ore, I have sent it aboard, whereof I would have no speech to be made, so long as we remain within harbour, here being both Portugals, Biscains, and Frenchmen not far off, from whom must be kept any bruit, or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea, proof shall be made; if it be to our desire, we may return the sooner hither again: whose answer I judged reasonable, and contenting one well wherewith, I will conclude this narration and description of Newfoundland. We shall in the succeeding note afford the reader further evidence of Sir Humphry Gilbert's being thoroughly persuaded of the truth of this report of the Saxon miner. It must indeed be allowed, that Sir George Peckham does not insist upon this point, which perhaps might arise from his not being thoroughly apprised of it, since in the beginning of his treatise, he speaks of Sir Humphry's death, as a thing not absolutely certain; so that he must have published his book immediately after Captain Haies returned in the Golden Hind to England. However in this work of his we find a passage, that perhaps is not very far wide of the subject, and which at the same time will acquaint the reader with the causes why this worthy gentleman was not in every thing so explicit as might be expected (41).

Besides all this, says he, if credit may be given to the inhabitants of the same soil, a certain river doth thereunto adjoin, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance. I do not hereby mean the passage to the Moluccas, whereof before I made mention. And it is not to be omitted, how that about two years past, certain merchants of St Malo in France, did hire a ship out of the island of Jersey, to the end that they would keep that trade secret from their countrymen; and they would admit no mariner, other than the ship-boy belonging to the said ship, to go with them, which ship was about seventy ton. I do know the ship and the boy very well, and familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage proved very beneficial. To conclude, this which is already said, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition, to serve for a taste, until such time as it shall please Almighty God, through our own industry, to send us better tidings. In the mean season, if any man well affected to this journey shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfy himself with the judgment and liking of such of good calling and credit, as are principal dealers herein; for it is not necessary in this treatise publickly to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

[H] *Very worthy of the reader's knowledge.* After having related at large the loss of the Delight, which was sailed their Admiral, Captain Haies acquaints us, that this disaster sunk the spirits of the men in both ships (42). 'Those (says he) in the frigate were al-

(41) True report of the late discoveries, and possession taken in the right of the Crown of England of the Newfoundland, by that valiant, and worthy gentleman Sir Humphry Gilbert, Cap. V. towards the end.

(42) Capt. Haies Relation in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 157, 158, 159.

ready



him to esteem and veneration at first sight; his stature was beyond the ordinary size, his complexion sanguine, and his constitution very robust (*d*). The compass of his learning, and

ready pinched with spare allowance, and want of cloaths chiefly, whereupon they besought the General to return for England before they all perished; and unto them of the Golden Hinde they made signs of their distress, pointing to their mouths, and to their cloaths, thin, and ragged; then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde grew to be of the same opinion and desire to return home. The former reasons having also moved the General to have compassion of his poor men, in whom he saw no want of goodwill, but of means fit to perform the action they came for, resolved upon retiring, and calling the Captain and Master of the Hinde, he yielded them many reasons inforcing this unexpected return; withal, protesting himself greatly satisfied with that he had seen and knew already. Reiterating these words, *Be content, we have seen enough, and take no care of expence past; I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God sends us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.* Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the Captain and Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his own company can testify; yet comforted with the General's promises of a speedy return at spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, proving an impossibility to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So upon Saturday in the afternoon, the 31st of August, we changed our course, and returned back for England; at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along between us and towards the land, which we now forsook, a very lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and colour; not swimming after the manner of a beast, by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body, excepting the legs, in sight, neither yet diving under, and again rising above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoises, and all other fish; but confidently shewing himself above water without hiding, notwithstanding we presented ourselves in open view and gesture to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze on sight of man. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ugly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewell (coming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring and bellowing as doth a lion, which spectacle we all beheld so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion; what opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the General himself, I forbear to deliver, but he took it for bonum omen, rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil.

The wind was large for England at our return, but very high, and the sea rough, inasmuch as the frigate wherein the General went was almost swallowed up. Monday in the afternoon we passed in the sight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more than two days and nights back again, as before we had done in eight days, from Cape Race unto the place where our ship perished; which hindrance thitherward, and speed back again, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our return. This Monday the General came aboard the Hinde to have the surgeon of the Hinde to dress his foot, which he hurt by treading upon a nail; at which time we comforted each other with hope of hard success to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry our lights always by night, that we might keep together, he departed into his frigate, being by no means to be intreated to tarry in the Hinde, which had been more for his security. Immediately after followed a sharp storm, which we overpassed for that time, praised be God. The weather fair, the General came aboard the Hinde again to make merry together with the captain, master,

and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning until night; during which time there passed sundry discourses touching affairs past, and to come, lamenting greatly the loss of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all, of his books and notes, and what else I know not, for which he was out of measure grieved, the same doubtless being some matter of more importance than his books, which I could not draw from him; yet by circumstance, I gathered the same to be the ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the Newfoundland. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deep, as not to be able to contain himself he beat his boy in great rage even at the same time, so long after the miscarrying of the great ship; because, upon a fair day, when we were becalmed upon the coast of Newfoundland, near unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the Admiral to fetch certain things, amongst which this being chief, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send again aboard the great ship, much less he doubted her ruin so near at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed, diversly and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich mine; for whereas the General had never before good conceit of these north parts of the world, now his mind was wholly fixed upon the Newfoundland; and as before he refused not to grant assignments liberally to them that required the same into these north parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of St John's, which certain English merchants made suit for, offering to employ their money and travel upon the same; yet neither by their own suit, nor of others of his own company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained. Also laying down his determination in the spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be re-attempted, he assigned the captain and master of the Golden Hinde unto the fourth discovery, and reserved unto himself the north, affirming, that this voyage had won his heart from the south, and that he was now become a northern man altogether. Last, being demanded what means he had at his arrival in England to compass the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next spring, having determined upon two fleets, one for the south, another for the north. *Leave that to me,* he replied, *I will ask a penny of no man; I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who will be so gracious to lend me ten thousand pounds; willing us therefore to be of good cheer, for he did thank God (he said) with all his heart for that he had seen, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seek any further.* And these last words he would often repeat with demonstration of great fervency of mind, being himself very confident and settled in belief of inestimable good by this voyage, which the greater number of his followers nevertheless mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets which the General kept unto himself; yet all of them that are living may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our General. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement perswasion and intreaty of his friends, could nothing avail to divert him from a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate, which was overcharged upon their decks with fights, nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat, that was to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather, whereof indeed we had enough. But when he was intreated by the captain, master, and other his well-wishers of the Hinde, not to venture in the frigate,



and the strength of his judgment made him remarkable for his prudence, when a very young man, tho' he was naturally of a warm and hasty temper. His love for his country, and his zeal for the Queen's service led him into undertakings and expences beyond his fortune, which induced the famous Mr Camden to make the following remark upon his demise (e), 'about this time, says he, Sir Humphry Gilbert perished at sea. A man of a bold and blyth temper, equally distinguished for the arts of war and peace, he was lost in his passage home, from that part of north America, upon which we have bestowed the name of Newfoundland; and whither he sailed but a little before, having sold a part of his patrimony, upon the hopes of what might arise from a Colony, which he intended to erect there. But when he had publicly asserted the right of the English Crown to that country, first discovered by Sebastian Cabot for Henry the seventh, Anno Dom. 1497, and had made leases to several of his companions, he by shipwrecks, and the want of every necessary, was so distressed, that he was obliged to give over his design, having learned too late, what his example may teach others, that the difficulty of planting colonies, in distant parts of the world, at the expence of private men, is far beyond what he, and many more thro' a fond credulity, and to their own loss, had persuaded themselves.' It is easy to conceive how many, and how great obstacles were to be overcome in establishing the doctrine of plantations; when so candid, so judicious, and so public spirited a man, as Camden really was, could think in this manner, and mistake the glorious schemes of a patriot, for the mercenary views of a projector (f). It was to vindicate Sir Humphry Gilbert's character in this respect, to do justice to his virtues, and to offer that incense to his memory, which as a confessor and martyr for the good and glory of his country, so worthy, so learned, so pious a man deserved, that this article was composed. For to speak the truth, and no more than the truth, he and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh were the parents of our plantations (g), laid the foundation of the English trade, and consequently of our power at sea, points of such high importance, that they can never be treated too copiously, or with too much emphasis [I]. Besides these titles

to

(e) Annal. Eliz. p. 402. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328, 329.

(f) See the true Motives to these undertakings in Captain Haies Relation, and Sir George Peckham's treatise of Western Planting.

(g) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 143. & seq. Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 626. Evelyn's Navigation, and Commerce, p. 77.

'this was his answer: *I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils.* And in very truth, he was urged to be so over-hard by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashness, than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the *Hinde*, such as was wanting aboard his frigate, and so we committed him to God's protection, and set him aboard his pinnace, we being more than 300 leagues onward of our way home. By that time we had brought the islands of *Azores* south of us, yet we then keeping much to the north, until we had got into the height and elevation of England, we met with very foul weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid-wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceed either of hilly grounds, high and low within the sea, as we see hills and dales upon the land, upon which the seas do mount and fall; or else the cause proceedeth of diversity of winds shifting often in sundry points, all which having power to move the great ocean, which again is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together, as there had been diversity of winds. Howsoever it cometh to pass, men which all their life-time had occupied the sea, never saw more outrageous seas. We had also upon our main-yard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen do call *Castor and Pollux*; but we had only one which they make an evil sign of more tempest; the same is usual in storms. Monday the ninth of September in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered; and giving forth signs of joy, the General sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out unto us in the *Hinde*, so oft as we did approach within hearing, *We are as near to Heaven by sea, as by land.* Reiterating the same speech, well becoming a soldier, resolute in *JESUS CHRIST*, as I can testify he was, the same Monday night about 12 of the clock, or not after, the frigate being a-head of us in the *Golden Hinde*, suddenly her lights were out; whereof, as it were in a moment, we lost the sight; and withal, our watch cry'd, the General was cast away; which was too true: for in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, until we arrived upon the coast of England. Omitting no small sail at sea unto which we gave not the tokens

'between us agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.'

[I] Or with too much emphasis.] It is asserted in the text, that Sir Humphry Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh were the parents of our plantations, and the great authors of our extensive trade and naval power. It is fit that this should be proved: with respect to Sir Humphry Gilbert, it was said at the time, and universally admitted for a fact, that he was the first person who carried men out of this nation with an intent to settle; that with this view he took possession for the Queen, and under her authority for himself, proclaimed her title, published laws, and granted lands. It is true no people staid at that time, but they settled there afterwards in virtue of his leases. Sir Walter Raleigh was a joint-adventurer with him, and the very year that Sir Humphry Gilbert perished, took out a new patent for the same purposes, and of the like tenure with that of Sir Humphry; upon which he immediately proceeded, and sent a colony at his own expence to settle upon the Continent, which gave a beginning to the reduction and improvement of that country, which was called *Virginia* (43). Having mentioned this, it will be proper to put the reader in mind, that he is not to understand this strictly of the country now so called, but for almost all that we now possess upon the continent of North America, from the *Carolina's* to *Nova Scotia* (44). Some indeed are very positive, that this name was imposed by Queen Elizabeth, in allusion to herself, as a virgin Queen, and it may be so; but it is generally believed, that this title was in people's mouths some years before this royal nomination; and it is pretty evident, that the first fruitless attempt of Sir Humphry Gilbert was directed towards that country, which will qualify at least, the inscription upon the globe placed in, and the verses under his picture, if it be his, which is left entirely to the reader's judgment. But that himself, his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh, his brother of the whole blood Sir Adrian Gilbert, or his friend and associate Sir George Peckham, were chiefly moved to these adventures, from the consideration of private advantage, cannot be surmised. No; they had greater and far more noble views: they aimed at civilizing and converting the natives of those countries, the promoting industry, virtue, and laudable ambition at home. In short, they were patriots, patriots of the old rock, desirous of meriting the love of their country by serving it. They were men of great and generous minds; and if they

(43) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 23.

(44) British Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 345.



to fame, from his sword and from his pen, he was a great orator likewise, and merited much of his country, by his speeches in the Irish and English house of commons (*h*), where he steadily supported the true interest of these nations, with an eloquence founded on his zeal for truth, and the service of the public, supported by sound reason, and adorned with learning, and that inexpressible beauty in discourse, which is the effect of true genius, the greatest gift of heaven, and the most distinguished excellence, with which mortals are endowed. A word or two now of his private character. He was a man esteemed in his country, beloved by his friends, and to whom those who were not so, could object only a little too much warmth (*i*), and what they stiled a presumption, which was, in truth, a generous enthusiasm, which little minds calumniate, because they cannot comprehend (*k*). He married (as we observed) out of the court of his glorious mistress, a lady of distinguished birth and fortune, Ann the daughter of Sir Anthony Ager of Kent (*l*), by whom, Prince tells us, he had nine sons (*m*). Hooker who knew him personally, and wrote immediately after his death, says, but five (*n*), and one daughter, in which they both agree. His eldest son, Sir John Gilbert, through the default of heirs-male, became the heir of the family, and was stiled of Greenway and Compton, in the County of Devon, Knight (*o*). He followed his father's example, and tho' he died in the flower of his age acquired the character of a gallant soldier, and a great officer (*p*), but left no issue, which was the case of all his brethren, except the youngest Raleigh Gilbert, Esq; (*q*), who made a great figure at sea, and had the happiness to execute some part of that plan, which his father had the honour to contrive. He married the daughter of Mr Kelly, by whom he had Ager Gilbert, Esq; (*r*), who espoused the daughter of Edmund Walrond, Esq; and by her had issue Humphry Gilbert, who parted with the ancient seat of Greenway, and fixed himself at Compton near Torbay. This was the gentleman to whom the Reverend Mr Prince owed many informations, and in whose house he saw an original picture of this his illustrious ancestor, which he thus describes. In one hand he held a General's staff, while the other rested upon a globe, with this word VIRGINIA written thereon, having the golden anchor with the pearl a-peak, hanging to his breast, at the bottom were these verses, which tho' none of the smoothest are yet sensible, and claim the reader's notice, on another account which we shall presently mention (*s*).

Here may you see the portraict of his face,  
Who for his country's honour oft did trace  
Along the deep, and made a noble way  
Unto thy growing fame, VIRGINIA.  
The picture of his mind, if ye do crave it,  
Look upon *Virtue's picture*, and ye have it.

A very intelligent and judicious writer has intimated, that possibly this might not be the picture of Sir Humphry Gilbert, but of his half-brother Sir Walter Raleigh (*t*), or one might be tempted to guess it was the pourtrait of his son Captain Raleigh Gilbert, who it is certain made a voyage to Virginia, A. D. 1607, on the behalf of his uncle Sir Walter, an account of which voyage was published after his return, and was very instrumental in spreading the fame, and procuring the settlement of that noble country (*u*). Upon mature deliberation, however, there is nothing improbable in following the common opinion, that this picture was painted for Sir Humphry Gilbert, since it might be done soon after the return of him, and his brother Sir Walter Raleigh from their voyage for a discovery in 1579, when it is supposed that he received that jewel from the Queen. This accounts for there being no mention of his expedition to Newfoundland, or his death (*w*). It may be objected that it would be a strange piece of vanity, to have his picture with these verses done in his life-time, and hung up in his own house; but to this we may easily reply, that this picture might be drawn by the direction of his brother Sir John Gilbert, and with the rest of his effects come afterwards into the possession of Sir Humphry's descendants as heirs by the collateral line (*x*). However this matter be, it is very certain, that this gentleman's life and death (*y*) was a continual commentary upon

they formed projects, they were projects founded on the most glorious basis, that of national utility. That in this they had likewise a regard to the welfare of their families, and had great hopes of enriching them, is true; and why not? They hazarded their persons and their fortunes, and they had a just right to recompence; but as this recompence could never have been received, till those benefits arose to the nation which they promised, this can take nothing from their fame, for the labourer is ever worthy of his hire; and he who expects a reward out of the riches he procures his country, ought not to be thought mercenary. But in pursuit of these glorious ends, Sir Humphry Gilbert,

injured his fortune. What then? His scheme was far from being chimerical, and though fruitless to himself, it was fruitful to his country. In twenty years after his decease, there were 250 ships from the west of England (*45*) annually employed in the Newfoundland fishery; these ships sailed in March, and returned in September; they employed at least 10,000 seamen, fishermen, and shoremen, who spent every winter at home what they got in their summer fishery, that is upwards of 100,000 l. exclusive of the persons employed in England, in building and rigging their ships, and other necessary services, and the profits of this trade, which were very considerable (*46*). Could an Englishman

(*h*) Hooker's Supply of Irish Chronicles, p. 133.  
(*i*) D'Uve's Journal, p. 129.  
(*k*) Wotton's Natural History, Vol. II. p. 295.

(*l*) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 160.

(*m*) Fuller's Worthies, Devon. p. 260.

(*n*) Cox's History of Ireland, part i. p. 336.

(*o*) Worthies of Devon. p. 329.

(*p*) Supply of Irish Chronicles, p. 133.

(*q*) Westcott's View of Devon. in Greenway, MS.

(*r*) Sir William Pole's Catalogue of the Knights in Devonshire, temp. Jac. I.

(*s*) English Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 40.

(*t*) Survey of Devon. in Compton. MS.

(*u*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 328, 329.

(*v*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*w*) Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 830.  
English Empire, in America, Vol. I. p. 40.

(*x*) Sir William Pole places this in A. D. 1577.

(*y*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 329.

(*z*) Fuller's Worthies of Devon. p. 260.

(*45*) Discourse upon trade, by Sir Josiah Child, p. 227.

(*46*) View of the benefits resulting from the possession of Newfoundland.



(z) At the close of his Discourse on the northwest passage.

upon his own generous maxim (z), *that he is not worthy to live at all, who for fear or danger of death shunneth his country's service, or his own honour; since death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal.*

man live or die to better purpose? Can the misfortune of so great a man be denied a tear? Or is it possible to contemplate his virtues, without owning that they deserve to be for ever remembered? Towards this, if the present article can at all contribute, it will do

honour to the book; and we may hope, will contribute to propagate that spirit which distinguished the age Sir Humphry Gilbert lived in, and which we sincerely wish might distinguish this, in the eyes of our posterity.

GILBERT, or GILBERT D [A] [WILLIAM] a most learned Physician in the XVIth and beginning of the XVIIth century, and author of the book *De Magnete*, &c. [i. e. of the load-stone,] was born at Colchester in the year 1540 [B]. He was the eldest son of Hierome Gilbert, gent. [C], some time Recorder of that borough (a). Anth. Wood asserts (b), that 'he was educated in both our Universities, but whether in Oxon first or Cambridge, he could not justly tell.' The epitaph on his monument mentions only Cambridge. After having studied some time there, but how long we have no certain account; he travelled into foreign countries, where probably he had the degree of Doctor of Physic conferred upon him (c); for he doth not appear to have taken it in either of our Universities. At his return to England, being justly famed for his learning, knowledge in Philosophy, and admirable skill in Chemistry, he was chosen a member of the College of Physicians in London (d) [D]; and practised in that city for above thirty years with great applause and equal success (e). In which time being grown in the highest reputation, he was sent for to Court, and became chief Physician to Queen Elizabeth (f); who had so great a value for him, that she allowed him an annual pension to encourage him in his studies (g). He was also chief Physician to K. James I. (b). In 1600 he published his book of the Load-stone, which being the first regular system on that curious subject [E], and confirmed by many experiments, (a method not much used at

(a) Memoirs MS. penes me.

(b) Athenæ Oxon. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 321.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Wood, Ibid.

(e) From his epitaph.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Wood, ubi supra.

(b) Epitaph.

[A] *Gilbert, or Gilbert.* The first, is the manner in which his name is written by all authors, who make mention of him or his writings. But the latter is used both in his own epitaph, and his father's; and in the Records of the town of Colchester: And therefore seems the truest.

[B] *Was born at Colchester in the year 1540.* This I collect from his epitaph, in which he is said to have been in the 63d year of his age, Novemb. 30. 1603, when he died.

[C] *The eldest son of Hierome Gilbert, gent.* This gentleman was born at Clare in Suffolk; admitted a free burgeis of Colchester in 1553 (1), and some time Recorder of that borough. He died in 1583, as appears by his epitaph, formerly on a brass plate in the church of H. Trinity, Colchester, but now gone. 'Here lyeth the body of Hierome Gilbert, some time Recorder of this towne of Colchester, and Elizabeth his first wife, and Margaret his daughter; he died 23 of May 1583 (2).'

[D] *He was chosen a member of the College of Physicians in London.* The author of the article *Gilbert* (Dr William), in the General Dictionary, is guilty at least of an inaccuracy in the following passage: 'And at his return being famed for his learning, and his profound skill in Philosophy and Chemistry, and his book *De Magnete*, he became Fellow of the College of Physicians at London, and Physician in ordinary to Queen Elizabeth.'—For it is hardly credible, that Dr Gilbert should practise above 27 years in London, and be several years Physician to Queen Elizabeth, before he was admitted a member of the College of Physicians. And therefore he was unquestionably a member of it, long before he was famed for his book *De Magnete*; which was published only about three years before his decease.

[E] *In 1600 he published his book of the Loadstone, &c.* The title of it was, *De Magnete, magneticiſque Corporibus, & de magno magnete Tellure, Physiologia nova.* Lond. 1600. fol. i. e. 'Of the Magnet (or Loadstone) and magnetical bodies, and of that great Magnet, the Earth.' To which he added afterwards an Appendix of six or eight sheets; but whether printed, we cannot find. This edition is scarce; but the book hath been re-printed abroad, particularly in Germany, with a preface by Wolfgang Lochman, M. D. In the first chapter, he gives an account of what had been written by the Ancients and Moderns concerning the Loadstone; notes that its Verticity to

'the Poles was first observed about three or four hundred years ago; mentions, with due praise, the observations of our countrymen Thomas Harriot, Robert Hues, Edward Wright, and Abraham Kendall, on its properties; and the writings of William Borough, concerning the variation of the compass; of William Barlow, in his Supplement; and of Robert Norman, in his new attractives, who first found out the declination of the needle. In the second chapter, he mentions the various names of the Loadstone; and, among the rest, that of Magnes, from Magnesia, a country of Macedon, abounding in iron: and observes, that Euripides the poet was the first who gave it the name of *Magnes*.—In the rest of the book, he treats of the various phenomena and properties of this most curious and valuable mineral, the Loadstone, under these four heads; 1. Its Attraction; 2. Its Direction to the Poles of the Earth, and the Earth's verticity and fixedness to certain points of the world; 3. Its Variation; 4. Its Declination: All which he illustrates by divers curious experiments, and diagrams. These several properties he derives from the magnetical nature of the Earth, which he supposes to be a great Magnet.—And shews the great use of the Declination of the Loadstone in finding out the Latitude.' This book hath received its due praises from the most learned men. The great Lord Verulam styles it, 'a painful and experimental work (3);' and mentions it in many other places with applause: As doth also Dr Hake-will, who says, Dr Gilbert 'hath written in Latine a large and learned Discourse of the properties of this Stone (4).' Sir Kenelm Digby honours the author with the name of 'an admirable searcher into the nature of the Loadstone (5).' The most learned Dr If. Barrow takes also proper notice of him (6). But Dr Gilbert having, in the first chapt. of his 1st Book, animadverted upon Joseph Scaliger's opinion, [*Exercitat. in Cardanum*, 131.] that hypercritic, brings him under his lash; saying, in his supercilious way, That he had shewed his learning more than the nature of the Loadstone: And that he had performed nothing worthy of the expectation which he had raised.—*Gulielmus Gilbertus—ante triennium tres amplissimos commentarios de ea re [de Magnete] edidit, quibus magis mihi probavit doctrinam suam quam Magnetis naturam (7).*—*Quidam Anglus. ante triennium libro de Magnete edito, nihil expectatione eâ, quam excitârat, protulit (8).*

[F] But

(1) Record book of Colchester, called the Oath-book, p. 215.

(2) R. Symonds's Collect. in the Herald's Off. Vol. I. fol. 437.

(3) Advancement of Learning, l. 2. c. 13.

(4) Apologie of the power and providence of God, &c. l. 3. c. 10. §. 4.

(5) Treatise of Bodies, c. 20.

(6) Opuscula, p. 87.

(7) Jos. Scaligeri Epist. l. 2. epist. 200. ed. Francof. 1628. 8vo.

(8) Ibid. l. 1. epist. 90.



at that time,) was well received in the world. But it seems to have met with a better reception abroad than at home [F]. And, to detract from him, A. Wood says (1), that twenty years before he published this book, Mr William Barlow had knowledge in the Magnet (k) [G]: Which might be true, for Dr Gilbert mentions him with due honour. But Dr Gilbert was the first who obliged the world with his experiments and observations on that subject, Dr Barlow's not being published till 1616 (l). And how far he might be indebted to the former, we have no certain account. Besides his book *de Magnete*, Dr Gilbert writ another piece [H]: And was the inventor of two most ingenious and necessary instruments for sea-men, to find out the Latitude of any place without the help of the sun, moon, and stars [I]. He died, unmarried, November 30, 1603, aged 63 (m), and was buried in the chancel of the church of Holy Trinity in Colchester, where there is a handsome monument for him [K]. By his will, he gave all his books in his library, his globes, instruments, and cabinet of minerals to the College of Physicians, London. His picture is in the Schools-gallery at Oxford, which shews him to have been of stature, tall, and of a cheerful countenance. He had four brothers, Ambrose; William, a Proctor in the Arches; Hierom; and George (n).

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

(k) See the title of the book in the Library of the College of Physicians.

(l) Wood, ubi supra, col. 321.

(m) From his epitaph.

(n) Wood, ubi supra, col. 321.

[F] But it seems to have met with a better reception abroad than at home.] This is intimated in the following passage in his epitaph. *Librum de Magnete apud Exteros celebrem in rem nauticam composuit.* However, it met with due commendation from several learned men at home, as appears by the last note but one.

[G] A. Wood says, that twenty years before he published this book, Mr William Barlow had knowledge in the Magnet.] But there is great reason to question the truth of this story of Mr Wood's. For, according to him, Mr Barlow did not publish his *Magnetical Advertisement* till the year 1616. And Edward Wright observes, in his encomiastic epistle to Dr Gilbert, that the Doctor had kept his Book *de Magnete* almost eighteen years by him, before publication. Mr Wright's words are, *Optimis igitur auspiciis [doctissime D. D. Gilberte] in lucem prodeat Magnetica Philosophia tua, non in nonum tantum annum (quod Horatius præcipit) sed in alterum jam fere novennium pressa, quam plurimis laboribus, studiis, vigiliis, artificiis, sumptibusque tuis non modicis, per tot continuos annos e tenebris demum densaque caligine otiose exiliterque philosophantium, infinitis artificiosis adhibitis experimentis eruta.* Πασιγενεῖς

ἐγκομιαιστικῇ, at the beginning of the Book.

[H] Dr Gilbert writ another piece.] It was published at Amsterdam 1651. 4to, from a MS. in the Library of Sir William Boswell, Knt under the title of *De mundo nostro sublunari Philosophia nova.* i. e. Of our sublunar world

[I] And was the inventor of two most ingenious and necessary instruments, &c.] This invention of his was published by Thomas Blondeville, in a book intitled, 'Theoriques of the Planets, together with the making of two Instruments for Seamen to find out the Latitude without seeing of Sun, Moon, or Stars, invented by Dr Gilbert.' Lond. 1602. 4to.

[K] Where there is a handsome monument for him.] A print of it is to be seen in the History and Antiquities of Colchester, by P. M. The Epitaph thereon is very unelegant, and hardly Latin, as appears by the beginning of it; which is thus. *Posuerunt hunc Tumulum Ambrosius & Gulielmus Gilbert, in memoriam pietatis fraterne Gulielmo Gilbert seniori Armigero, & Medicinæ Doctori. Hic primævus Filius Hieronimi Gilbert Armigeri, Natus erat Villæ Colcestriæ, &c.* The rest is incorporated into the text of this Article: C

GLANVILL [JOSEPH] an eminent Divine, a general scholar, and a very polite writer in the XVIIth century. He was the son of a merchant at Plymouth, and was descended from an ancient and honourable family seated near Tavistock in the county of Devon (a). We have no account preserved either of the place or manner in which he received the first rudiments of a learned education, since if there had, it is highly probable they would have been communicated to one or other of those learned Divines, who manifested an earnest desire of recommending his memory with honour to posterity (b). It is however probable, that the quickness of his parts distinguished him even in his tender years, since we find him entered of Exeter College in the University of Oxford, under the tuition of Mr Samuel Conant, April 19th, 1652 (c). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the same University October the 11th 1655 (d). In the midst of the following summer, he thought proper to remove to Lincoln College, the Reverend Mr Paul Hood being then Rector of that learned foundation (e). June the 29th, 1658. he took the degree of Master of Arts (f), and about that time was appointed chaplain to Francis Rous, Esq; Provost of Eaton College, and one of those, whom the Protector Oliver designed a member of his other house (g). But this patron of his dying very soon after, Mr Glanvill returned back to Lincoln College, where Mr Wood tells us he became a great admirer of Mr Richard Baxter, and a zealous person for a Commonwealth (h), the former is certainly true, but there seems to be some proof wanting of the latter, since immediately on the restitution of the government in Church and State, by the Restoration of King Charles the second, Mr Glanvill shewed great readiness in conforming, as other eminent and learned persons, who had been educated in those unhappy times, also did, without deserving in the least to be reproached for turning about, because in all probability they followed the light of reason and their own consciences (i) [A]. At least

(a) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 351.

(b) Dr Horneck and Archdeacon Pleydell.

(c) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

(d) Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 107.

(e) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 162.

(f) Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 122.

(g) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 565, 566.

(h) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 662.

(i) Parker's History of his own Times, p. 33.

[A] They followed the light of reason and their own consciences.] It is really a point of justice due to the memory of this worthy person, to wipe off the stain of so ill-grounded and so ill-mannered a reflection as, that after the Restoration he turned about, and became a Latitudinarian (1). We ought to consider that he came a boy of sixteen to the university, about four years after

the King's murder, and the subversion of the Constitution. His business there was not to give but to receive lessons, and to make the most of that education that was then to be had in the university. There could be nothing criminal in retiring from thence to live in the lodgings of Mr Francis Rous, then Provost of Eaton, who was himself a notorious time-server, had been

(1) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 663.



least thus much is certain, that tho' Mr Glanvill differed in opinion from many of his old friends, yet was he very far from falling out with them; on the contrary, he shewed them very great civilities, particularly to Mr Richard Baxter, in defence of whom he would have written, if Mr Baxter himself had not dissuaded him that he might run no risk of losing preferment out of respect to him (*k*). As a proof of his sincerity in this, and of his full confidence in the friendship of Mr Glanvill, he suffered him to see and peruse a treatise of his own, in answer to what had been written against him by the Bishop of Worcester, which he shewed to no other person whatsoever (*l*). Another point of his conduct exposed him also to the censure of Mr Wood; for notwithstanding all the benefits he derived from that severe discipline, for which his college and tutor were famous, yet he regretted that he was not bred at Cambridge, because there in his opinion he might have gained an earlier and more thorough knowledge of those notions that were then current under the title of the New Philosophy (*m*). To these sentiments, however, he was so much addicted, and thought the promoting them of so great consequence, that when he was but just entered the twenty-fifth year of his age, he ventured to write in defence of them, and published soon after this treatise to which his name was prefixed (*n*), in support of a free enquiry, a philosophy founded upon reason and experiment, and against the tyranny, which under the name and authority of Aristotle had been so long exercised in the schools [*B*]. This

(*k*) Kennet's Register, p. 609.

(*l*) Life of Mr Richard Baxter.

(*m*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 662.

(*n*) Kennet's Register, p. 402.

(*2*) Walker's History of Independency.

(*3*) History of the Royal Society, p. 54.

(*4*) Bishop Kennet's Historical Register, p. 931.

Speaker of that little Parliament which, with his assistance, surrendering their power to General Cromwell, afforded him the colour of assuming the supreme authority, which service procured him this place and dignity; and indeed Oliver could not well do less than make that gentleman a Lord, who had made him a Prince (*2*). But what was this to Mr Glanvill? He had no share whatever in these transactions; and before he had time to contemplate the character of his patron, he lost him. At his return to Oxford it is acknowledged, that he shewed a strong inclination for the new Philosophy; that is, he knew and was willing to follow the light as soon as he saw it. Let us hear what Bishop Sprat, who was in the same situation, says upon this subject, and whose apology must satisfy every rational and candid peruser (*3*). 'I dare appeal, says he, to all uninterested men who knew the temper of that place, and especially to those who were my own contemporaries there, of whom I can name very many, whom the happy Restoration of the kingdom's peace found as well inclined to serve their Prince and the Church, as if they had been bred up in the most prosperous condition of their country. This was undoubtedly so: nor indeed could it be otherwise; for such spiritual frenzies which did then bear rule, can never stand long before a clear and a deep skill in nature. It is almost impossible that they who converse much with the subtilty of things, should be deluded by such thick deceits. There is but one better charm in the world than real Philosophy, to allay the impulses of the false spirit, and that is the blessed presence and assistance of the true.' To be satisfied as to the matter of fact, and that we may be sure this eloquent writer does not impose upon us, let us remember, that at the same time with Joseph Glanvill, A. M. Dr Simon Patrick, Dr Edward Stillingfleet, Dr John Tillotson, Dr Samuel Parker, Dr Simon Ford, Dr John Worthington, Dr Edward Reynolds, Dr John Conant, Dr Edward Rainbow, Dr Richard Cumberland, and very many more, who had had their education and their benefices during the iniquity of the late times, had sense and learning sufficient to shake off their prejudices, and to rejoice in a restored and established Church (*4*). These are the assertions and the sentiments of a very judicious historian, and learned prelate, and we have no room (notwithstanding Wood's insinuations) to doubt of their truth.

[*B*] Had been so long exercised in the schools.] The title of this book at large runs thus:

*The Vanity of Dogmatizing; or Confidence in opinions, manifested in a discourse of the shortness and uncertainty of our knowledge, and its causes; with some reflections on Peripateticism, and an apology for Philosophy.* By Jos. Glanvill, M. A. Lond. 1661. in 12mo.

It is addressed to the Reverend Mr Joseph Maynard, B. D. afterwards Doctor in Divinity, and Rector of Exeter College in Oxford. This dedication is dated from Cecil-House in the Strand, March 1. 1660. Then follows a short preface, and after that three co-

pies of verses to the ingenious author. In this treatise our author assigns several reasons for the shortness of human knowledge. 1. That knowledge lies deep, and is therefore difficult. 2. Because we can perceive nothing but by proportion to our senses, from the impostures and deceits of our senses, the fallacy of our imaginations, the precipitancy of our understandings, the interest which our affections have in our dijudications. He afterwards makes several reflections on the peripatetic Philosophy, and observes that it is litigious, and hath no settled signification of words, that it gives no satisfactory account of the phenomena, and is unfit for new discoveries, and hath been the author of no one invention, that it is in many things impious and self-contradictory. For proof of this he tells us, that Aristotle held that the Resurrection is impossible, that God understands not all things, that the world was from eternity, that there is no substantial form, but moves some orb, that the first mover moves by an eternal immutable necessity, that if the world and motion were not from eternity, then God was idle. Of the Aristotelian contradictions, says he, Gassendus hath presented us with a catalogue, of which these are but a few. Aristotle in one place saith, that the scintillation of the planets is not seen, because of their propinquity, but that of the rising and setting sun is, because of it's distance; and yet in another place he makes the sun nearer us than they are. He asserts, that the elements are not eternal, and endeavours to prove it, and yet makes the world so, and the elements it's parts. In his meteors he says, that no dew is produced in the wind, and yet afterwards admits it under the south, and none under the north. In one place he defines a vapour humid and cold, and in another humid and hot. He affirms the faculty of speaking to be a sense, and yet before he allowed but five. In one place, that nature doth all things best; and in another, that it makes more evil than good. And somewhere he contradicts himself within one line, saying, that an immoveable mover hath no principle of motion.

Mr Glanvill then proceeds to shew, that dogmatizing is the effect of ignorance, inhabits with untamed passions, and an ungoverned spirit, is a great disturber in the world, is ill-mannered and immodest, holds men captive in error, betrays a narrowness of spirit. In the last chapter he gives us an apology for Philosophy, and vindicates it from the imputation of irreligion; and asserts, that next after the divine word, it is one of the best friends to piety. Neither is it any more justly accountable for the impious irregularities of some that have paid an homage to it's shrine, than religion itself, for the sinful extravagancies both opinative and practical, of high pretenders to it. It is a vulgar conceit, that Philosophy holds a confederacy with Atheism itself; but most injurious, for nothing can better antidote us against it: and they may as well say, that Physicians are only murderers. A philosophic Atheist is as good sense (that is as much nonsense) as a divine one. His matter was new and of importance, his manner very easy and florid, which gave his book a great course in the world.

[*C*] Which



This small discourse made him known in the literary world, and raised him also some considerable antagonists, against whom he defended himself with great spirit (o), which to say the truth was the more easy for him to do, since they did not take notice of the most exceptionable passages in his book, which however he was prudent enough to omit upon a revival [C]. About this time he entered into Holy Orders, and became not long after Rector of Wimbish in the county of Essex, which seems to have been his first ecclesiastical preferment (p). In the succeeding year however he met with better preferment, for Mr John Humfrey being ejected from the vicarage of Frome Selwood in Somersetshire, our author was presented thereto by Sir James Thynne, in the beginning of November 1662 (q). He published the same year, but was so cautious as not to put his name to it, a very ingenious discourse on the fundamental point of the ancient eastern philosophy, from

(o) Prince's  
Worthies of De-  
von, p. 351.

(p) Kenner's  
Register, p. 329.

(q) Calamy's  
List of Bishops,  
Vol. II. p. 615.

[C] *Which however he was prudent enough to omit upon a revival.* Amongst these passages there is one which shall be produced here, not only as a thing curious and extraordinary, not to say extravagant, but because it will give the reader a better conception of our author's disposition and capacity, than the most laboured character could do. He had a quick and lively genius, a ready flow, but not a great command of words, and began with handling subjects which it required much experience, and a judgment more solid than could be expected in a man of his years to manage in a masterly manner. These were the sentiments of Dr Beal, as appears in a letter of his to the honourable Mr Boyle, in which he commends and censures our author with equal candour (5).

(5) Boyle's  
Works, Vol. V.  
p. 488.

(6) Vanity of  
Dogmatizing,  
Chap. xx, p. 195,  
& seq.

But now to the passage (6). 'That one man, says he, should be able to bind the thoughts of another, and determine them to their particular objects, will be reckoned in the first rank of impossibles; yet by the power of advanced imagination, it may very probably be effected; and the story abounds with instances. I'll trouble the reader but with one, and the hands from which I had it make me secure of the truth on't.

'There was very lately a lad in the university of Oxford, who being of very pregnant and ready parts, and yet wanting the encouragement of preferment, was by his poverty forced to leave his studies there, and to cast himself upon the wide world for a livelihood. Now his necessities growing daily on him, and wanting the help of friends to relieve him, he was at last forced to join himself to a company of vagabond gypsies, whom occasionally he met with, and to follow their trade for a maintenance. Amongst these extravagant people, by the insinuating subtilty of his carriage, he quickly got so much of their love and esteem, as that they discovered to him their mystery; in the practice of which, by the pregnancy of his wit and parts, he soon grew so good a proficient, as to be able to out-do his instructors. After he had been a pretty while well exercised in the trade, there chanced to ride by a couple of scholars who had formerly been of his acquaintance. The scholars had quickly spied out their old friend among the gypsies, and their amazement to see him among such society, had well nigh discovered him; but by a sign, he prevented their owning him before that crew: and taking one of them aside privately, desired him with his friend to go to an inn not far distant thence, promising there to come to them. They accordingly went thither, and he follows: After their first salutations, his friends enquire how he came to lead so odd a life as that was, and to join himself with such a cheating beggarly company. The scholar gypsy having given them an account of the necessity which drove him to that kind of life, told them, that the people he went with were not such impostors as they were taken for, but that they had a traditional kind of learning among them, and could do wonders by the power of imagination, and that himself had learnt much of their art, and improved it further than themselves could. And to evince the truth of what he told them, he said, he would remove into another room, leaving them to discourse together, and upon his return, tell them the sum of what they had talked of; which accordingly he performed, giving them a full account of what had passed between them in his absence. The scholars being amazed at so unexpected a discovery, earnestly desired

him to unriddle the mystery. In which he gave them satisfaction, by telling them, that what he did was by the power of imagination, his fancy binding theirs; and that himself had dictated to them the discourse they held together while he was from them: That there were warrantable ways of heightening the imagination to that pitch as to bind another's; and that when he had compassed the whole secret, of some parts of which he said he was yet ignorant, he intended to leave their company, and give the world an account of what he had learned.

'Now that this strange power of the imagination is no impossibility, the wonderful signatures of the scotus caused by the imagination of the mother, is no contemptible item. The sympathies of laughing and gaping together are resolved into this principle; and I see not why the fancy of one man, may not determine the cogitation of another, rightly qualified, as easily as his bodily motion. This influence seems to be no more unreasonable, than that of one string of a lute upon another, when a stroke on it causeth a proportionable motion in the sympathizing consort, which is distant from it, and not sensibly touched. Now if this notion be strictly verifiable, it will yield us a good account how angels inject thoughts into our minds, and know our cogitations; and here we may see the source of some kinds of fascination. If we are prejudiced against the speculation, because we cannot conceive the manner of so strange an operation, we shall indeed receive no help from the common Philosophy; but yet the hypothesis of a mundane soul, lately revived by that incomparable Platonist and Cartesian Dr H. More, will handsomely relieve us. Or, if any would rather have a mechanical account, I think it may probably be made out some such way as follows. Imagination is inward sense; to sense is required a motion of certain filaments of the brain, and consequently in imagination there is the like; they only differing in this, that the motion of the one proceeds immediately from external objects, but that of the other hath it's immediate rise within us. Now then, when any part of the brain is strongly agitated, that which is next, and most capable to receive the motive impress, must in like manner be moved. Now we cannot conceive any thing more capable of motion than the fluid matter that is interperfed among all bodies, and contiguous to them. So then the agitated parts of the brain, begetting a motion in the proxime æther, it is propagated through the liquid medium, as we see the motion is which is caused by a stone thrown into the water. Now when the thus moved matter meets with any thing like that from which it received it's primary impress, it will proportionably move it, as it is in musical strings tuned unisons. And thus the motion being conveyed from the brain of one man to the fancy of another, it is there received from the instrument of conveyance, the subtile matter and the same kind of strings being moved and much, what after the same manner as in the first imaginant; the soul is awakened to the same apprehensions as were they that caused them. I pretend not to any exactness or infallibility in this account, foreseeing many scruples that must be removed to make it perfect. It is only an hint of the possibility of mechanically solving the phenomenon, though very likely it may require many other circumstances compleatly to make it out.' Our author in process of time came to think and write in a very different manner.

[D] Or



(r) Kennet's  
Register, p. 735.

(s) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. ii. col. 665.

(t) See an ac-  
count of this  
answer in the  
note.

from which most of their capital doctrines were deduced, and, which by many plausible arguments he endeavoured to shew, was not contradictory to, or incompatible with, revealed religion (r) [D]. The foundation of the Royal Society for promoting those ends, and encouraging those enquiries, which had been the subject of our author's first treatise, encouraged him to resume his labours in the same cause of free speculation, upon which he published a work new at least in title (s), tho' in respect to the matter not very different from his former discourse, except that it was closer, more methodical, and free from those conjectures and suspicious narratives, which with sensible people had hurt the credit of the former. By this judicious management the new work was much better received, and obtained a very good character, amongst such as were desirous of seeing the road to truth made as plain and laid as open as it was possible [E]. To this he added a defence of his former book against Mr White, a famous champion of the Church of Rome, and of the Aristotelian philosophy (t), the whole being closed with a short epistolary discourse concerning Aristotle, one of the most solid and sensible performances that ever fell from our author's pen, and with which, tho' his antagonists were very angry, yet, except bestowing hard names, they were utterly unable to return him any answer [F]. In justice to his

zeal

[D] Or incompatible with revealed religion.] The title of this book is as follows:

*Lux Orientalis: or an Enquiry into the opinion of the eastern Sages, concerning the pre-existence of souls: being a Key to unlock the grand mysteries of Providence, in relation to man's sin and misery* Lond. 1662. in 12mo.

(7) Wood's Fast.  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 139.

It is dedicated to Francis Willoughby, Esq; a gentleman of great wisdom and learning (7). In the preface he remarks, that his design in this book is only an innocent representation of an ancient and probable opinion, which I conceive, says he, may contribute somewhat towards the clearing and vindicating the divine attributes, and so representing the ever blessed Deity as a more fit object of love and adoration, than the opinions of the world make him.—For there is nothing more for the interest of religion, than that God be represented to his creatures as amiable and lovely, which cannot be better done than by clearing up his providence and dealing with the sons of men, and discovering them to be full of equity, sweetness, and benignity. In this treatise he proposes the several opinions concerning the original of souls, and observes, that the daily creation of them is inconsistent with the divine attributes; that the tradition of them is impossible, and the reasons for it weak and frivolous. He then exhorts his readers to look towards the ancient sages, those eastern sopher, who have filled the world with the fame of their wisdom, and then observes, that it was the opinion of the Indian Brachmans, the Persian Magi, the Egyptian Gymnosophists, the Jewish Rabbins, some of the Grecian Philosophers, and Christian Fathers, that the souls of men were created all at first, and at several times and occasions, upon forfeiture of their better life and condition, dropped down into these terrestrial bodies. This the learned among the Jews made a part of their Cabala, and pretend to have received it from their great law-giver, Moses. Our author proceeds to remark, that the Scripture saith nothing against it; that its silence is no prejudice to this doctrine, but rather an argument for it, as the case stands; that pre-existence was the common opinion in our Saviour's time; that our forgetting the former state was no argument to disprove it; that the proof of the possibility of pre-existence would be sufficient, all other hypotheses being absurd and contradictory; but, that it is proved also by positive arguments; that an argument for it may be drawn from the consideration of the divine goodness, which always doth what is best; that another argument may be drawn from the great variety of men's speculative inclinations, and the diversity of our genius's. He then shews what countenance it hath from the Old and New Testament, and afterwards states a philosophical hypothesis of the soul's pre-existence, so as to justify the commendations he had bestowed on this fundamental point of oriental Theology.

[E] And laid as open as it was possible.] The title of this piece at large runs in these words:

*Scepſis Scientifica: or Confess'd Ignorance the way to Science: in an Essay on the Vanity of dogmatizing, and confident opinion.* Lond. 1665. 4to

The imprimatur is dated Oct. 18. 1664. It is dedicated to the Royal Society in so copious a manner, that

this discourse takes up 28 pages. Henry Oldenberg, Esq; in a letter of his to the Hon. Mr Boyle, dated Decemb. 10. the same year, acquaints him (8), that 'this work had been presented by Lord Brereton to the Society, and the address prefixed thereto read, 'in which dedication, says he, the author expresseth a 'very great respect to the said Body, and their design, 'which I was very glad (and so were others) to find to 'be so well understood at last by some, though I fear 'the great expectation he raiseth of their enterprize, 'may be of more prejudice than advantage to them, if 'they be not competently endowed with a revenue to 'carry on their undertakings.'

(8) Boyle's  
Works, Vol. V.  
p. 328.

We have intimated in the text, and the fact is really so, that this is no more than his former book against dogmatizing reviewed and more closely digested, all such passages (and particularly that respecting the Oxford scholar) being rejected, as might be attended with difficulty of proof; and perhaps when he was making this revision, it would have been as well to have thrown out the doctrine, as the example; which however with his reasoning upon it, is still retained. This book makes a better appearance, and is of a larger size, than his former treatise, which notwithstanding is rather contracted than enlarged; for though our author has given it as his opinion, that he was more fortunate in his first thoughts than in his corrections, yet his practice does by no means agree with that assertion; since it is not easy to find a writer (at least of his rank) who has reviewed his performances oftener, or altered them more, of which in the course of this article we shall give the reader abundant proofs.

[F] They were utterly unable to return him any answer.] The adversary against whom our author was to vindicate his book, was already known to the learned world by several names, calling himself sometimes Thomas Albius, sometimes Thomas Anglus, and sometimes Thomas Anglus ex Albiis, each of which appellations belongs to, and is the same with, Thomas White, second son of Richard White, of Hutton in Essex, Esq; by Mary his wife, daughter of Edmund Plowden, the great lawyer in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (9); which Thomas White having been always from his childhood a Catholic became at length a secular priest, and a noted philosopher, as his writings shew, says honest Anthony Wood who had a kindness for these sort of people, tho' the chief merit of this gentleman was his being a great disciple of Sir Kenelm Digby, and a steady advocate for the peripatetic Philosophy. He wrote against our author in Latin, and gave his treatise the following fanciful title,

(9) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 665.

*Sciri, sive, Sceptices & Scepticorum a Jure Disputationis Exklusio.*

This induced Mr Glanvill to intitle his answer, that it might bear some similitude to the discourse it was intended to refute,

*Scire tuum nihil est: or the Author's defence of the vanity of dogmatizing, against the exceptions of the learned Thomas Albius, in his late Sciri.*

— No doubt but ye are the men, and wisdom shall die with you.

JOB.

In this answer our author sets down the objections of his antagonist in his own words in Latin, and then his answers



zeal as well as out of respect to his abilities, our author was chosen a Member of the Royal Society (u), a circumstance, that as on the one hand it did him a great deal of honour, so on the other it exposed him to a heavy load of envy from some, and kept up the resentment of others, who could not think of quitting the beaten path, or bear to see those principles ridiculed in their old age, to which they had paid so great deference in their youth. But however, the countenance given him by his friends, and the credit he had obtained by his writings, raised his courage so much, that he ventured in the succeeding year, which was 1666, to deliver his sentiments upon another knotty point, about which the most judicious persons were not then and perhaps never will be agreed (w). This was the subject of witchcraft [G], and proved the beginning of a controversy, that lasted as long as his life, and was managed with great warmth, and abundance of plausible arguments on both sides. June 23d 1666, he was inducted into the Rectory of St Peter and St Paul at Bath (x), in which city he from that time fixed his residence, yet had not been long there before he found himself surrounded with new opponents, who undertook the defence of Aristotle (y), and the old philosophy, and treated our author Glanvill with as much asperity for having drawn his pen against them, as if the authority of that philosopher had been sacred (z), or that any system of opinions ought to claim implicit reverence independent of their foundation in truth. Mr Glanvill however had a spirit that was not to be subdued by such treatment, and therefore instead of receding in the least from his former sentiments, he supported them upon all occasions with great firmness, and with that fluency of language, for which he was particularly distinguished, a circumstance of no weight at all with his adversaries (a), who pretended that Reason ought to have greater respect paid it than Rhetoric; as, on the other hand, the friends of our author

(u) Spens's History of the Royal Society, p. 432.

(w) Considerations on Witchcraft.

(x) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 351.

(y) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 665.

(z) Stubbe's Discourse on Phlebotomy.

(a) Athen. Oxon. Vol. ii. col. 753.

answers in English, from which it appears, that whereas Mr White represented Mr Glanvill as a Sceptic, and wrote against him, though with many commendations of his abilities, as such he is therein mistaken, Mr Glanvill having no intention to maintain what are strictly and properly styled Sceptical Principles, but to oppose Confidence in Opinions; the truth and certainty of which cannot be proved as prejudicial to learning and knowledge.

In his *Letter to a Friend, concerning Aristotle*, which contains but 22 pages, he in a very clear and close chain of reasoning, justifies his opposition to the received authority of those doctrines that have been long taught in the schools, under the sanction of that Philosopher's name. In respect to these he observes, that whatever fondness later ages may have expressed for him, the pious fathers of the first and purest ages of Christianity shewed no such veneration for Aristotle, but frequently reprov'd his notions with a keen and impartial severity, of which he gives various instances. He next remarks, that Aristotle rose into all this credit after his works came into the hands of the Arabians, and in an age when ignorance was epidemic. He then shews that it is very doubtful, whether the greatest part of the pieces that pass under the name of this philosopher are his or not, which he discusses with much learning and candour. He mentions also that irreverence with which Aristotle treated all other philosophers; so that in opposing him, he only follows his own example. He proceeds then to shew, that the Corpuscularian and Atomical Philosophy was prior in point of time to that of Aristotle; so that such as espouse it, ought to be esteemed rather defenders, than despisers of antiquity. He produces the authority of many ancient and esteemed authors, to shew that the morals of Aristotle were none of the best; and lastly he proves, that he borrowed almost all he wrote, and was not over ready to acknowledge from whom he borrowed; qualities that did not seem to warrant any excessive respect to him.

[G] *This was the subject of Witchcraft.*] The title of this book of his stood originally thus, though frequently altered in subsequent editions.

*Some Philosophical Considerations touching the Being of Witches, and Witchcraft.* Lond. 1666. 4to.

It was in the form of an epistle to Robert Hunt, Esq; a Justice of the Peace, who had been very active in taking the examinations against several supposed witches; but the book being burnt in the great fire at London in the beginning of September the same year, it was re-printed there again in 1667. in the same size. Again, under the title of *A Blow at modern Sadducism, in some Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft.* Lond. 1668. 4to. To this book are subjoined

VOL. IV. No. 185.

*A Relation of the famed Disturbance at the House of Mr Mumpesson, and Reflections on Drollery and Atheism.* In 1668 he published *Palpable Evidence of Spirits and Witchcraft, in an account of the famed disturbance by a Drummer in the house of Mr Mumpesson.* Lond. 1668. This is the same with the *Relation* above-mentioned, only the title altered. *A Whip for the Droll Fiddler to the Atheist, being Reflections on Drollery and Atheism.* Lond. 1668. This is likewise mostly the same with the *Reflections on Drollery, &c.* above-mentioned.

*Saducismus Triumphatus, or full and plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions, in two parts.* Lond. 1681. in 8vo. and there again in 1682. with large additions, by Dr Henry More, the editor of both editions. The first part treats of the possibility, the second of the real existence of Witches, with a letter to Dr Henry More, upon the same subject. The first part consists of his considerations touching the being of witchcraft, re-printed here the fifth time. The second part contains an answer to part of the *Display of supposed Witchcraft, &c.* by Mr John Webster, *Practitioner in Physic and Chirurgery in the West Riding of Yorkshire*, printed at London 1667, in folio, and Mr Glanvill's former relation of the famed disturbance at the house of Mr Mumpesson, and a second narrative of it enlarged with a collection of twenty-six modern relations. The author's imperfect preface to the second part gives an account of the several editions of his former treatise of Witches, and relates the many motives which induced him to make those large additions in that edition. The person who perused his papers after his death, digested his materials which were left somewhat imperfect, and supplied what was wanting by advertisements through the whole work. The last advertisement is the most considerable; and as an appendix to the first part, concerning the possibility of apparitions, &c. is added *An Account of the nature of a Spirit*, translated out of the two last chapters of Dr More's *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*. We shall have occasion to mention the first of these pieces in another note; but it may not be amiss before we close this to observe, that in the last edition of it, it was dedicated to Charles Duke of Richmond and Lenox, and that dedication is dated from Bath June 8. 1668. At the time he was making his collection of relations, our author held a correspondence with the great Mr Boyle, who gave him many very just cautions about his management of so tender a subject, and hinted to him, that the credit of Religion might suffer from weak arguments upon such topics (10). In his answers Mr Glanvill professes himself much obliged for those kind admonitions, and promises him to be exceeding careful in the choice of his relations.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 244, 528.



(b) Dr Horneck's  
Preface to his  
Remains.

(c) Plus Ultra,  
ch. 1.

(d) British Librarian,  
p. 116.

thor conceived, that if Reason had not been on his side, he could never have maintained his dispute with so much visible advantage; or those who opposed him driven to take shelter in scurrilous language, and groundless aspersions (b) [H]. But not relying upon these decisions, which however satisfactory in regard to his behaviour in a personal dispute, were of little or no force towards settling a point of such high importance to the public; he resolved once more to carry his cause before that tribunal, and to appeal on the behalf of truth and science, to the candid judges of that age, and to posterity (c), which he did in a small but elegant treatise, that added highly and justly to his reputation, and which is still very much esteemed by the curious, being become so scarce as not to be met with in other hands (d) [I]. That applause which our author received from some of the most eminent

(11) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 753.

[H] *To take shelter in scurrilous language and groundless aspersions.* The reader will easily perceive, from what has been said in the text, that our author's writing in defence of the new Philosophy, engaged him in a kind of literary war, from the very time that his first book appeared, which he probably hoped might have received some check upon his retiring from the university to Bath; but even there he found many opponents, who not being so well able to deal with him themselves, contrived in the year 1667 (11) to carry him to the house of a brother Clergyman, the Rev. Mr Robert Cross, Vicar of Great Chew, near Pensford in Somersetshire, who was a great admirer of Aristotle, and a violent defender of the peripatetic Philosophy, as Mr Glanvill found to his cost, who not having been previously informed of this intended altercation, was in some measure surprized, and did not answer with that quickness and facility which otherwise he would have done. Upon this Cross, who saw his advantage, and was none of the most humane adversaries, declaimed passionately against modern innovators, and maintained positively, that Aristotle alone had more advantages for acquiring knowledge than the Royal Society, or all the present age had, or could have, and that for this strong reason, because he had surveyed all Asia. However, our author soon recovered himself, and in some future conversations, and by letters, strove to make good that cause for which he was an advocate, and in support more especially of the Royal Society, and their proceedings, of which assembly knowing him to be a member, Mr Cross had not only spoke with intemperate freedom, but with the utmost virulence and contempt. After this controversy had been carried on for some time in this manner, by which our author was constrained to bend his thoughts, particularly to the comparison between the old and new methods of philosophizing, the jejune dryness of the former, and the prolific vigour of the latter, he saw it would be no difficult business to draw up an entertaining and instructive account of modern improvements, and daily experience convinced him, that nothing could be more expedient or even necessary for the support of his private character, vindicating the honour of the Royal Society, or affording proper information to the public.

[I] *As not to be met with in other hands.* The title of this small but valuable performance runs thus:

PLUS ULTRA: or *The Progress and Advancement of Knowledge since the days of Aristotle.* In an account of some of the most remarkable late Improvements of practical useful Learning to encourage philosophical Endeavours. Occasioned by a Conference with one of the *National Way*. By Joseph Glanvill. Lond. 1668. in 12mo. The *Imprimatur* is dated May 2. 1668. After his dedication to William (Pierce) Bishop of Bath and Wells, and his preface to the Clergy of that diocese, we come to the work itself, which in the running title is called *Modern Improvements of useful Knowledge*, and is divided into eighteen chapters, though the whole is written by way of letter to a friend. He remarks at the very entrance of his work, that the two principal ways of promoting knowledge, are first, by enlarging the history of things, and secondly, by improving intercourse; and in these respects this age hath great advantages from the improvements of Mathematics, particularly of Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry, Astronomy, Optics and Geography. He then observes, that useful knowledge is assisted by the instruments lately invented, as the telescope, microscope, thermometer, barometer, and air-pump, and by the modern improvements of Natural History. That the later ages have great advantages for spreading and communicating

knowledge, particularly by printing, the compass, and the Royal Society. Our author shews the reasons of the institution of that Society, and their designs, and gives an account of what Mr Boyle had then done for the promotion of useful knowledge, and what he had by him not then published, and points out the reasons for the world to expect greater things of the Royal Society.

He next shews the absurdity of making comparison between the advantages which Aristotle had for knowledge, and those of later ages; and concludes with certain observations about the censure of Atheism applied to philosophical men, and an apology for the Royal Society, and other generous Philosophers; and with regard to himself, he gives us the following account: In his first education he was continually instructed into a religious and fast adherence to every thing which he was taught, and a dread of dissenting in the least article. This discipline he underwent in his younger days, and thought very strangely of those who believe any thing different from the opinions of their instructors. But advancing in years, and coming to a freer exercise of his own mind, he began to make reflexions upon the vast diversity and variety of apprehensions and religions in the world. He considered, that they were all as confident in their way, as he was in that wherein he was instructed; and the greatest part had nothing but their education for their inducement. He thought how easy we are in our first age, and that the children must believe; yet men, especially those bred in the way of study, must try. He considered what he should first advise an Heathen or Mahometan to do, who had been brought up to idolatry and fables, and upon the consultation with himself concluded, that it should be to look about him, and to examine other religions, regarding his own with the same eye of indifferency and suspension, as if he had never been born under that faith, which was a thing extrinsic and accidental, and therefore not fit to make an argument to engage a reasonable belief; and when he had so thought, he turned the tables, and took the counsel himself. He therefore bent his chief studies and endeavours to know the truth of the Christian Faith; and after the foundations laid in the settling the grand article, the Being of a God, and the consequent doctrines of a Natural Theology, he sat down to enquire about the authority of the holy Scripture; not that he positively doubted or distrusted their veracity, but that he might have a firm bottom, and be able to give an account of his Faith and Hope. In his enquiry the first discourses he met with on the subject did not at all satisfy, but seemed weak and greatly obnoxious. But in the progress of his search, he lighted upon those grounds which, I thank God, says he, quieted my mind, and gave me the most demonstrative assurance that the nature of the thing could bear, of the truth and certainty of those sacred writings, which undoubtedly contain the fullest discoveries of the divine wisdom and perfections, which I infinitely admire, and shall eternally adore that goodness that blessed the sons of men with such clear discoveries of his will. And though I perceive that the follies and superstitions of sects, who have the holy oracles always in their mouths, and press them for the service of their conceits, have prejudiced some of the pretenders to reason against them; yet this I see, that the wiser, freer, better, and more reasonable any man is, the greater still is his veneration of those holy records, and the relish of them increaseth with our improvements in virtue and goodness. The very learned Morhoff censures this book, and in doing it says some very coarse things of this nation, which however is the less wonderful



eminent men, as well in point of knowledge as rank, from this excellent performance, raised the resentment of his adversaries to a very high degree, which they discovered in some railing and abusive pieces (e), to which Mr Glanvill replied with great vehemence and spirit, but at the same time intermixed a little too much of that kind of language by which he had been provoked (f); which however had in some measure its effect, and might perhaps contribute to his being less disturbed afterwards (g) [K]. His credit was now so thoroughly established, that he was frequently called upon to preach before numerous assemblies, and on many solemn occasions. Amongst these one was at a visitation of the diocese, and his discourse at that time on the harmony between Religion and Reason was not only exactly suitable to the season and the audience, but in itself so perfectly adapted to that weighty and delicate subject, as to meet with general approbation (h) [L]. He

(e) See *St. James's* Letter to Mr Boyle.

(f) *Athen. Genon. Vol. ii. col. 362.*

(g) See the Preface to his *Boyle's*.

(h) *Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.*

was

wonderful when we consider, that from his own words it appears he had never seen it, but took the character of it from Stubbe's answer, and Causabon's epistle, which led him to believe, that Mr Glanvill had spoken disrespectfully of all ages and all nations but his own; whereas, nothing can be more remote from the scope and tendency of his book, which differs very little from those of his former treatises that Morhoff had seen, read, and commended (12).

[K] *To his being less disturbed afterwards.* In some chapters of the book mentioned in the preceding note, our author has treated the old Somersetshire Vicar with a degree of raillery, which however it might please the bulk of his readers, must naturally give him who was the subject of it much uneasiness. Mr Crofs thereupon set pen to paper, and wrote not so much a defence of his own sentiments, as a reply to those raileries; but the press being at that time under a licence, it was, upon perusal, rejected by such as had that power committed to them, both at Oxford and at London; and this, as our author says, for its incomparable railing and impertinence. Mr Glanvill notwithstanding, by his interest, procuring an account of the contents of it, sent it in a private letter to Dr Ingelo; which letter afterwards coming into a friend's hands in London, was printed at London, and called the *Chew Gazette*; but there were not 100 copies of it, and those all given into private hands. In this letter Mr Glanvill presented a collection of some of the scurrilous names which Mr Crofs had called him, recited about sixteen of his gross falsehoods, discovered the contemptible impertinency of the book, and gave a specimen of the learning which Mr Crofs shewed in school-scrap, little ends of verse, and children's phrases, which are, says our author, all the reading he discovers. These things are in brief represented in the *Gazette*, and much more largely in a Latin account of his performance, which I have ready by me. After this letter was abroad, Mr Crofs wrote ballads against our author, and engaged Mr Henry Stubbe, the Physician of Warwick, in his defence, who published a book intitled,

*The Plus Ultra reduced to a Non-Plus: or a Specimen of some Animadversions upon the Plus Ultra of Mr Joseph Glanvill; with divers enquiries made about several matters.* Lond. 1670. 4to.

This occasioned our author to publish

*A Prefatory Answer to Mr Henry Stubbe, the Doctor of Warwick. Wherein the malignity of his temper, the hypocrisy of his pretences, the falsehood of his reports, and the impertinency of his arguings and quotations, in his animadversions on Plus Ultra, are discovered.* By Jos. Glanvill. Lond. 1671. 12mo. This piece is addressed to his much honoured friend Francis Godolphin, Esq;

Upon this Mr Stubbe wrote *A Preface against Ecebolius Glanvill, Fellow of the Royal Society*, subjoined to his *Reply unto a Letter written to Mr Henry Stubbe, in defence of the History of the Royal Society.* Oxford, 1671. 4to.

He fell upon him likewise in his *Epistolary Discourse concerning Phlebotomy, in opposition to George Thomson, Pseudo-Chymist, a pretended Disciple to the Lord Verulam.* Lond. 1671. 4to.

Mr Glanvill immediately published *A farther Discovery of Mr Stubbe, in a brief reply to the last pamphlet against Joseph Glanvill.* Lond. 1671. 8vo. To this tract is subjoined *Ad Clerum Somersetensem Epistola ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΙΣ.*

Dr Meric Causabon also made some reflections upon our author's *Plus Ultra*, in a *Letter to Peter du Moulin, D. D. &c. concerning Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and some books lately set out about it.* Cambridge, 1669. 4to.

In this letter Dr Causabon vindicates Aristotle from the imputations thrown upon him by Mr Glanvill, who he observes doth not want words to set out his matter to the best advantage; and remarks, that whereas a long inventory is given by our author of things lately discovered that were not known to the Antients, it would have been the part of an impartial man to have told us at the same time, that we have lost some things, also known to the Antients, and what they are, which happily might deserve as much respect, so much at least, as not to be passed in silence. Many such things, besides what is collected by Pancirollus, in a treatise of that argument, have been observed by more than one, Physicians and others, all which I cannot call to mind suddenly. But after all these, and many other reflections of the same kind, Causabon, who was a man of great candour, and considerable knowledge, at the close of his letter delivers himself thus: 'What I had to except against the book you brought me, I have told you; I must now thank you for it: for in very truth, his Divinity at the end, which is somewhat mystical, (I hope I do not understand it) and those two particulars, his contempt of Aristotle, and his censuring all other learning besides Experimental Philosophy, and what tendeth to it, as useless and mere wrangling, and disputing excepted; I have read the rest, wherein he doth give us an exact account of late discoveries, with much pleasure. For tho' I think many ages may pass before the use of many of those particulars are known, yet Aristotle hath taught me (and he proves it excellently) that nothing can be in nature so mean, or so vile, but deserves to be taken notice of, and will afford to an ingenious speculative man matter of pleasure and delight.' Mr Glanvill mentions this piece of Dr Causabon at the end of the preface to his *Prefatory Answer to Mr Henry Stubbe*, and tells us, that he had answered the strictures of that reverend man in a particular discourse, which I think, says he, to publish next, when I reckon with Mr Stubbe.

But notwithstanding our author never published any thing upon this head; only some years afterwards he judged it expedient to give this account of his conduct, 'The learned Dr Meric Causabon writ reflections on this essay in a letter to Dr Peter du Moulin, who it seems had presented it to him. They were printed in the year 1669, and my answers soon after ready: but considering that the Doctor allowed all that which was my main design, and only opposed his own mistakes and suspicions, I thought fit to suppress my reply, and was the rather silent, because not willing to appear in a controversy with a person of fame and learning, who had treated me with so much civility, and in a way so different from that of my other assailants.'

[L] *To meet with general approbation.* The title of this piece at large is conceived in the following terms:

ΛΟΓΟΥ ΟΡΗΡΚΕΙΑ, or a seasonable Recommendation and Defence of Reason in the affairs of Religion, against Infidelity, Scepticism, and Fanaticism of all sorts. Lond. 1670. 4to. It is a discourse on Rom. xii, the latter part of verse 1, addressed *ad Clerum*:

Our



was encouraged from thence to print it thrice; at first without his name, afterwards added to a piece which he owned, and a third time in another form. His success in this performance encouraged him to proceed somewhat farther in the same track, and as he found that there still remained an unaccountable animosity in the bosoms of some learned and good men, against the new methods proposed for the advancement of useful knowledge, from

Our author begins with observing, that there is nothing which hath done so much mischief to Christianity, as the disparagement of reason, under pretence of respect and favour to religion; since hereby the very foundations of the Christian Faith have been undermined, and the world prepared for Atheism. Whereas, to represent the fair agreement that is between reason and religion, is the most seasonable service that can be done unto both; since hereby religion will be rescued from the impious accusation of it's being groundless and imaginary, and reason also defended against the unjust charge of those that would make this beam of God prophane and irreligious. Our author's design is to shew, that religion is a reasonable thing; in treating of which proposition, he 1. States what he means by religion, and what by reason. 2. Demonstrates their harmony and agreement. 3. Disables the main objections which are alledged against the use of reason in the affairs of Faith. 4. Improves all by some inferences and advices.

With regard to the first particular he observes, that the name of religion signifies binding, and so imports duty, and all duty is comprised under these two generals, worship and virtue. Worship comprehends all our duties to God; virtue all those which relate to our neighbour, or ourselves. Religion then primarily consists in these. But duty cannot be performed without knowledge; and some principles there must be which must direct these practices; and those which discover and direct them in those actions of duty are called principles of reason. These are of two sorts; some are, 1. Fundamental and essential, others accessory and assisting. Fundamental principles are such as are supposed to the duties of religion, one or more, and such as are absolutely necessary to the performance of them respectively. Of this sort our author mentions four. 1. That there is a God of infinite perfection. 2. That we are sinners, and exposed to his displeasure. This is necessary to confession of sins and repentance; parts of worship. 3. That God is our maker, and the author of all our blessings. This is necessary to the duties of prayer, praise, and adoration. 4. That there is moral good and evil; without this there can be no charity, humility, justice, purity, or the rest. The accessory and assisting principles are, 1. That God will pardon us if we repent. 2. That he will assist us if we endeavour. 3. That he will accept of services that are imperfect, if they are sincere. 4. That he will reward or punish in another world, according to what we have done in this.

This Mr Glanvill esteems to be the sum of religion in general, and that Christianity takes in all those duties, and all the principles, advancing the duties to nobler measures, and encouraging them by new motives and assistances, and superadding two other instances, Baptism and the Lord's Supper. And for the principles, it confirms those of natural religion, and explains them further, and discovers some few new ones. And all these, says he, both of the former and latter sort, are contained in the Creed. Here are all the fundamentals of religion, and the main assisting principles also. And I call nothing else religion but plain duties, and these acknowledged principles; and though our Church requires our assent to more propositions, yet those are only articles of communion, not doctrines absolutely necessary to salvation. And if we go beyond the Creed for the essentials of faith, who can tell where we shall stop? The sum of religion primarily is duty, and duty is all that which God hath commanded to be done by his word or our reasons, and we have the substance of these in the Commandments. Religion also, in a secondary sense, consists in some principles relating to the worship of God and of his Son, in the ways of devout and virtuous living, and these are comprised in that summary of belief called the Apostles Creed. This I take to be religion; and this religion I shall prove to be rea-

sonable. But I cannot undertake for all the opinions some men are pleased to call orthodox; nor for all those that by many private persons, and some Churches, are counted essential articles of faith and salvation.

Our author then proceeds to fix the proper notion of reason, which is sometimes taken for reason in the faculty, which is the understanding, and at other times for reason in the object, which consists in those principles and conclusions by which the understanding is informed. This latter is meant in the dispute concerning the agreement or disagreement of reason and religion. Having premised this, our author goes on to his second point, to shew that religion is reasonable; which implies two things, viz. That reason is a friend to religion, and that religion is so to reason. From these two results their correspondence and agreement. Under the first branch he observes, that with regard to the principles of religion, which are called Faith, reason greatly befriends them. 1. By proving some of those principles. 2. By defending all. Having shewn how serviceable reason is to religion, he next proves, that religion befriends reason; for which purpose he offers some testimonies of Scripture in which God himself, and Christ and his apostles, own and acknowledge reason. From this discourse he draws the following inferences. 1. Reason is certain and infallible. 2. Reason is, in a sense, the word of God. 3. The belief of our reason is an exercise of faith, and faith is an act of reason. 4. No principle of reason contradicts any article of faith. 5. When any thing is pretended from reason against any article of faith, we ought not to cut the knot by denying reason, but endeavour to untie it by answering the argument; and it is certain it may be fairly answered. 6. When any thing is offered us for an article of faith that seems to contradict reason, we ought to see that there be good cause to believe that this is divinely revealed, and in the sense propounded. 7. There is nothing that God hath revealed to oblige our faith, but he hath given us reason to believe that he hath revealed it. 8. A man may hold an erroneous opinion from a mistaken sense of Scripture, and deny what is the truth of the proposition, and what is the right meaning of the text, and yet not err in faith. 9. In searching after the sense of Scripture, we ought to consult the principles of reason as we do other Scriptures. 10. The essentials of religion are so plainly revealed, that no man can miss them that hath not a mighty corrupt bias in his will and affections to infatuate and blind his understanding.

These are some propositions, says Mr Glanvill, that follow from my discourse, and from one another. The better they are considered, the more their force will be perceived; and I think they may serve for many very considerable purposes of religion, charity, and the peace of mankind. He then addresses himself to his brethren of the clergy in the following reflections. 1. To disclaim reason as an enemy to religion, tends to the introduction of Atheism, Infidelity, and Scepticism, and hath already brought in a flood of these upon us. 2. The denial of reason in religion, hath been the principal engine that heretics and enthusiasts have used against the faith, and that which lays us open to infinite follies and impostures. 3. By the same way great advantage is given to the Church of Rome; against whom, if we argue from reason, it would not only be disingenuous, but ridiculous, to disclaim the authority of reason, if urged on her behalf against us. On the whole he concludes clearly, that without adhering to reason, and acknowledging it in a certain sense for our great guide in matters of religion, there can be no security against the tyranny of ecclesiastical power; or which late experience had shewn to be a worse tyranny, that of fanatic spirits, men carried away with the fervour of their imaginations, and who were in the right to despise and declaim against reason, which they could not either use in their own cause, or suffer to be urged in behalf of any other.

[M] This



from an apprehension that they might be dangerous to concerns of a higher nature, he determined, that as he had shewn the connexion between Reason and Religion, he would likewise explain the strict correspondence between Religion and the new Philosophy (*r*). This he performed with equal succinctness and perspicuity, and merited thereby the thanks of the wisest and best men in the nation, as well as the particular acknowledgments of the members of the Royal Society, in support of whose laborious and laudable endeavours this treatise was chiefly written (*k*) [*M*]. He was in other respects far from being a lazy or useless member of that learned Society (*l*); but, on the contrary, contributed cheerfully to the maintenance of that reputation, which from their vigorous efforts to promote a useful and practical knowledge of the works of nature and art, had so justly established their reputation at home and abroad (*m*) [*N*]. In July 1672, he exchanged the vicarage of Frome

17. 11. 6:  
1. 1. 11.  
2. 9. 2.

(The Prince's  
Worthies of De-  
von, p. 372.

*J. Bayle's*  
*W. L., Vol. V*  
*p. 567.*

(π) Phil. Arch.  
Tractatus,  
No. 23, 39, 42

[M] *This treatise was chiefly written.*] The title of this treatise at large runs thus:

PHILOSOPHIA PIA: or, *A Discourse of the religious temper and tendencies of the Experimental Philosophy which is professed by the Royal Society.* Lond. 1671. 8vo.

This succinct but very solid performance he addressed to that very learned prelate Dr Seth Ward, then Bishop of Salisbury. In this treatise he undertakes to discuss these four points. That God is to be praised for his works. That his works are to be studied by those that would praise him for them. That the study of nature and God's work is very serviceable to religion. That the ministers and professors of religion ought not to discourage, but promote, the knowledge of nature and the works of it's author. In discussing the first point he shews, that what is called the religion of nature, arises from the consideration of the works of God, and consists chiefly in paying him that homage which unbiased reason will teach us is due to a Being of such infinite wisdom and goodness as is expressed in them. He farther shews, that in scripture God himself insists upon his works as demonstrations of his attributes; that holy men, inspired by him, make these the topic of their hymns and praises, and that the sabbath was set apart and hallowed for this very purpose, that men might have time to contemplate the works of God, and from thence be made sensible of their obligation to blefs and fear him. As to the second head, he remarks, that as this is our highest duty, so it claims our highest attention, that God is pleased with rational service, and that it is impossible to praise him sincerely, unless we do it sensibly, and from a thorough perswasion of the truth of those praises we offer, which never can be had but from a steady and close application to the study of his works. In reference to the third point, he clearly demonstrates, that this study leads to the very perfection of religion, by obliging us to see and take notice of the Almighty in every thing that we behold or enjoy; and if, says he, this knowledge of nature be abused to different and contrary purposes, natural wisdom is not in fault, but the perverse will of him who turns this excellent instrument of religion upon itself. But that the knowledge of nature may be used to a nobler purpose, appears from the assistance that it affords against the capital enemies of religion, which are atheism, sadducism, superstition, enthusiasm, and the humour of disputing. He insists at large upon each of these points, after which he passes to the fourth head, and upon that he remarks, that from what he has already proved, it is clear that the ministers and professors of religion ought to encourage what has a visible tendency to support it, and that it is a very great prejudice to suppose that they stray beyond the proper bounds of their function, whenever they bend their studies towards Natural Philosophy; whereas in truth it is a part, and a very valuable part, of Theology. He then answers two objections; the first grounded on St Paul's declaration, that he desired to know nothing but Christ, and him crucified; he suggests that by nothing, must be understood in this place, nothing inconsistent with, or withdrawing the mind from, that important and necessary office; for otherwise, this would exclude all kind of science, however innocent, however necessary; and taking in this distinction St Paul's declaration, does by no means extend to this point.

The second objection is taken from the repeated cautions given by the same Apostle, against being led away by vain Philosophy. To this he replies, that the

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caution is very just with respect to a notional, captious, and wrangling Philosophy, which serves only to waste time, to excite heats, and to draw mankind from the pursuit of truth ; - but has nothing to do with a prudent enquiry into the operations of nature, which must be attended with a conviction of the divine interposition in all things, since experiment is a kind of natural revelation, conducting those who pursue it to the knowledge of truth and it's author ; and therefore Natural Philosophy is not that vain Philosophy which the Apostle condemned. He adds, that by their progress in these studies, men enlarge their faculties, purify their desires, elevate their views, conceive humbly of themselves, and reverently of him from whom they come, and in whose hands they are His conclusion is thus ; the study of God's works, joined with those pious sentiments they deserve, is a kind of anticipation of Heaven ; and next after the contemplations of his word, and the wonders of his mercy discovered in our redemption, it is one of the best and noblest employments, the most becoming a reasonable creature, and such a one as is taught by the most reasonable and excellent religion in the world.

[N] *Their reputation at home and abroad.*] It frequently happens, that men of lively parts and happy abilities for writing, when materials are in their power, labour notwithstanding under such defects, in point of attention and application, as render it very unfit for such long and serious enquiries, as are absolutely requisite towards promoting the views of an active society, in procuring that kind of intelligence which can only increase the stock, or if I may be allowed the expression, the capital of real merit. It is therefore very extraordinary to find in Mr Glanvill, the same ability and the same readiness in one way as in the other; and it is certainly a piece of justice due to his memory, to set this in a clear and strong light, and this the rather because such as have given us memoirs of him pass it by, either from want of attention, or want of information. The proofs of what we have advanced lie in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society (13); from whence it appears, that he assiduously attended to the execution of the most arduous service on which he could be put by that learned body; that is, in answering clearly, cautiously, and circumstantially, those queries that were directed to him about the mines in Mendip-hills, and those also that respect the Bath; from which, because they are very curious, we will make an extract in his own words, for the information and entertainment of the reader.

(13) Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society, No. xix.

The country round this city is very hilly and uneven, but the hills lie in no order; they are generally rocky, and steep from south-west and by-west to north and by-north; the whole tract of the country, within five and seven miles, abounds with coal mines, more or less. But there are no other considerable mines that I can hear of nearer than Mendip, which is ten miles hence, excepting some of lead, at Berry in Gloucestershire, which lies upon the north of this place about four or five miles distant.

The hills for the most part afford a free-stone, and on the north-west of Landown, which has that situation to the town, and is just above it, the stones digged there are a sort of hard stone, commonly called a lyas, blue and white, polishable.

The town and baths are of very great antiquity. Besides what I find in very ancient chronicles to that purpose, one of our great antiquaries (Mr P.) asserts, that these baths were 800 years before Christ; which if so



(n) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col.  
663.

(o) Prince's  
Worthies of De-  
von. p. 351.

Frome for the rectory of Sreat, with the chapel of Walton annexed, in Somersetshire, with Mr Richard Jenkins, M. A. (n). About the same time he was appointed one of the Chaplains in ordinary to King Charles the II<sup>d</sup>. (o). A person of honour and great fame, and for whose learning and universal accomplishments our author professes a high and just veneration, having pressed him to revise and re-publish his discourse on the usefulness of Philosophy, in the support of true Religion, he took from thence an occasion to review several other pieces of his, and together with one new discourse, published them altogether in a volume, under the modest title of Essays; though in reality they might have been entituled his

would give occasion to enquire, how consistent with it that hypothesis concerning the cause of the heat of these waters would be, which makes it to be the fermentation of minerals *in fieri*; and whether it be likely that the minerals through which these waters pass, should be in that state of imperfection so many hundred years; and that the whole disposed matter in those places should not be perfectly concreted in so great a tract of time. You doubtless know the other conjecture, which supposeth the cause of this heat to be, that two streams having run through and imbibed certain sorts of different minerals, meet at last, after they have been deeply impregnated, and mingle their liquors, from which commixture arises a great fermentation that causes heat; like as we see it is in vitriol and tartar, which, though separately they are not hot, yet when mingled, beget an intense heat and ebullition between them. This seems to me a probable cause of the lastingness of the heat of of these waters. But it is not my business to offer hypotheses; therefore, craving pardon for this digression, I proceed in my account.

It is affirmed here, that the town for the most part is built upon a quagmire, though the places all about it very firm ground. Some workmen that have been employed in digging, have found a mine ten feet deep without the north gate, the highest place of the town at seven. The earth between is a kind of rubbish, sometimes they find pitching a man's length underground, and passages for the water to pass; seven or eight feet down they have met with oyster shells.

The town and country circumjacent generally abound with cold springs; and in some places the hot and cold arise very near each other: in one place within two yards; and in others within eight or nine of the main baths.

The guides of the cros bath inform me, that when there is a great west wind abroad, standing by the springs they feel a cold air arising from beneath; if the wind be at east, and the morning close, with a little misting rain, the cros bath is so hot as scarce to be endured, when the King's and hot baths are colder than usual. In other winds, let the weather be how it will, this bath is temperate. The springs that bubble most are coldest. The cros bath fills in sixteen hours, both in winter and summer, without any difference from heat or cold, floods or drought. That of the King's in twelve or fourteen. A man may better (ordinarily) endure four hours bathing in the cros bath, than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in the others. In the Queen's bath, which hath no springs of its own, but comes all out of the King's, they have found under a flat stone, which upon occasion was taken up, a tunnel and a yielding mud in and under it, into which they thrust a pike, but could feel no bottom. In the King's bath there is a spring so hot that it is scarce sufferable, so that they are fain to turn much of it away for fear of inflaming the bath. The hottest spring will not harden an egg.

The bath water does not pass through the body like other mineral waters, but if you put in salt it purgeth presently. Upon settlement it affords a black mud, useful in aches, applied by way of cataplasm, to some more successful than the very waters. The like it deposits upon distillation, and no other. Nor hath any more been discovered, upon all the chymical examinations that have come to our knowledge. One Dr Astendorff found that the colour of the salt drawn from the King's and hot bath was yellow; that which was extracted from the cros bath white. This Doctor concluded, that the cros bath had more of allum and nitre than the hotter baths, which abound more with sulphur. And yet that bath loosens shrunk sinews, by which it should seem it abounds not much with allum. It is

harsher to the taste than the other baths, and soaks the hands more. A man cannot drink half the quantity of strong drinks in the bath that he can out of it; but if he hath drank before to excess, it allays much, and is a great refreshment to the body. The bath provoketh urine.

The bath guides live to a very great age, sometimes to near 100 years, ordinarily, if they are temperate, to 70. There are two at this time above 80, a man and his wife. In the cros bath the guides have observed a certain black fly with scaled wings in the form of a lady cow, but somewhat bigger. They say it shoots quick in the water, and sometimes bites. It lives under the water, and is never found but in very hot weather: they suppose it comes up with the springs; it is not to be seen elsewhere. I had one of those insects sent me last year, which I preserved 'till I came to London, intending to have given it you, but I know not how I lost it there.

The cros bath eats out silver exceedingly; and I am told, that a shilling, in a week's time, hath been so eaten by it, that it might be wound about one's finger. The baths agree (as the vulgar speaks) with brass, but not with iron; for they will eat out a ring of this metal in seven years, when brass rings seem to receive no prejudice at all from it.

When women have washed their hair with the mixture of beaten eggs and oatmeal, this will poison the bath so as to beget a most noisome smell, casting a sea-green on the water, which otherwise is very pure and limpid; this will taint the very walls, and there is no cleansing of it but by drawing the bath.

In summer the baths purge up a green scum on the top, but in winter never; but then leave a yellow on the walls. The walls that keep in the hot springs are very deep set and large; 10 feet thick and 14 deep from the level of the street. The cement of the wall is tallow, clay, lime, and beaten bricks. In the year 1659 the hot bath (a bath particularly so called, of equal heat with the King's bath) was much impaired by the breaking out of a spring, which the workmen at last found again and restored. In digging they came to a firm foundation of facitious matter, which had holes in it like a pumice-stone, through which the water played, so that 'tis like the springs are brought together by art; which probably was the necromancy the people of ancient times believed and reported to have contrived and made these baths; as in a very ancient manuscript chronicle I find these words, *When Lud Hidirbas was dead, Bladud, his son, a great Nygromancer, (so it is there writ) was made King, and he made the wonder of the hot bath by his Nygromancy, and he reigned 21 years, and after he died; and lies at the new Troy.* And in another old chronicle it is said, that King Bladud sent to Athens for Necromancers to effect this great business, who it is like were no other than cunning artificers, well skilled in architecture and mechanics. It hath been observed, that leaves like those of olives come sometimes out of the pump of the hot bath.

What our author barely hints, as to the artificial construction of these baths by the British King Bladud, who is reported to have reigned here before the coming of Cæsar; and that not by the help of Magic, but of an art far superior, that of genuine Philosophy, which, as Lord Bacon long ago observed, can only enable man to know and to command nature, may possibly deserve the reader's attention; and perhaps it will not displease him, if we refer to a very ancient poetical fragment, which the ingenious Mr Selden has preserved from oblivion, and which (under the appearance of simple credulity) may very possibly conceal a greater secret than has been hitherto suspected by most of its perusers (14).

[O] At

(14) Commentary on Drayton's Poly-Olbion, under the Title of Illustrations on the third Song.



his Philosophical Works (*p*), for these treatises ought to be regarded as his last and most mature considerations on the several useful and important subjects, which in the course of fifteen years had employed his thoughts, and exercised his pen (*q*); and therefore of these, as is very requisite, we shall give a distinct and comprehensive account at the bottom of the page [*O*]. In the same year that this treatise came abroad, which was 1676, he lost his old antagonist Dr Henry Stubbe; who coming to attend some of his patients at Bath, and going from thence on a visit to Bristol, had the misfortune in his return, to fall from his horse into a shallow river, where he was drowned; and his corps being afterwards interred in the great church at Bath, near the tomb of Bishop Mountague, Mr Glanvill did honour to his memory in a funeral sermon which he preached upon that occasion (*r*). June 22. 1678, our author was installed Prebendary of Worcester, in the room of Mr Henry Greisly (*s*), then lately deceased, which it is said was procured by the interest of his patron and his wife's relation, the Marquis of Worcester (*t*); but might as probably proceed from the kindness of that pious and worthy prelate, Dr James Fleetwood, then Bishop of this diocese (*u*). This conjecture is the more reasonable, since a little before he attained this which was his last preferment, he had published a discourse concerning preaching, which was generally well received, and understood to be equally seasonable and useful in dissuading young gentlemen from that immethodical and enthusiastical manner of haranguing, which had been the vice of the preceding times, and that affectation of wit and fine speaking, which began to be fashionable in those times; instead of which, he recommended a plain and practical pursuit of the moral duties recommended in the Sacred Writings, as the true eloquence

(*p*) See the Preface to these Essay.

(*q*) From 1661 to 1676.

(*r*) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 568.

(*s*) White's Hist. of Cathedrals. Vol. II. p. 619.

(*t*) Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 351.

(*u*) Godwin de Preful.

[*O*] At the bottom of the page.] The title at large, if we may so speak of a very short one, runs thus:

ESSAYS on several important subjects in Philosophy and Religion. By Joseph Glanvill, Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society. Lond. 1676. 4to.

To this work is prefixed a very polite dedication to Henry Marquis and Earl of Worcester, in which he acknowledges his own obligations fairly, and at the same time applauds his patron highly for his generosity, loyalty, hospitality, perfect œconomy of his household, and sincere regard for piety and religion, virtues strange in other places; but which seem to have been, and what is yet more singular, are still hereditary in the illustrious house of Beaufort. There follows next a short preface, in which the author's reasons for writing are assigned, and some short account given of each essay. There are seven in all, the titles of which, for the reasons that are assigned in the text, we will set down with a very concise view of their contents. I. *Against Confidence in Philosophy, and matters of Speculation.* p. 33. The reason of putting the pages is to shew the size of each discourse; for though they are digested into a volume, yet they are so printed as that they might have been published separate. This first essay comprehends the substance of his Vanity of Dogmatizing, and of his Sceptis Scientifica, but disposed into a better method, the strain of reasoning closer, the language more correct, and, in short, the whole discourse very much improved, and at the same time not a little curtailed. II. *Of Scepticism and Certainty, in a short Reply to the learned Mr Thomas White.* p. 31. This is digested into the form of a letter to a friend, which not only comprehends whatever is instructive or material in the Defence which he published against Mr White's Sciri, but also a great deal of new matter brought into a narrow compass, which serves to illustrate the subject, and to satisfy without cloying the judicious and inquisitive peruser. III. *Modern Improvements, or useful Knowledge.* p. 56. This comprehends the substance of his *Plus Ultra*, freed from those digressions and altercations which were of very little consequence to the public, and the excision plainly prove the sincerity of the author in the declaration made by him in the preface, that he engaged in quarrels very unwillingly, and quitted them as soon as he could. As it stands in this collection, there are very few pieces in our language that can enter into competition with it, with respect either to the pleasure that it gives in the perusal, or the improvement that may be drawn from it upon reflection. IV. *The Usefulness of real Philosophy to Religion.* p. 43. This takes in the substance of the treatise which he entitled *Philosophia Pia*, which he was commanded by one of his patrons to reprint, and which put him upon revising his other pieces. V. *The Agreement of Reason and Religion.* p. 28. As

to this, the author speaks thus in his preface: It contains the substance of many thoughts and anxieties about that important matter in a little compass. My chief care was to state and represent the whole affair clearly, which I think I have done. The subject hath been written on by divers since, who some of them have perplexed the matter again; others have added no one thought. They have written a great deal, I wish I could say to purpose. I know this freedom is capable of a wrong interpretation, but I am urged to it by a little vexation, that the pretenders to such a subject should afford me no advantage for the improving my conceptions on it. VI. *Against Modern Sadducism in the matter of Witches and Apparitions.* p. 61. Though this is the longest of all his performances, yet it is reduced as well as the rest, in comparison of the size in which it before appeared. It is also very considerably improved, inasmuch that even those who differ widely from our author's opinion, cannot help owning, that he has set it in the fairest light possible, and done as much towards throwing light upon so obscure, so embarrassed, and so disagreeable a subject, as could well be expected, and even more. However, when it had again passed his pen, and was ushered into the world, though still under his name, yet with all the helps that could be given it by his friend Mr Henry More, the famous Bayle could not help expressing his regret, that men of so great parts should employ their time, and bestow such incredible pains, upon a topic that could never procure any tolerable returns of approbation or applause. VII. *Antifanatic Theology and Free Philosophy.* p. 58. This piece is entirely new, and is a kind of supplement to the philosophical romance of the celebrated Lord Bacon. In it our author takes occasion to censure, and even to expose the follies, absurdities, and outrages, that followed from the prevailing spirit of Fanaticism during the Usurpation. He has indeed painted them with great freedom, and with a boldness which shews him to have been very able in that kind of writing. He says, that the only good proceeding from this heterogeneous mixture of mischiefs, was that salutary fermentation by which the minds of mankind were freed from their former prejudices, and wonderfully disposed to receive that admirable settlement in Church and State once more, that had been so wantonly destroyed. This deserves the more consideration, as our author was a very sincere, and even a zealous Protestant, tho' not at all inclined to severity and persecution. He had felt the inconveniencies of Enthusiasm, and he was very apprehensive of those evils that naturally fill up the train of superstition. In this discourse he warns the reader against both, and points out to him the only remedy, which in his judgment is the adhering firmly to a Church equally rational in her doctrines, and moderate in her discipline.



(w) See Dr Horneck's Preface to his Remains.

(x) See an account of them in Note [2].

(y) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 353.

(z) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 667.

quence of the pulpit (w) [P]. He was himself a great preacher in this way, as appeared from many of his discourses printed in his life-time, with other pathetic and eloquent exhortations to a religious and virtuous life (x), as well as other pieces that were made public after his decease, of which somewhat shall be said in the notes (y) [2]. His last work, which hardly came from the press while he was yet living, expressed his sincere and even zealous affection for the Protestant Religion, without any view to preferment, or temporal interests; since it is thought he would have been questioned if he had lived for that treatise, which without question arose from the overflowings of his heart, and his pious concern for that Church, to the service of which he had so long dedicated his labours. This performance however added much to his reputation, and made his loss so much the more regretted (z) [R]. He was attacked in the autumn of the year 1680 by a fever, into which

[P] *As the true eloquence of the pulpit.* The title of this little piece is conceived in the following terms:

*An Essay concerning Preaching; written for the direction of a young Divine, and useful also for the People, in order to profitable hearing.* Lond. 1678. in 12mo. Our author's name is not prefixed to it. The imprimatur is dated Dec. 6. 1677.

This essay is addressed to Mr Charles Fountain. Mr Glanvill tells us, that he purposely kept himself from reading any other writers on this subject, that he might freely without bias give his own apprehensions; but that since the papers were written and transcribed, he had looked over two or three of the chief of those discourses, and was exceedingly encouraged, by finding that his conceptions as to the main are not only consistent but very agreeable with theirs. At the end of this essay, is a letter to a Member of Parliament concerning the state of ministers in corporations and great towns. With this essay is likewise printed a *seasonable Defence of Preaching, and the plain way of it.* Written by way of dialogue.

[2] *Somewhat shall be said in the notes.* We are here to mention the titles of our author's smaller works, which consisted of

Several sermons, as *A Fast sermon on King Charles the First's Martyrdom*, on Rom. xii. 2. Lond. 1667. *Catholic Charity recommended, in a sermon before the Lord Mayor of London*, on 1 Pet. part 1. part of the 22d verse, in order to the abating the animosities among Christians that have been occasioned by differences in religion. Lond. 1669. in 4to. *An earnest Invitation to the Lord's Supper.* Lond. 1673, 1674, 1677, in 12mo. *Seasonable Reflections and Discourses, in order to the conviction and cure of the scoffing Infidelity of a degenerate age.* Lond. 1676. 8vo. This consists of four sermons, viz. 1. *The Sin and Danger of scoffing at Religion*, on 2 Pet. iii. 3. 2. *The Church's Contempts from profane and fanatic enemies*, on Psalm cxxiii. 3. 4. 3. *Moral Evidence of a Life to come*, on Matt. xxii. 32. 4. *The Serious Considerations of a future Judgment*, on Acts xvii. 31. He likewise published two discourses, viz. *A Discourse of Truth*, by Dr George Rust, Bishop of Dromore in Ireland. And *The Way to Happiness and Salvation.* Lond. 1677. 12mo. These discourses were printed in 1683 in 8vo. with this title, *Two choice and useful Treatises; the one Lux Orientalis, &c. the other a Discourse of Truth.* By the late Rev. Dr George Rust, Lord Bishop of Dromore in Ireland, with annotations on them by Dr Henry More. These annotations are full as large as the discourses themselves. The title to the latter annotations on Dr Rust's discourse runs thus: *Annotations on the Discourse of Truth; in which is inserted by way of digression, a brief Return to Mr Baxter's Reply, which he calls A Placid Collation with the learned Dr Henry More, occasioned by the Doctor's Answer to a Letter of the learned Pythophorist. Whereunto is annexed a devotional Hymn, translated for the use of the sincere Lovers of true Piety.* Dr Rust's discourse of Truth was afterwards printed in his Remains, collected and published by Henry Hallywell. Lond. 1686. 4to. *Letters to the Duchess of Newcastle. A Letter to the Earl of Bristol; with another to a Friend, of the Usefulness of the universal Character, with the way of learning it.* This was never printed (15). Some *Discourses, Sermons, and Remains.* Lond. 1681. 4to. with our author's picture before them. These sermons, which were in number eleven, were most of them printed before separately. Dr Anthony Horneck was

the editor of this collection, and placed before it a character of the author, the more to be depended upon because he knew him intimately, and therefore could not be deceived, and because he himself was a man of primitive integrity, and consequently one who would not deceive others. Of this the reader will hear more in its proper place; at present let us intreat him to consider how many useful works this learned and worthy man published in less than twenty years, all devoted to the noblest purposes, such as extending the faculties of the mind, right directions to the motions of the heart, and then he will cease to wonder, that he triumphed over all opposition, even that which is last overcome by the learned, envy; and was as universally beloved, as for his generous public spirit and unbounded benevolence he deserved.

[R] *So much the more regretted* The title of this small treatise runs thus:

*The zealous and impartial Protestant: shewing some great but less heeded dangers of Popery, &c. in a letter to a Member of Parliament.* Lond. 1681. 4to.

There was a great warmth in this gentleman's writings when he was a young man, and we need not wonder that he retained it to the last, since he died before he was an old one. This was not however either an over-bearing fondness for his own opinions, or a bitter ill-natured furious zeal against those with whom he differed; but the pure effects of his sincerity, and that frame of temper which was natural to him. We must not interpret it here or in any of his other performances as the effects of resentment, but rather as a proof of his being in earnest. It is not easy to offer to the reader's consideration a stronger argument of this, than observing, that he provoked equally both of the contending factions, styled in his writings Fanatics and Papists. If he had been at all afraid of abuse, he would certainly have avoided the one, if he had constantly attended to his interest, he would not have ventured upon the other; and if he had studied his own ease, he would have declined both. But being as he really was a man of a free spirit, he first of all applied himself with indefatigable care to the search of truth, and having found it, he became a bold and constant advocate for it upon all occasions, and against all its enemies. It was this disposition that induced him to preach very pathetically, against what he took to be the reigning errors of the times, which were on one side an inclination to mistake private opinions supported by constitutional fervour, for a kind of divine inspiration, and consequently placing religion too much in speculative notions, without a due respect either to moral duties or to Christian charity. On the other hand, a proneness to superstition, a willingness to prefer authority to reason, and an absurd deference for the traditions of men, how irreconcilable soever to the word of God. Whatever calmer people might find of imprudence in this conduct, there was certainly nothing in it either mean or unworthy of a clergyman of the Church of England; and though it might sometimes expose him to hard treatment from his adversaries, yet without question it recommended him to the regard and esteem of well meaning and honest men. He suffered while living not a little from the reproaches of those who thought he had deserted them, because he was bred amongst them, and if he had not ceased to live at the very time he did, he would have run an eminent hazard of being persecuted by the opposite party. Yet, as it generally happens in such cases, his memory was far from being injured from these remarkable indications of a mind equally



which, notwithstanding all the care of his Physicians, he relapsed, and breathed his last in his own house at Bath, October the 4th, in the same year, about the age of forty-four. He was buried in his own parish-church on the 9th of that month, when the Rev. Mr Joseph Pleydell, Archdeacon of Chichester, preached his funeral sermon, which was afterwards published, and which, with Dr Anthony Horneck's character, did just honour to the memory of so good a man [S]. But as a farther testimony of the care of his family, and that in a place where he had lived so many years, and had preached with so much success, there might be some monument dedicated to his memory, a decent tablet was erected, with a modest inscription thereon, in the Abbey church [T]. He had two wives; the name of the first was Mrs Mary Stocker, and the second, whom he left a widow, Mrs Selwin; but it does not appear that he had any children by either. He was succeeded in his Rectory of Bath by William Clement, of Christ-Church; in his Prebend of the cathedral church of Worcester by Ralph Battel, A. M. of Peter-house in Cambridge; and in his Rectory of Streat with Walton by Charles Thirlby, Archdeacon of Wells.

GODDARD,

equally incapable of fear or of dissimulation, and those who had formerly treated him with a degree of rudeness, through a hasty suspicion, that a removal from them was advancing so much nearer Popery, willingly acknowledged their mistake, and approved his honest design in this treatise (16) to forewarn such as were less attentive to the danger they were in from the artificial practices of the enemies to our constitution in Church and State; so that by this small piece he seemed to have set a seal upon his religious principles, and to have shewn himself in every respect a consistent member of the Church of England.

[S] *To the memory of so good a man.* The worthy preacher of his funeral sermon thus took his leave of the audience upon that mournful occasion: I had once thought to have given you his character, but I am not ashamed to tell you I found myself not able to do it worthy of him. And calling to mind a saying of one of the Roman Historians, I soon desisted from any farther attempt of it; who when he was reckoning up some of the great men of that age, Virgil and Ovid, Livy and Sallust, and going to commend them, stops and concludes thus: 'Men of eminency, as their admiration is great, so is their censure full of difficulty.' Dr Horneck's character of our author is pretty long; we will therefore borrow from it only a few sentences. 'The author of these discourses (Mr Glanvill) as his wit lay out of the common road, so this genuine offspring of his fertile brain soars above the common level of ecclesiastical orations. Death seemed to envy the vast parts of so great a man, and in the ascent of his age snatched him away, when the learned world expected some of his greatest attempts and enterprizes. As he valued no notions that were mean and trivial, so those he hath sent abroad favour of more than ordinary genius. His soul seemed to be spun of a finer thread than those of other mortals, and things looked with another face when they passed through the quicker fire of his laboratory. Some curious artists, though their work is materially the same with that of meaner artificers, yet the shape they give it, and the neatness of the fabrick, makes it seem a thing composed of different ingredients. Even the most obvious truths coming from our author received a greater lustre, and that meat which familiarity made in a manner nauseous to some nicer palates, when dressed with his sauce, became more poignant, and consequently more acceptable. His discourses from the pulpit, as they were very solid, so they were (which is the grace and life of them) pathetic, and by his zeal and fervour one might guess how big his desire unto God for Israel was that they might be saved. Though he met with disappointments sometimes, yet he remembered he was a Christian, and as he was not without his crosses, so he carried himself under them like a true philosopher. His mind seemed to be serene when things went most contrary to his wishes; and whatever storm the inconstancy and fickleness of sublunary objects threw upon him within, still he felt a calm beyond that of Socrates, when the ungrateful Athenians sent him the fatal draught to drink his death and ruin.' We might add many other testimonies to these, but it may be sufficient to say, that able and worthy men of all Churches commended while they differed from him, which as it is a sure so it is a very singular testimony of his extraordinary merit. Amongst these the most eminent were the learned Mr White, a mem-

ber of the Church of Rome; the celebrated Nonconformist, Mr Richard Baxter; the famous Peter Bayle; and Dr Meric Casaubon, of our own Church.

[T] *With a modest inscription thereon in the Abbey church.* He lies buried in the north isle, and on a large blue stone the following memorial is engraven, as we have procured it to be very exactly copied by a person on whose fidelity we can depend, who was at Bath in the summer of 1752.

Adverte Viator!

Deponuntur hic Exuviae Josephi  
Glanville, nuper Carolo 2do à Sacris; Wigorniensis Ecclesiae Prebendarii; Regali Societatis Socii, & Civitatis hujus  
Rectoris.

Qui post 42 infumptos Annos, in Studio & Contemplatione, Verbi & Operum Dei, bis recidiva fatigatus febre ad Aeternam Requiem aspiravit  
4 die Nov. 1680.

Uxor ejus secunda Margarita (e Selwinorum Prosapia)  
Mœrens posuit.

In English thus:

Turn thy Eyes hither, Passenger!  
Here are deposited the Remains  
of Joseph Glanvill, late Chaplain to Charles the second,  
of Worcester Cathedral Prebendary,  
of the Royal Society a Member,  
and of this City Rector.

Who, after twenty-four Years,  
consumed in the Study and Contemplation  
of the Word, and of the Works of God,  
worn out by his Relapse into a fever,  
aspired to everlasting rest  
Nov. 4th, 1680.

His second Wife Margaret, sprung from the Selwyns  
(of Gloucestershire)  
Placed with Grief this Stone.

As this inscription is to be found not in one but in several books, we should not have given it a place here, but with a view to correct a strange mistake that has hitherto escaped without notice. This is the transposition of the figures 42 for 24. That this must be so appears from hence, that Mr Glanvill at the time of his decease was but forty-four, as appears not only from Wood's account (17), but from a circumstance mentioned in the dedication of the first book he published, as well as from the time at which he took his degrees; but more clearly still from the consideration of the date when rectified, which points to the year 1666, when he became Rector of the Abbey church at Bath; a circumstance that puts the correction beyond all doubt, by rendering the inscription clear and consistent. E

(17) Athen.  
Oxon. Vol. II,  
col. 662.

(16) See Mr Richard Baxter's second Part of a true Defence of a mere Nonconformist, &c. Lond. 1680. 4to.



(a) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. c. 537.

(b) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 270.

(c) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 537.

(d) Registr. Col.  
Medic. Lond.

(e) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 537.

(f) Registr. Col.  
Medic. Lond.

(g) Dr Wallis's  
Account of his  
own Life, prefix-  
ed to Langtoft's  
Chronicle, Vol.  
I. p. clix.

(h) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 537.

(i) Hist. & Antiq.  
Oxon. lib. II. p.  
86.

(k) Fast. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 97.

(l) Hist. & Antiq.  
Oxon. lib. II. p.  
439. Fast. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 98.

(m) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 537.

(n) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 270.

GODDARD [Dr JONATHAN], a learned writer, an excellent Chemist, and a celebrated Physician, in the XVIIth century. He was the son of Henry Goddard, a rich ship-builder at Deptford; but was himself a native of Greenwich, in the same county of Kent, and born there about the year 1617 (a). We are not told where he received the first rudiments of learning; but it is certain, that in the year 1632, being then fifteen years of age, he was admitted a commoner of Magdalen-Hall in Oxford (b); where he continued until he was of standing for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then travelled for his improvement in the knowledge of Physic (c). After his return, having taken the degree of Bachelor in that faculty at Christ-College in Cambridge, upon the 7th of November 1640, he promised to obey the laws and statutes of the College of Physicians London (d). Upon the twentieth of January 1642, he proceeded Doctor of Physic at Catherine-Hall in Cambridge, being then a practitioner in London (e), and December the twenty-second following he was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians, and afterwards elected a Fellow on the fourth of November 1646, and appointed to read the Anatomy Lecture March the fourth the ensuing year (f) [A]. He had then lodgings in Wood-street where Dr Wilkins, Dr Ent, Dr Glisson, Dr Wallis, Mr Foster, with other learned and inquisitive persons sometimes met to improve and cultivate the New Philosophy, several of which company removed to Oxford where they pursued the same design (g). He was afterwards Physician to General Cromwell, and attended him first into Ireland and then into Scotland (h). On the ninth of December 1651, he was appointed Warden of Merton College in Oxford, by the parliament, upon the resignation of Sir Nathaniel Brent (i), and January the fourteenth the same year, was incorporated Doctor of Physic in that university (k). The year following Cromwell, who was then in Scotland, being Chancellor of the university of Oxford, did by an instrument, bearing date October the sixteenth, constitute him, together with Dr Owen, Dean of Christ-Church-College, Dr Wilkins, Warden of Wadham, Dr Goodwin, President of Magdalen, and his own brother-in-law Mr Peter French, Prebendary of Christ-Church, or any three or more, of them to act as his Delegates in all matters relating to grants or dispensations that required his assent (l). And in 1653, Dr Goddard was chosen singly to represent the university in parliament, and also one of the Council of State (m) [B]. Upon the seventh of November 1655, he was elected Professor of Physic in Gresham-College in the room of Dr Winston then lately deceased (n). He continued in his headship of Merton-College, till the restoration of King Charles the second in 1660, when he was removed by a letter from His Majesty, bearing date July the third; who claiming the right of nomination during the vacancy

[A] *The ensuing year.* At this season, by a happy conjunction of men of the greatest abilities, the art of medicine began to be freed from those false and fallacious notions with which it had been hitherto encumbered (1). It was quickly discerned, as soon as this reformation came to be attempted, that the best foundation which could be laid for the superstructure of extensive knowledge and successful practice was the thorough knowledge of Anatomy. That this might be rendered more clear and certain, the great improvements made a few years before set in a true light, and their consequences rendered more apparent, were the great ends proposed in Dr Goddard's lectures. As he undertook them with great cheerfulness, so he performed them with equal alacrity and accuracy, discoursing in a rational and perspicuous manner on the wonders of the human frame, and explaining to his auditors, with an easy and unaffected eloquence, the wisdom of the supreme Being in the disposition of the various parts of the body of man, suitable to the purposes for which he was created, and after which it is in vain to enquire by any other method than that of Dissection (2). It was from these lectures that his great reputation took its rise, and therefore he carefully preserved and fitted them for the press, as the indefatigable Anthony Wood informs us; and yet the public has not been hitherto so happy as to receive them from the press, though it is highly probable, that if he had not been taken away by a sudden death, he would either have published them himself, or directed the publication of them after his decease (3); for his learning was not more extensive than his zeal for the service of society, and as his own knowledge was grounded upon reason and experiment, so he was always ready to communicate those lights to others, which he would have wished to have received himself; and to put posterity into possession of those advantages which were derived to him from a natural sagacity, assisted by an indefatigable application.

[B] *And also one of the Council of State.* In the zenith of his fortunes Dr Goddard shewed himself a true patron of learning, and omitted no opportunity of do-

ing kind offices to those who stood in need of them, of rewarding such as were conspicuous for their merit, or of paying all possible respect to those who were at that time the ornaments of the university for eloquence or science, and this without any distinction of party, having none of that narrowness of mind which was the common failing of the great men of those times (4). This it was that engaged Mr Edmund Dickenson, who was afterwards Physician to King Charles the second, to dedicate to him that book, which was the ground-work of his reputation, in which he paid him very high compliments, and in very elegant Latin (5). He was also one of those four eminent persons to whom Dr John Wallis dedicated a celebrated work of his (6); but amongst all the addressees of this sort, was that of Mr Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, and one of the greatest men of that age. 'You, Sir, says he, excel in every kind of literature, profoundly versed in Physic, and in Natural History, in what relates to Chemistry the most distinguished in the College of Physicians, accurately skilled in all the learned tongues; besides all this, distinguished and most successful in the practice of Physic; deservedly conspicuous in the management of public affairs with the utmost prudence, and the highest reputation for integrity. In the Mathematical Sciences also you have exercised your talents with the greatest approbation, and long ago, the first, as far as my knowledge reaches, of the English nation, you contrived and wrought most excellent telescopes.' He then proceeds to his moral character, and commends him for his generous disposition, his candour, affability, and benevolence to all good and learned men. Let us add, before we put an end to this note, that he was the first patron of honest Anthony Wood, who dedicated to him his brother's sermons, which he published in 1655, and sent it him to London bound in blue Turkey leather, with gilt leaves, as he has carefully set it down in the history of his own life, where, as Warden of Merton College, he always mentions Dr Goddard with marks of kindness and respect (7).

(4) See Wood's Dedication.

(5) Delphi Phœnicizantes, A. D. 1655. See the Article of DICKENSON [EDMUND].

(6) Mathesis Universalis, A. D. 1656.

(7) Life of Anthony à Wood, published by Thomas Hearne.

[C] A

(1) See Dr Goodall's Historical Preface to his account of the Royal College of Physicians.

(2) Registr. Col. Medic. London.

(3) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 538.



vacancy of the see of Canterbury, appointed Dr Edward Reynolds, his Chaplain, and soon after Bishop of Norwich, to be Warden of that college as successor to Sir Nathaniel Brent, no notice being taken of Dr Goddard (o). After this he settled himself at Gresham-College, and was continued a Fellow of the College of Physicians by their new charter in 1663 (p), and being likewise nominated one of the first Council of the Royal Society in their charter the same year (q), he became very zealous and serviceable in promoting the design of that institution. For being an accurate and experienced Chemist, he employed his laboratory at the college, in trying, from time to time, many curious experiments for the use of the Society, as well as for making his own medicines (r) [C]. He was not barely an able and successful Physician, but also a very conscientious man in his practice, and exceedingly jealous of the honour of his profession, which induced him to write two treatises upon a subject that must have been otherwise disagreeable to him, and which, notwithstanding, he handled with so much critical caution, and with such an air of decency and dignity, as put it out of the power even of those who were ready enough to find fault, to fix any censure upon them (s) [D]. Upon that dismal destruction, which the

(o) Kennet's Re-  
cord, p. 190.

(p) Goddard's  
Royal Coll. of  
Physicians, p. 72.

(q) Bp Sprat's  
History of the  
Royal Society, p.  
137.

(r) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 538.

(s) Stubbe's  
Campanella re-  
vived, p. 21.

greatest

[C] *As well as for making his own medicines.* His reputation for Chemistry had risen so high, that Anthony Wood seems to insinuate, the Royal Society, at its first institution, was not a little obliged to him for the experiments made for their service in his laboratory at Gresham-College; or in his own rough expression, when any curious experiment was to be done, they made him their drudge 'till they could obtain to the bottom of it. He did not however always labour for nothing, if it be true, which is very confidently affirmed, that he sold the secret of making the Guttæ Anglicanæ, or English Drops, to King Charles the second for 5000 l. of which precious receipt this is said to be a true copy (8):

'Take five pounds of human cranium of a person hanged, or dead of some violent death, two pounds of dried vipers, two pounds of hartshorn, and two of ivory, mince the whole small, put it in two or three retorts, and distil it in a reverberatory furnace, with the same precautions as are ordinarily used in distilling hartshorn and vipers to extract their volatile salt. When the vessels or receivers are cold, unlute them and shake them well, in order to loosen the volatile salt from the sides of the vessels. Pour the whole into a large glass cucurbit, and filtrate it through a brown paper, in order to separate the oil, which is here useless: put the filtrated liquor in a glass retort, with a sand heat, and fit a glass thereto as a recipient; take care all things be well luted, and make a cohobation of the said matters at three times; but by the way, add all the salt before separated from the receivers, and after the said three cohobations, unlute the retorts and pour the whole into a matras with a long neck, to which fit a suitable capital and receiver, lute all the joinings on each with a wet bladder, and set the vessel in a sand heat, by this means the volatile salt will be sublimed and flick to the capital and upper part of the matras. Continue the fire 'till spirit enough hath rose to fuse and dissolve the salt which arose first, then take all the fire out of the furnace, that the distillation may proceed no further, which is a circumstance of the last importance, without which the medicine would be weakened by too much phlegm. As to the dose of this remedy, they begin with seven or eight drops, increasing by degrees to forty or fifty on pressing occasions, as in apoplexies, lethargies, weakneses, &c.' The real composition of the Guttæ however is somewhat controverted. Dr Lister assures us, that he had the secret communicated to him by King Charles the second, and that it is no other than the volatile spirit of raw silk rectified with oil of cinnamon, or other essential oil. The same author assures us, he had found by experience that the Guttæ Anglicanæ, were not in any respect preferable to the common volatile spirit of hartshorn and sal ammoniac, except that the smell is more supportable (9). It will not always however be found expedient, to take the sentiments of one great man of the same faculty in prejudice to the prescription of another; and whoever considers what the honourable and learned Mr Boyle has written upon subjects of the same nature (10), will be inclined to think, that if there be any thing due to authority, it is at least equal on the side of Dr Goddard. Let us also add, that these drops were not calculated for the relief of persons in flow and chronical cases, but in violent and acute distempers, when if their operation

had not been certain and apparent, it is not easy to conceive how they could have gained their author any credit; and if they were, why it should be taken from him.

[D] *To fix any censure upon them.* The title of the first of these two discourses was,

*A Discourse concerning Physic, and the many abuses thereof by the Apothecaries.* Lond. 1668. 8vo (11).

Our author observes, that at the time of writing this treatise, the greatest part of the Apothecaries were far from being possessed of that degree of knowledge, requisite to fit them for the due execution of their own employment, notwithstanding which they were very desirous of invading that of the Physician, and of prescribing as well as compounding medicines; an evil upon which he expatiates very largely, and shews with what prejudicial consequences it is attended with regard to the art of Physic, the progress of which it retards, the credit of Physicians, which suffers often for other men's faults; and the patients themselves, who while they seek to avoid expence, are brought into a condition that lays them under a necessity of parting with much more money than might have purchased health at first. The remedy he proposes, as only capable of removing all these mischiefs, is that Physicians make their own medicines. This he observes would in the first place make all cures more speedy and more cheap, at the same time, that it would remove all fear of having bad medicines employed from a motive of gain, with respect to which, says he, no man having the interest would then have the power, nor any having the power could have the interest, to prepare medicines unfaithfully. In the next place he clearly demonstrates, that this would be highly beneficial to the Physician, as it would bring to his sight and knowledge many particulars that must otherwise escape them; he goes even so far as to tell them, that without having recourse to this, or some method very like it, the art of Physic must remain where it is, as wanting the necessary power to proceed further. In support of this he says, that Physicians in former ages were well acquainted with most things which they dispensed, mixed them with their own hands, and very carefully observed their effects, otherwise there had been no such art as that of Physic; and from thence he infers, that the surest and most certain way of extending this art, is to resume this manner of proceeding. The perusal of books, in his judgment, is very far from being sufficient to give a Physician any true notion of the qualities, virtues, or doses of the Materia Medica, because these are taken upon trust, and it is never reasonable to depend upon other men's eyes and understanding, where we may employ our own. Lastly, he insists upon it, that it is the duty of a Physician, since without taking this precaution he can never be thoroughly satisfied that he has done, or rather that all has been done for his patient it was in his power to do, which if he cannot be, he acts a part unbecoming his profession, below the behaviour of his predecessors, and unworthy of a liberal education. He suggests, that for want of this method, many excellent and efficacious medicines are kept as secrets, because the inventors and owners of them are afraid of risking their own reputations, by putting their receipts into the hands of men who have no other view than to get money, and who may therefore be tempted to pre-

(11) Philosophi-  
cal Transactions,  
No. xli. p. 836.

(8) From a large collection of curious Receipts in several languages, MS.

(9) See the article LISTER [MARTIN] in this work.

(10) Boyle's Works, Vol. IV. p. 306, 316.



(†) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 271.

(u) Bp Sprat's  
History of the  
R. S. p. 193.

greatest part of the city of London sustained, in 1666, he quitted Gresham-College, as the other professors did, in order to leave a place so convenient, as that is, by its situation to be applied to the use of the city, and for the management of public affairs (†). He prosecuted however, a very great variety of learned labours, with indefatigable diligence, and also wrought for the Royal Society, for which he had a tender affection, as having known it in embryo, as well as a high esteem on account of that spirit of promoting useful knowledge which influenced all their proceedings, in support of which he communicated to them a very short discourse on the art of making wine (u), which, how far it has been justified by future experiments will appear in the notes [E]. He likewise afforded them

pare them in the manner by which they may get most money. Throughout the whole treatise there are interspersed a great variety of physical and philosophical remarks, and other curiosities, which will ever render it a very valuable performance in the opinion of candid and competent judges. It was also allowed at the time that the author's temper and moderation were as conspicuous therein as his learning and abilities. His second treatise upon the same subject bears the following title:

*A Discourse setting forth the unhappy condition of the Practice of Physic in London.* Lond. 1669. 4to.

[E] Will appear in the notes.] When the eloquent Historian of the Royal Society undertook that important work, there is no doubt that his greatest care was employed about those specimens which he produced of the Society's proceedings; and amongst these we may safely affirm, there is none of greater importance than the following succinct paper, which for its manner, as well as matter, may be esteemed a master-piece (12) in its kind, and which bears this title:

*A Proposal for making Wine, by Dr Goddard.*

'It is recommended to the care of some skilful planters in Barbadoes, to try whether good wine may not be made out of the juice of sugar-canes. That which may induce them to believe this work to be possible is this observation, that the juice of wine, when it is dried, does always granulate into sugar, as appears in raisins, or dried grapes; and also that in those vessels wherein acute or unfermented wine is put, the sides are wont to be covered over with a crust of sugar. Hence it may be gathered, that there is so great a likeness of the liquor of the cane to that of the vine, that it may probably be brought to serve for the same uses. If this attempt shall succeed, the advantages of it will be very considerable; for the English being the chief masters of the sugar trade, and that falling very much in its price of late years, while all other outlandish productions are risen in their value, it would be a great benefit to this kingdom, as well as to our western plantations, if part of our sugar, which is now in a manner a mere drug, might be turned into wine, which is a foreign commodity, and grows every day dearer; especially seeing this might be done by only bruising and pressing the canes, which would be a far less labour and charge, than the way by which sugar is now made.'

Upon this the learned Dr Shaw has made a very full practical commentary, which some time or other will in all probability produce the desired effect, and put us in possession of those liquors by art, which have not been bestowed upon us by nature. His words are these (13):

Those who have never been in wine countries, or otherwise made themselves acquainted with the nature and common preparation of wines, proceed in their judgment of them according to report, popular notions, and the immediate information of the senses. Thus for instance, Red Port wines, to please the common palate, must be bright, deep-coloured, rough, rich, and racy, two or three years old, &c. and when this or any other notion comes once to be established as the criterion of wine, the cooper is thence directed how to hit the general taste, and make a saleable commodity. Upon the same foundation, Philosophical Chemistry instructs us to imitate the wine-coopers, and from almost any sweet and tart vegetable juice to make saleable wines, even Sacks, Mountains, Sherries, or Ports, all which, by the way, are usually mixed liquors, though the basis of them all is the juice of the grape. This juice of the grape being chemically examined and

considered, proves to be no more than a large proportion of real sugar dissolved in water, with the addition only of a certain flavour in the juice of the grape according to the vine. Whence we lay it down as an axiom, and the result of a careful enquiry, that a saccharine substance is the basis of wines. For sugar is not peculiar to the sugar-cane, but obtainable also from grapes; and accordingly we often find large grains thereof in dried raisins, particularly those of Malaga, that have laid for some time, and sweat together, whereby they run into candy, a saccharine effluence, and actual grains of sugar. So again, it is customary in France to evaporate the juice of the grape till it becomes coagulable in the cold, and in this state to use it as a moist sugar, under the name of *Refiné*. And the same thing is to be understood as practicable in malt, or wort, and the sweet juices of all vegetables that afford a wine by fermentation. Hence therefore we may derive a set of rules for boiling down, or otherwise procuring, the essential matter of wines in a small bulk, and preserving it sound and serviceable for many years, in order to the making of all kinds of wines, vinegars, and brandies, even in countries where no vines grow. And this discovery also affords great light into the true nature and uses of vinous and acetous fermentation. To illustrate and confirm this discovery by an example upon the footing of the present experiment, Take 2 C  $\frac{1}{2}$  of double refined sugar; put it into a pipe or wine-vessel of two hogheads; fill the vessel within four gallons of the top, with pure spring water; set it in a warm place or wine-vault; add three or four pounds of fresh ale yeast, or rather of new wine yeast, and the liquor in a few months time will ferment into a sound, colourless, and flavourless wine, and remain susceptible of any colour at pleasure, so as with the stain called turnsol, to be made of the true claret colour, and with a little essential vegetable oil of any particular flavour required. And this is delivered as an experiment that succeeds to great perfection, so as to shew a rational and practicable method of producing wines in the sugar colonies, or elsewhere, that shall rival those of France, Italy, or Spain; and if the nature of fermentation be well understood, the process may be greatly shortened in point of time, and other advantages.

When Dr Goddard's proposal is read by itself, it seems to be no more than a philosophic conjecture, the certainty of which one may be easily led to doubt, since many things appear plausible in theory, that will by no means succeed when attempts are made to carry them into practice; but when we adjoin Dr Peter Shaw's experiment, the case is put beyond all doubt, and the only ground of surprize that remains is this, that so little use should be made of so important a discovery. Perhaps one reason may be, that both papers have been seldom read together, which was the principal reason for inserting them here; and to this let us be permitted to add a remark or two more. In these warm climates grapes have not hitherto been brought to any perfection, with respect to making wine, yet they grow there naturally, their clusters being very large, and finely flavoured for eating; whence one might be tempted to conceive, that by the help of Chemistry, an essential oil might be extracted, that would give an high, rich, and grateful flavour to the sugar wine. It is very possible, that a few trials of this sort, under the direction of a skilful person, might lead to an unexpected and un hoped for degree of perfection; since it is a matter of the utmost notoriety, that Madeira wine and other liquors are very highly improved, by being barely carried into that climate. Add to all this, that what Dr Goddard proposed is founded in political as well

(12) History of  
the Royal Society,  
p. 193.

(13) Chemical  
Lectures, p. 119.



them many other and most useful communications, some of which are printed in their Transactions, and many more are preserved in their Registers, which serve as monuments of his extensive and various learning (w), justifying the high commendation given him by some of the greatest persons living at that time, and whose writings, as well as his own, will ever do honour to that age and this nation [F]. As soon as things were in some measure settled, and the public tranquillity restored, he returned to his lodgings and his studies at Gresham College, where he continued to the time of his death, which was very sudden and unexpected (x). He used to meet a select number of his learned friends at a place in Bloomsbury, where they discoursed of philosophic subjects, and in his return from thence on the evening of the twenty-fourth of March 1674, he was seized with an apoplectick fit in Cheapside near the corner of Woodstreet, and dropped down dead (y). He left behind him a very well chosen library of books finely bound, which he intended to have made a present to the Royal Society, as an addition to the Arundel library, but dying without a will his intention was defeated, and they fell to his heir at Law, who was his nephew by his sister, at that time a scholar in Caius College in Cambridge (z), his body lies buried in St Helen's church, on the north side of the chancel near the rails of the communion table without any monument.

(w) See their  
Transactions in the  
Notes.

(x) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 538.

(y) Ward's Lives  
of Great Brit.  
Fellows, p. 271.

(z) Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 538.

well as philosophical reason; for, by this means we might gain what is now a foreign commodity, and run very little risk of being rivalled by the French, who would hardly suffer their colonies to interfere with one of the principal branches of their domestic commerce

[F] *Will ever do honour to that age, and this nation.* Besides the two treatises already mentioned, and his anatomical lecture, which has never been published, our author wrote many other pieces upon different subjects, some of which were printed in his lifetime, some after his decease, and some are still preserved in the registers of the Royal Society, and have not been hitherto printed.

Of those printed in his life-time, exclusive of what have been already mentioned, there were but two.

I. *Some Observations concerning the Texture and similar Parts of the Body of a Tree; which may also hold in shrubs, and other woody plants* (14).

The substance of this discourse has been published by one of the ablest and most ingenious writers in our language, with this just encomium upon our author (15). 'What I am about to add, says he, concerning the texture and similar parts of the body of trees, which may also hold in shrubs, and other ligneous plants, is both a curious and rational account of their anatomization, and worthy of the sagacious enquiry of that incomparably learned person, Dr Goddard, as I find it entered amongst other of those precious collections of this illustrious Society.'

II. *Experiments of a Stone called Oculus mundi.*

This is a very rare, and, considered in that light, a precious stone, of which we find but very little said, even by very accurate writers of Natural History. It is an opaque stone, in colour resembling marble, or rather ivory, and when put into common water, becomes in no very long time transparent and full of lustre, but when taken out, it very quickly recovers its former appearance. The great Mr Boyle thinks this may be accounted for by saying (16), that the water entering the crooked pores of the stone, rectifies them for the time, and so renders them pervious to the rays of light; and, in confirmation of his sentiment, he appeals to these experiments of our author, whom he calls a learned member of the Royal Society; which manifestly proves, that the stone when thoroughly wiped, is nevertheless found by a nice balance to weigh more when it is taken out of the water, than when it was put in.

The following pieces were published after his death.

*Observations of a Cameleon* (17).

*Experiments of refining Gold with Antimony* (18).

*Arcana Goddardiana.* These are some receipts published at the end of the second edition of the *Pharmacopœia Bateana*. Lond. 1691

*Experiments of weighing Glass-canes, with the Cylinders of Quicksilver in them, according to the Torricellian Experiment.*

These were read before the Royal Society, Aug. 6. 1662, and entered in their registers, and with other accounts of the same kind, afterwards printed in Dr Wallis's *Mechanica* (19).

The following are entered in the registers of the Royal Society, but have not been printed.

*A brief experimental Account of the Production of some Colours, by a mixture of several liquors, either having little or no colour, or being of different colours from those produced* (20).

*An Experiment of Exhalation raised from Water, and returning to Water again* (21).

About that time he likewise made some other experiments, relating to water, which may be seen in p. 93 and 97 of the same volume.

*An Experiment of a Glass Tube and Quicksilver* (22).

By this experiment was shewn the pressure of the air, by the adhesion of the finger to the orifice of that part of the tube from which the air had been expelled by the quicksilver.

*A discourse upon Eggs, containing ten signs whereby to distinguish new Eggs from those which are stale* (23).

*An Experiment to shew that Spirit of Wine in a vessel exhausted of air, becomes lighter* (24).

*Observations upon the Experiments of several liquors in a tube of about thirty-six foot in length, erected perpendicularly, in order to shew their comparative weight* (25).

*De mercurio Quæstiones tres, a Johanne Baptista Signi, medico Florentino, per Joh. Bapt. Gorniani, coram reg. societate propostæ: Cum responsionibus medicorum Londinensium quorundam ex eadem societate* (26).

This was brought in by Dr Goddard, and read June 10. 1669.

*An Experiment to shew whether the Muscles of an Animal in their action, are bigger or less in their total sum of dimensions* (27).

By this experiment it appeared, that the dimensions of a muscle are less in it's contraction than relaxation.

(17) Philosophi-  
cal Transactions  
No. CXXXVII.  
P. 930.

(18) Philosophi-  
cal Transactions,  
No. CXXXVIII.  
P. 935.

(19) Vol. I. p.  
185.

(20) Vol. I. p. 3.

(21) Vol. II. p.  
63.

(22) Vol. II. p.  
225.

(23) Vol. III.  
P. 8.

(24) Vol. III.  
p. 18.

(25) Vol. III.  
p. 60.

(26) Vol. IV.  
p. 65.

(27) Vol. IV.  
p. 95.

(14) Registers  
of the Royal So-  
ciety, Vol. I.  
P. 5.

(15) Evelyn's  
Silva, Lond.  
1670. fol. p.  
159.

(16) Boyle's  
Works, Vol. II.  
p. 85. Vol. IV.  
p. 222. Vol. V.  
p. 95.

GODWYNE, GODWINE, GODWIN, or GOODWIN Earl of Kent, and also Earl, or Duke of the West Saxons. One of the greatest captains, and one of the ablest statesmen, of whom any notice remains in our histories before what is stiled the Norman Conquest (a). His actions are represented in various and contradictory lights, by different writers, so that hitherto, whatever memoirs have been collected concerning him, are so dark, so embarrassed, and so inconsistent, that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to frame any just notion of his conduct and character, which nevertheless appears to be highly necessary, towards understanding the true sources of that great revolution,

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25 C

which

(a) See Caxton,  
Cooper's Chroni-  
cle, Holinshed,  
Speed, Daniel,  
Milton, Baker,  
Rapin, &c.



(b) *Chronicum Saxonicum.*

(c) *Chronicon Johannis Bromton Abbatis Jor-nalensis, col. 908. Chron. Saxon.*

(d) *Math. Westm. Annal. Hen. Huntingdon. Hist. lib. VI.*

(e) *Chron. Johan. Bromton.*

(f) *Hen. de Knyghton Canonici Leycestrensis de eventibus Angliæ, col. 2333.*

(g) *Sax. Grammat. Adam Bremens, Polydori Virgil.*

which happened in England, within a few years after his demise [A]. He was descended from an ancient noble Saxon family, and inherited a great estate from his ancestors, and it is probable, he was Earl of Kent, before Knute or Canutus, the first of our Danish Kings, came to the throne; which the best authorities we have place in A. D. 1017 (b). In the third year of that prince's reign, his affairs making it necessary for him to return into his hereditary dominions, which were attacked by the Vandals or Swedes, he sailed thither with a very numerous fleet, and a potent army, composed of English as well as Danes (c). The former were commanded in chief by Earl Godwin, and when they came into the field, and were encamped not far from the enemy, advice was brought to the King early one morning, that the English had left their quarters, and were either fled or had deserted. Knute upon this advanced towards the enemy's camp, and saw with surprize, that it was abandoned, and none left in it but dead or wounded men (d). But he was quickly informed that Earl Godwin, taking the advantage of a dark night, had entered it suddenly, and tho' far inferior in strength had routed the Vandals, and was then in pursuit of them. This gave him a very high opinion of Earl Godwin, and created such an affection in him for the English nation, that he treated them ever after with the same kindness and cordiality that he did the Danes (e). On his return to England the next year, he rewarded Earl Godwin with very large grants, but it does not appear from any of our writers, whether it was before or after this expedition that he married the King's daughter (f); but tho' most of our ancient chronicles maintain the contrary, there are very strong reasons, which prove he had no other wife than this daughter of the King's, whom it is more than probable he married at the very entrance of his reign, when by such alliances he sought at least to strengthen his own interest, and to blend in process of time the two nations (g) [B]. The King went twice or thrice at least after this

[A] *Which happened in England within a few years after his demise.* The principal and essential point in all History is truth; for without that, whatever there may be of elegance in the composition, or of weight and sagacity in reflections, or whatever value it may have in any other respects, such a work is not History. A man of great talents, and one who is master of a fine style, may out of a few facts placed in bad order, and told in a very rough manner, frame not only a pleasant and passable, but a very plausible relation; which, if his materials in general be destroyed, will be received with posterity for true History. Or if a man who is a little more scrupulous, and has likewise a greater degree of diligence, shall assemble a large heap of materials, and resolve to bring them all in, ranged in the best order he is able, though inconsistent and contradictory, his labours may also find acceptance with many, though it is impossible they should satisfy the inquisitive and well-judging few. Instances of both kinds may be found in the general histories of most nations in Europe, but more especially in our own; which, for this reason, in these early periods particularly, has been justly censured as uncertain, dark, and perplexed (1). To avoid absolutely these objections in the form of a General History, must be a work of very great difficulty, or rather, to speak freely and impartially, altogether impracticable. Our ingenious, judicious, and laborious Antiquary, Mr William Lambard, saw this, and therefore long ago fell into our method; that is, he framed an alphabetical catalogue of the principal articles in our Old History especially, and ranged under each head what he could collect concerning it out of ancient writers, with his own remarks, out of which he proposed to draw several regular and correct pieces, in which things should be represented methodically, and as near the truth as it was possible (2). Since his time we have, through the commendable industry of many great men, such as Sir Henry Savile, Mr Camden, Sir Roger Twysden, Mr Selden, Bishop Fell, Dr Gale, Mr Hearne, and many others, recovered a multitude of ancient writers relating to English History. But if this has added to the quantity of materials, it has added no less to that perplexity which was before so great and so formidable a bar, to the reducing the transactions of our ancestors into a tolerable degree of order and certainty. The only way to come at this, is not barely to consider what is said by a multitude of writers of the same persons and things, but to weigh the authorities of these writers, to consider the respective advantages and disadvantages under which they wrote, the visible spirit and design of their writings, their several capacities for the tasks they respectively undertook; and, in short, whatever else may contribute to distinguish where

they deserved credit, and where they ought to be rejected. If this can possibly be done, the likeliest method of doing it is to take up single threads, and to pursue them with as strict an eye as may be, 'till we have freed them from beginning to end, as far as we are able, from all embarrassments, and so as to produce them even and strait to the contemplation and censure of proper judges. This is what, by way of instance, we have done with regard to Earl Godwin, the series of whose actions deserves to be traced with as much accuracy as any character whatever of like antiquity. The way in which we have traced it, is to place in the text the facts that are preserved by authors of the greatest credit, and who lived nearest his own time, who consequently had the best opportunities of knowing what they wrote, and who were the least likely to deceive themselves, or attempt to deceive others. In the notes we have occasionally given an account of the authorities upon which we relied, of the facts which we have rejected, and the motives which led us to reject them, and have also added circumstances that are discovered from the comparison of facts, and which tend to establish the credit and certainty of this great man's History, as we have delivered it.

[B] *And to blend in process of time the two nations.* There is nothing said in the Saxon chronicle concerning the marriage of Earl Godwin, so that all that can be collected on this head is from writers of far less antiquity, which is the true reason of it's appearing so uncertain and obscure. Some say, that he married the sister, others the daughter, of King Knute, but none of our writers mention the name of this lady (3). However, they are pleased to tell us, that she was a very wicked woman, and that she caused the handsomest children, but more especially girls, that could be met with in England, to be stolen, and sent over into Denmark, where she sold them, and accumulated thereby immense riches (4). They add, that she was killed by a thunder-bolt, and that Godwin had only one son by her, who, while a child, riding an unruly horse, given him by the King, his grandfather, or uncle, into the river Thames, was there thrown into the water and drowned (5). After which Earl Godwin married another wife, of whose family there is not a syllable any where said, and by her had six or seven sons, and one daughter. But Polydori Virgil, following the lights given him by some of our ancient Historians, which are now lost, and agreeing with foreign writers that are still remaining, sets this matter in a very clear and consistent light; so much the more to be considered, as for want of this key the whole story of Godwin and his family, their great influence and unbounded authority, is very intricate, if not unintelligible; but this once known,

(1) See the learned Mr Bolton's discourses upon the English History, printed at the end of Trivet's Annals. Milton's Introduction to the History of England; and Bishop Nicholson's Account of the Historians within this period.

(2) Alphabetical description of the chief places in England and Wales, London 4to 1730.

(3) *Willielmus Malmesburiensis de Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. ii. Dugdale's Baro-nage, Vol. I.*

(4) *Willielm. Malmesburiensis.*

(5) *Hen. Knyghton.*



this into Denmark, but whether Earl Godwin attended him or not, or whether he accompanied him to Rome, or in his expedition into Scotland after his return from thence, does not appear (b). It is most likely that he did not, but that the King left him in England, as one upon whom he could safely rely, and who in his absence was able to keep the kingdom in peace. We assert this the rather, because of the vast power he had, at the time of this monarch's death; which he must have attained gradually, as other great men died, or fell into the King's displeasure, while he remained firm in his favour, and may be presumed to have preserved himself, partly by his services, but chiefly by his alliance (i). On the demise of this monarch, Anno Domini 1036, there was an assembly held of all the great men in the kingdom, to determine whom they should raise to the throne; in which Earl Ælfric, and most of the governors of the countries north of the river Thames, and the seamen of London, were for Harold surnamed Harefoot, the son of Elgiva the daughter of Ælfem, Earl of Hampshire, by the deceased King, for, as to the story of his being a supposititious child, and the son of a Shoemaker imposed upon the King by that lady, it is very improbable, from this circumstance of his having so strong a party amongst the nobility, and his being at the same time so acceptable to the people (k). However this was vehemently opposed by Earl Godwin, and the West-Saxon lords, who, tho' they could not prevail to set him aside, yet they obtained in favour of the Queen Dowager Emma or Ymma, who had been the wife of Ethelred, as well as of Knute, that she should continue to reside at Winchester, with the domesticks of the King her son, and should enjoy all the country of the West-Saxons, that was under the government of Godwin (l). In this year most writers place the murder of Alfred, the eldest son of Queen Emma by King Ethelred, but of this there is not a word in the Saxon Chronicle, nor was it inserted in any chronicle till after the Conquest, as is evident from what William of Malmesbury says, that he took it upon common fame and would not warrant the truth of it (m). It is also plain that the murder of this prince was originally ascribed to his mother; but after the Normans came in, the monks were so complaisant as to discharge her of this heavy load, and lay it wholly upon the shoulders of Earl Godwin (n) [C]. The next year Queen Emma was banished, and retired for shelter

(i) Chron. Saxon.

(j) Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Historie novorum five sui seculi; Simons. Dunelmensis Historia.

(k) Chron. Saxon. Florent. Wigorn. Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales. Abbreviationes Chroniconum Antore Radulfo de Diceto.

(l) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Dunelmensis. Thomæ Spotti Chronica, p. 71. col. 2.

(m) De gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. 11. Alured. Bever. Sim. Dunelm. col. 179. Chron. Johan. Bromton, col. 935.

(n) Annal. Winton.

known, becomes as plain and probable as can be. Canutus then upon the death of Edmund Ironside, becoming King both of the Danes and English, sought to enlarge his interest, and to secure his family, by intermixing the two nations, as is said in the text; upon which he married himself an English lady, the daughter of the Earl or Duke of Hampshire, and gave his daughter in marriage to Earl Godwin, whose name was Thira (6), which the English altered into Githa, and thus she was sister to King Knute, that is to Hardecnute, or Canutus the second (7). The reason why the monks after the Conquest were so extremely desirous to confuse and hide this matter, was to prevent posterity from seeing what the nature of that title was by which Harold claimed the Crown; for if they had owned him to be the grandson of Knute, or Canutus the Great, it might have been thought at least as good as that of William the Norman, who was not descended either from the Saxon or the Danish Line (8). That Godwin married a Danish princess, was a thing too notorious to be denied, and that he had issue by her, might have been preserved by tradition; but these being removed out of the way by the thunder-bolt and the skittish horse, Harold, and the rest of his children, were attributed to another wife (9). But as there is a fatality that attends liars, so we have an ancient abbey chronicle which betrays all this, and that by endeavouring to support it. We have therein a most horrid picture drawn of Swayn Earl of Shropshire (10), who is said to have been one of the proudest and haughtiest persons of his time, fancying himself to be descended from Swayn King of Denmark; nor would he be persuaded out of this, tho' his father, Earl Godwin, and his mother, Lady Githa, came and assured him, that he was their own child, and not of any such lineage as he pretended. This silly tale is plainly grounded upon a tradition, that Earl Swayn, of whom we shall speak hereafter, valued himself very much upon his being the great-grandson of the Danish monarch of the same name, who made no inconsiderable figure in that conquest, which was afterwards finished and compleated by his son Knute.

[C] And lay it wholly upon the shoulders of Earl Godwin.] We have in another place observed, that the Saxon Chronicle is silent on this head, and, which is still more extraordinary, takes no notice at all of this Alfred, supposed to be the elder brother of Edward the Confessor. Eadmerus, another Historian, who lived

near these times, is as silent, and it is very improbable, that if he had ever heard or believed this story, would have siled Godwin, as he does, a magnanimous Earl (11). Walter of Hemingford, a man of judgment and veracity, in his introduction to his History (12), speaks largely of Godwin, but without the least hint of this transaction. It is however true, that in the annals of Winchester, though this fact is not related at large, yet it is more than once mentioned, with insinuations that Queen Emma and Earl Godwin were equally involved in it; but all this is to make way for the story of Queen Emma's penance (13). Yet in that story Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, in his speech to the Bishops, who are said to have favoured the Queen, charges her, and her only, without any mention of Earl Godwin. His words are these: 'How can you have the confidence (speaking to the Bishops) to take upon you the defence of that beast, rather than woman, who hath so much detracted from the King, her son, and yet calls her paramour the Anointed of the Lord: she offers herself to purge the Bishop, but who shall purge her, who consented to the death of her son Alfred, and prepared poison for his brother Edward? But if she desires to be acquitted, let her walk blindfold and barefoot over nine red-hot ploughshares, four for herself, and five for the Bishops; and if she escapes, let her be reputed innocent.' We see then, that according to this chronicle, the Queen and the Earl were both suspected; but from the Archbishop's speech, one would suppose the fault lay chiefly in her. Take the whole fact therefore together, and the Queen must be acquitted, in virtue of her purgation; but take that as it ought to be taken, for a fable invented by the monks, and to which no regard was paid by the best ancient Historians, and the whole business falls to the ground (14). This will appear still the more clearly from the subject of the following note, which will set the true character of Godwin in a proper light, and shew that if he had great power and influence at this time, he used it well and wisely; for surely he who set up Edward, might have set up his own son as easily, if he had been so ambitious as he is represented; or if he had apprehended any difficulty therein, might have dealt with Edward as he is said to have done with his brother Alfred; but as he did neither, we ought in common justice to conclude, that his memory was much injured from a superstitious regard

(11) Monachi Cantuariensis Historie novorum, five seculi, p. 4.

(12) Chronica Walteri Hemingford de gestis Regum Angliæ, lib. I. cap. I.

(13) Annal. Winton.

(14) Chron. Saxon. Eadmeri Historie. Will. Malmesburienensis.

(6) Anglice Histor. lib. VIII.

(7) Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 759.

(8) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 125.

(9) Will. Malmesburienensis.

(10) Registrum Wigornie in Biblioth. Cottoniana. Monasticon Anglicanum, Vol. I. p. 133.



(o) Chron. Saxon.  
Henrici Huntingdoniensis Historia  
lib. VI.  
Willielm. Malmesburienſis de  
Geſtis Regum  
Anglorum, lib.  
II.

(p) Chron. Saxon.  
Johan. Bromton,  
Florent. Wigorn.

(q) Johan.  
Bromton. Rogeri  
de Hoveden. An-  
nal.

(r) Chron. Saxon.  
Willielm. Mal-  
mesburienſis. Ro-  
geri de Hoveden.

(s) Math. Westm.  
Annal. Sim.  
Dunelm.  
Hen. Knyghton.

(t) Chron. Saxon.  
Sim. Dunelm.  
Willielm. Mal-  
mesburienſis.  
Rogeri de Hove-  
den.

(u) Johan.  
Bromton.  
H. Huntingdon.

(v) Chron.  
Saxon.

(x) Johanni  
Reſſi Hiſtoria  
regum Angliæ.

(y) Annal. Win-  
ton. in Biblioth.  
Cottoniana, ſub  
effigie Domitiani,  
A. 13.

(z) Will. Mal-  
mesburienſis.

(a) Chron. Antiq.  
in Bibliotheca  
Cottoniana ſub  
effigie Othonis,  
D. 7.

(15) Simeonis  
Dunelmensis  
Hiſtoria.  
Lelandi Collecta-  
nea, tom. I. p.  
759.

ſhelter to Baldwin Earl of Flanders, who gave her a retreat in the city of Bruges. But why ſhe went thither, rather than to her own country of Normandy, unleſs it was becauſe of the cloſe alliance between this Earl and our Earl Godwin, is not eaſy to diſcover (o). What ſhare Earl Godwin had in this monarch's adminiſtration, is not to be diſcovered from our moſt authentic hiſtory, but if there be any truth in what ſome writers ſuggeſt, that he was ever obliged to leave England (p), after the death of King Knute, this is moſt likely to be the time, neither is it improbable, that he might attend the Queen-Dowager, and return with her and her ſon (q). For Harold dying at Oxford on the 17th of March 1039, Hardecnute came with a great fleet to Sandwich a week before Midſummer, and was there received as King, both by the Engliſh and Danes; for which as the Saxon Annals ſay, they were but ill rewarded (r). But as to his cauſing his brother's body to be taken up and thrown into the Thames, and his proſecution of Earl Godwin, for his cruelty towards his brother (s), thoſe Annals are entirely ſilent, and it may be with good reaſon, of which the reader will meet with ſome proofs in the notes [D]. The next year his brother Edward came over from Normandy, and ſeems to have remained at court till the death of the King, which happened on the eighth of June 1041, at Lambeth at a wedding (t), thro' drunkenneſs, as ſome writers ſay; and, as others ſuggeſt, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon (u). However it happened a great confuſion enſued, for tho' but half a Dane himſelf, yet having been educated and reigning in that country, during the life of his brother Harold, he was entirely addiſted to their cuſtoms, had a great confidence in them, and levied exorbitant ſums upon his Engliſh ſubjects for their profit (w). This incenſed the nation to ſuch a degree, that they unanimouſly declared they would exclude the whole line of Knute, and never ſuffer any Dane to bear the regal title in this kingdom. They alſo expelled the Danes wherever they were ſettled; and obliged them to return home, reſolving to convert the day of the King's death into an anniversary feſtival, for the extinction of the Daniſh tyranny in England (x). In this perilous ſituation of things, Edward the ſon of King Ethelred and Queen Emma, neither of whom were at all beloved by the people, was under great anxiety and terror (y). He was naturally of a timorous diſpoſition, and, according to the beſt accounts we have, ſo little ambitious, or at leaſt had ſo little hope of ſucceeding his brother, that the care of his own ſafety occupied all his thoughts. It was with this view, that with the greateſt teſtimonies of fear and diſtreſs, he applied himſelf to Earl Godwin, as the only perſon who could protect him, and procure him a ſafe paſſage into Normandy, which was all he deſired (z). Upon his propoſing this to that Earl, who received him with all imaginable marks of kindneſs and tenderneſs, he told him, it was a notion unworthy of his blood and birth, that he was the ſon of a King, and of a Queen, that he was arrived at a mature age, was of a mild and peaceable diſpoſition, very capable, if he would apply his thoughts to the adminiſtration of public affairs, of repairing the miſchiefs the nation had ſo long ſuffered; and that at all events, it was infinitely more glorious for him to live a King in his own, than a wretched and miſerable exile in a foreign country (a). By theſe and other diſcourſes of this ſort, Edward was prevailed upon not to act himſelf, but to ſuffer Godwin to act as he thought proper, who in a meeting of the nobility, held at Gillingham, by the diſplay of that eloquence for which he was ſo famous, and thro' the influence he had upon the minds of the nobility, procured Edward to be choſen, which choice was afterwards confirmed at London, where he was declared King (b). As there was a great ſcarcity of provisions that year, and a prodigious mortality amongſt the cattle, the ceremony

(b) Ailredus Abbas Rievallis de vita & miraculis Edwardi Confefſoris.  
Will. Malmesburienſis.

to the fame of Edward the Confefſor, one of the weakeſt, none of the mildeſt of our monarchs, and whoſe beſt title to the throne aroſe from the affection of Earl Godwin to the Saxon Line.

[D] With ſome proofs in the notes.] If Queen Emma ſuffered under her ſon, Edward the Confefſor, for being an accomplice at leaſt in the murder of his brother; Earl Godwin, if we will believe Simeon of Durham, and other writers, had been both purged and puniſhed for it before (15). King Hardecnute, ſay they, was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than Alfric, Archbiſhop of York, charged Earl Godwin and Biſhop Living with having conſpired the death of Prince Alfred; upon which charge the Biſhop was convicted, and removed from his Biſhoprick; but reſtored ſome time after for a ſum of money. Earl Godwin had ſhared the ſame fate if he had not pacified the King by a preſent of a moſt magnificent galley, which had a ſtern gilt with gold, manned by eighty choſen foldiers, having gold bracelets on their arms, weighing ſixteen ounces each, and the reſt of their arms ſuitable. But all this would not have done, if the Earl had not taken his oath, that what he did, he did by the expreſs command of King Harold; ſo that he was the inſtrument only, and not the contriver, of this tragedy. This King might indeed very readily credit him almoſt without an oath,

if we could believe it true, that he was one of thoſe, who by this King's order had dug up his brother's body, and after cutting off the head, had thrown it into the Thames (16). But farther ſtill, if there was the leaſt truth in this, Queen Emma muſt have been abſolutely innocent; and after this open enquiry and trial, Edward the Confefſor could not be at all in the dark about the death of his brother; for which notwithstanding, he is not only ſaid to have put his mother to her purgation, but even after her death to have brought Earl Godwin to a new trial for this fact, and that in a ſolemn manner, before his Peers; which ſo great a man as Mr Selden believed to be true (17), and cites it as the original of ſuch kind of proceedings in Parliament. But how ſtrange after all this muſt it appear, that there is not a word of theſe three trials, any more than of the murder of Alfred, in the Saxon Annals, in the Hiſtory of Eadmerus, or in any other author of equal credit. The judicious reader therefore will not wonder, that we conſider them all in the ſame light, as the inventions of later times, and ſubject, like all invented hiſtories, to ſuch variations and abſurdities, as plainly ſhew them to ſuch as will be at the pains to compare and conſider them, to be but mere inventions, which ought to have been long ago exploded from our Hiſtories.

(16) Johan. Bromton, col. 936.  
Hen. Knyghton, col. 2326.  
Math. Westm. Annal.

(17) Titles of Honour, p. 525.



of the Coronation was put off to the next spring, when the King was inaugurated with great solemnity at Winchester upon Easter-Day, which happened that year upon the eleventh of April (c). What we have said is taken chiefly from Malmesbury, a very diligent, and, for the times in which he lived, a very learned Historian. But surely if any credit be due to our ancient Abbey chronicles, that of Winchester (d) claims it as to this fact, and therefore the reader will find the account of this transaction literally translated from thence at the bottom of the page [E]. Upon this occasion Archbishop Hadfig preached the first Coronation sermon of which we have any remembrance preserved, and therein very freely told both the King and the people their duty (e). The same year, that is A. D. 1042, the King reunited to his Domain, the lands which his mother Queen Emma had held, and took from her all the treasures she had amassed, because he thought she had treated him unkindly while under his misfortunes (f). In some ancient chronicles

(c) Chron. Saxon. Aured. Breviar. centii, p. 100.  
Saxo. Danicor. vol. 1. p. 9.

(d) Annal. Winch. ubi supra.

(e) Chron. Saxon.

(f) Annal. Winton.  
Chron. Saxon.  
Reverii de Hove.  
Ann.

this

[E] *At the bottom of the page.* We hope in this note to satisfy the reader, in as great a degree as the nature of this attempt will admit, that we have truth on our side, and that in vindicating the character of Earl Godwin, against the current of our common histories, we have done what it became us to do, in support of truth, in regard to the memory of the dead, and in justice to posterity. We have suggested, that our ancient abbey chronicles were altered and interpolated after the Conquest, and that amongst many other reasons which might be mentioned, the Saxon chronicle deserves the utmost respect, because it has visibly suffered less in this respect than almost any other (18). We promised the reader in this note to prove from the ancient chronicle of the church of Winchester, that Edward the Confessor was raised to the throne purely by the favour and assistance of Earl Godwin; we shall prove this, and make good the observations before-mentioned at the same time. There is, or at least there was, in the Cotton Library, an ancient copy of the annals (19) before-mentioned, ending in the year 1086, and from thence we will literally translate this curious passage: 'The King being dead, (Hardecnute) the care of the kingdom, with the consent of the Queen and the council of the Nobles, was committed to Earl Godwin, 'till a person worthy of that dignity should be elected King. Edward, the son of Emma, being at that time in a woful condition, three Dukes of Normandy, his relations, two Richards and a Robert being dead, had no friend in that country, William, the son of Robert, a youth, being at that time with the King of France. Having no reason to hope so much as a spark of pity from his mother in this desperate state, thought it safer to supplicate an open enemy, than to apply to a pretended friend; leaving therefore Normandy, and sailing into England, when he had landed at Southampton, avoiding his mother, who was then at Winchester, he went directly to Godwin, at London, a man supposed to be no friend to him, and to have been the murderer of his brother. There one morning very early getting into his bed-chamber, he prostrated himself upon the ground, with his arms stretched out in the very form of a cross before Godwin, who was but just awake. To whom Godwin said, Who, and what wretch art thou, and what would thou have? Stand up, that I may see thee. To this answered Edward, I am indeed a poor servant of thine, who, without any fault of my own, have been an exile even from my youth; save, I beseech thee, my life; and then burst out into a violent flood of tears. Godwin, extremely moved with the tears and misery of this suppliant, promised him, with an oath, that he should be safe. Rise, rise, (said he) and doubt not of security; by the face of St Luke, thou shalt not die: be not afraid to trust me with thy secret, whoever thou art. To this he replied, I am Edward, the youngest son of Ethelred; let me, I beseech thee, find favour in thy sight. For thy own good, returned Godwin, hast thou come to me, and what I have sworn shall not be in vain. I will be to thee a father, and thou shalt be to me a son. Only swear to me, by God and thy own soul, that thou wilt take my daughter to wife, and suffer me to remain the first man in the kingdom, and I will give to thee the realm of England. He having sworn, Godwin kissed him, and commanded him to go before him to Winchester, and not to make himself known to any man, nor even to his mother. Edward

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therefore came in a mean habit to Winchester, and eat sometimes in his mother's Court, sometimes in the house of the Bishop, but unknown, while in the mean time he diligently endeavoured to find out their sentiments. In the mean time Godwin summoned all the Nobility to attend the Queen at Winchester, in order to proceed to the choice of a King; and there accordingly they met in the episcopal church. Godwin sat on the Queen's left hand, because the Archbishop sat on the right, having Edward at his feet, with his hood over his face. After having explained his intentions in a long speech, he put his hand upon the head of Edward, the Queen knowing nothing of the mystery, lifted him up, and shewing him to all the assembly, who were extremely surprized, Behold, said he, your King. This is Edward, the Son of this Queen Emma, and of Ethelred, King of the English nation. Him I elect for King, and to him I first do homage. After some disputes the election was consented to, though it displeased many; but at that time there were none who durst openly oppose Godwin.'

This, though it might suffice for our purpose at present, shall not be all that we will quote from this chronicle, for what follows may very probably be as entertaining to the reader, as shewing what the general sense of men was in those times. 'Edward, son of Ethelred, King of England, thus elected, was crowned also at Winchester. He took to wife Weditha, but both of them preserved their virginity. He honoured Godwin above all men; as for his mother, he neither revered nor despised her in public. Many there were who had befriended him in exile, that came to him from Normandy; amongst these was one Robert, whom in process of time he made first Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. Edward had his mind so tainted by the invidious suggestions of this Archbishop, that he grew at length to such bitterness, as to expel Earl Godwin, who had made him King, and whose daughter he had married, from his councils; and having despoiled him and his family of their honours, bestowed them among their enemies. He took from Queen Emma, his mother, all that she possessed, and caused her to be confined in the abbey of Werewell, where he allowed her a very scanty subsistence. Alwine, Bishop of Winchester, who was said to be familiar with his mother, he stripped of his patrimonial estate, and forbid him, upon pain of death, to set his foot without the city of Winchester.' This, if it be true, or if it comes any thing near the truth, shews what great obligations Edward, surnamed the Confessor, lay under to Earl Godwin, and there is no doubt that passages of the like kind were found in other chronicles of those days; in which, though they have tolerably escaped later revolutions, they are now wanting, and in many of them things are inserted that are utterly inconsistent with them; yet they appear to have had such weight with William of Malmesbury (20), that it is plain he took the substance of them into his book; but this was purely the effects of his own diligence and good sense; for other Historians of that time adopted the common notions out of respect for the Normans; for it was out of compliment to them that these alterations were made; and if the Saxon chronicle, and this of Winchester, had not escaped, William of Malmesbury's account would have run the hazard of being thought of his own invention.

(20) De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(18) See the learned Bishop Gibbon's excellent preface, prefixed to his edition of that Chronicle.

(19) Sub effigie Domitiani, A. 23.



(g) Annal. Winton.  
Thomæ Rudborn. Hist. Winton.  
Rogeri de Hoveden.

(h) Chron. Saxon.

(i) Chron. Saxon.  
Ingulphi Historia.  
Will. Malmesburiensis.

(k) Ailredus  
Rievallis.

(l) Will. Malmesburiensis.  
Sim. Dunelm.

(m) De Gestis  
Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(n) Chron. Saxon.  
Rogeri de Hoveden Annal.

(o) Chron. Saxon.  
Hen. Huntingdon.  
Rogeri de Hoveden.

(p) Chron. Saxon.  
Will. Malmesburiensis.

(q) Chron. Saxon.  
Hen. Huntingdon.

(r) De gestis  
Regum Anglorum, lib. II.  
Chron. Saxon.  
Annal Winton.

(s) Chron. Saxon.  
Rogeri Hoveden.

(t) Chron. Saxon.  
Math. Westm.  
Annal. Hen.  
Knyghton.

(u) Chron. Saxon.  
Will. Malmesburiensis.

(w) Chron.  
Saxon.

this is said to have been done by the advice of Earl Godwin, and Bishop Living, tho' in succeeding times a long story was told of the Queen's being suspected of too much familiarity with Alwin then Bishop of Winchester; and that the Earl charged both her and him with being the authors of prince Alfred's death; and the Queen with an attempt to poison Edward himself, upon which having passed the trial of the Ordeal, she in memory of the nine burning plough-shares, over which she went blindfold unhurt, gave nine manors to the church of Winchester, and was thereupon restored to the King's favour (g). But of all this, not a word in the Saxon Annals, in the history of Eadmerus, or in William of Malmesbury. As for those who penned the annals probably they never heard of it, and for the other two writers, they had more sense and regard to veracity, than to set it down if they did. A. D. 1043, Archbishop Eadwig being very infirm, intreated the King that he might resign his see to Siward Abbot of Abington, which, at the instance of Earl Godwin, he was permitted to do; and it is said in the annals (h), that this affair was transacted with much secrecy, because the Archbishop apprehended, if his intention was publickly known, some person of less probity and learning would by dint of interest or of money (these are the very words in the chronicle) have thrust himself into the See. The same year the King married Egitha, which some have softened into Editha, the daughter of Earl Godwin, a lady not only of great beauty and piety, but of considerable learning also, and a great encourager of it in others, as Ingulphus of his own knowledge and experience, as having participated of her bounty, acknowledges (i). But the King, either out of secret hatred to her father, as some say (k), or from an unreasonable and unwarrantable zeal for chastity, as others assert, never lived with her as a wife (l), tho' nothing of this appears in the Annals, and Malmesbury, who mentions both causes as we do doubtfully, very roundly declares afterwards, that he will not answer for the fact (m). In 1045, Earl Swayn, one of Godwin's sons, left the kingdom, and retired to Flanders, on account, as we are told, of his violating the chastity of an Abbess (n). The next year, the King being at Sandwich, with a great fleet to repel the Danish pirates that wasted the coast, Earl Swayn came thither to him, and had prevailed upon the King to restore him to his honours and estate; but that his own brother Harold, and his cousin Beorn, hindered it, assuring the King that he was unworthy of his mercy, upon which he had four days time given him to retire (o). He not long after met with his father and his cousin Beorn at sea, and having got the latter on board his ship, carried him away to the island of Axmouth and there murdered him, of which his relations at London having notice, and of the church where he was interred, they removed his corps to Winchester, and buried it there by that of his uncle King Knute (p). In 1047 there was a great council held at London, and soon after the King pardoned Earl Swayn (q). This year died Archbishop Eadwig, who upon the demise of Siward had resumed his See, to which upon this vacancy the King promoted Robert, who was a Norman, and who was suspected, as Malmesbury observes, to have infused into the King's bosom, a jealousy and hatred of Earl Godwin, which quickly broke out with great fury upon the following occasion (r). Eustace Earl of Boloigne, who had married the King's sister, came over to make him a visit, and in his return passing from Canterbury to Dover, he sent some of his retinue, when he was within a mile of the place, to take up quarters for him, in which behaving themselves very rudely, and one of them attempting to thrust himself into a house without the owner's leave, wounded him, upon which the townsman killed him in his own defence. This so provoked Earl Eustace, that he broke into the man's house, and not satisfied with killing him would have punished others, which excited a great tumult, wherein more than twenty of the townsmen were killed, and nineteen of his own people (s). Upon this, with the few that were left, he fled to the King, and told him a lamentable story, laying all the fault on the town's people, to which the King too readily yielding belief, dispatched his orders to Earl Godwin not to hear, but to punish the people of Dover. The Earl, who as the Annals say, thought it hard to be made the destroyer of those who were under his protection, delayed going, and insinuated to the King that it would be right to hear both sides (t). About this time the Welsh having invaded Herefordshire, which was within the limits of Earl Swayn's government, plundered the country and built a fort there; the King summoned the nobility to Gloucester, but Earl Godwin and his sons, who thought that force was best repelled by force, had assembled a great army, and were upon the point of attacking the Welsh, when they were summoned to attend the King at this council; for the Welshmen had applied to Edward, and made him believe that they were not the aggressors in this business, but that Earl Godwin and his associates had assembled these forces for bad purposes (u). The King having with him Earl Siward, Earl Leofric, and most of the nobility in the northern parts of his kingdom about him, endeavoured to induce them to act against Earl Godwin, and those of his party. The Earl and his sons having notice of this, remained firm, notwithstanding, tho' such as were with them thought it a grievous thing, as the Saxon Annals say, to act against their prince (w); but Malmesbury with great probability affirms, that Earl Godwin gave positive orders to his army not to act offensively, but to repel force by force, in case they were attacked. However, if more moderate counsels had not interfered, a civil war had certainly ensued. The nobility about the King having prevailed upon



on him, to let matters rest as they were, and to summon a great council at London in the beginning of September, both parties separated without coming to blows (x). At the meeting of the great council, where the Lords both of the Southern and Northern Provinces were present, Earl Swayn was declared an outlaw, and Earl Godwin and Earl Harold were cited to appear and give an account of their proceedings (y). The two Earls declared themselves ready to come, provided they had hostages given them for their security. This was refused, and they were again summoned to appear, with no more than twelve in their company, and as they declined this they had five days given them to quit the kingdom (z). Earl Godwin and Earl Swayn went immediately to Flanders, to Earl Baldwin, and Harold retired into Ireland (a). As soon as the King knew they were gone, he caused his Queen to be seized, and having taken from her her lands, and whatever money she had; he sent her to the nunnery of Werewell, where she was committed to the custody of his sister, tho' it does not appear that this unhappy princess was charged with any offence, but was punished for the fault, or rather for the King's suspicion, of her father (b) [F]. The King likewise to shew his resentment still more, gave the county of Earl Swayn, to Earl Odda; and that of Harold, to Earl Elfgar the son of Earl Leofric (c). In 1052, died Queen Emma on the sixth of May (d), and the King ordered a fleet to assemble at Sandwich, under the command of Earl Rolfe and Earl Odda; however Earl Godwin came with a squadron from Flanders, to a point of land near Rumney in Kent, of which the Earls having notice they sailed after him (e). But he having early intelligence of their motions, retired to Pensy in Suffex, and from thence returned to Flanders; but the King's fleet, thro' the fault of those who commanded it, dispersed, and the seamen returned home (f). Earl Godwin having notice of this, put to sea again as soon as possible, and being joined at the Isle of Wight by his son Harold, with nine ships from Ireland, they sailed along the coast of Suffex, and took out of every port what ships there were in it, and having done the like on the coast of Kent, they came to the Buoy in the Nore, and so directly up the river (g). The King had most of the nobility about him, and a considerable force; Earl Godwin however, and those of his party, sent a very submissive message to the King, desiring to be restored to their honours and estates, of which they had been unjustly deprived (h). To this the King shewed himself so much averse, that the Earl had much difficulty to hinder those of his party from committing hostilities (i). At length, by the interposition of Bishop Stigand, and other prudent men, a negotiation was set on foot, hostages given, and a peace concluded (k). Upon this the Norman Archbishop Robert, with most of his party, withdrew, being resolved to pass over into France, and in their way committed many outrages and murders (l). In a short time after a great council was called at London, pursuant to the treaty, at which most of the nobility were present, and there, upon a full hearing, Earl Godwin and his sons were acquitted, restored to the King's favour, and to all the honours and preferments they had formerly enjoyed (m) [G]. The Queen

(x) De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. II. See Dunelm. Math. Westm. Annal.

(y) Chron. Saxon.

(z) Hen. Knighton.

(a) Marian. Scot. Chron. Saxon.

(b) Rog. Hoveden. Hen. Huntingdon. Math. Westm. Annal.

(c) Chron. Saxon. Will. Malmesburienfis.

(d) Annal. Winton. Sim. Dunelm. Rog. Hoveden.

(e) Chron. Saxon. Rog. Hoveden.

(f) Hen. Huntingdon. Will. Malmesburienfis.

(g) Chron. Saxon. Sim. Dunelm.

(h) Rog. Hoveden. Hen. Huntingdon.

(i) Chron. Saxon.

(k) Will. Malmesburienfis. Sim. Dunelm.

(l) Chron. Saxon. Rog. Hoveden. Will. Malmesburienfis.

(m) Chron. Saxon. Eadmeri Hist.

[F] *For the King's suspicion of her father.* The usage that Edward gave this lady, joined perhaps to the strange reason which Malmesbury says he assigned for it, that she alone should not enjoy peace and plenty, when her father and all the rest of her family were plunged into difficulties and distress, has countenanced the opinion, that the King married this lady purely to satisfy the ambition of her father. But it may not be amiss to consider, that if this had really been the case, the King would certainly have married her sooner; whereas from the Saxon-chronicle it appears that he did not marry her till the third year of his reign (21), which argues no such haste on her father's side. It may be also, that she was not marriageable before, notwithstanding what is said of Prince Alfred's falling a victim six years before to the contempt he shewed the father, in rejecting his only daughter. By the way, let us reflect a little on the inconsistencies into which these writers fall, by endeavouring to vent their spleen against this family, without regard not only to the truth of History, and the genuine state of things, but even to their own relations. For, Where was the great inequality of this match? or, Why should this young Prince refuse it?

He was an adventurer only, and had no good title to the Crown, but for want of a better; that is, because Edward, the father of Edgar Atheling, the son of Edmund Ironside, and this prince's own nephew, was not within the reach of the English. What hurt therefore would it have done him, or his title, to have married the grand daughter of Canutus the Great? or, Why might not this determine Edward to have Egitha for a Queen, though not for a wife? Certain it is, that his behaviour towards her at all times was none of the best; which, joined to her own easy and affable

behaviour, the envy of Courts, and the malice of the Normans, drew upon her calumnies, to which possibly the ears of her weak husband were not always shut. But Malmesbury, who mentions these, tells us also; that when she died, pretty late in the reign of King William, she fully cleared herself by a solemn declaration on her death-bed, that she had never given any cause for these suspicions (22). It was, to say the truth, no very high commendation of Edward the Confessor, that though he was awed by his counsellors, and governed by his flatterers, yet he was a very tyrant to his wife, and his mother, whom he committed both to the same place, after treating them both in the same manner; that is, in the words of the old Annalist, after stripping them to the last farthing (23). And as to his Queen, allowing her only one maid, as the Saxon chronicle affirms, it may be the ill usage of the Queen-Consort contributed to break the heart of the Queen-Mother; for it is certain, if any thing in these times can be so, that she died before the Queen was restored to her meek husband's favour. By the way, if we yield entire credit to the chronicle of Winchester, this will be the more probable; for in that we have seen Earl Godwin was so far from accusing Queen Emma, that he was disgraced with her; and it may be, that upon his reconciliation the marriage took place. At all events the King's conduct in this particular was universally condemned; and no wonder, since he shewed himself thereby to be no better a man as a King, than as a husband.

[G] *They had formerly enjoyed.* The learned Lawyer and great Antiquary mentioned in the text, is the famous Mr Selden; he, speaking of the jurisdiction exercised in the great Council, or Witenagemote, tells us, that it consisted either in a deliberative power, which

(22) De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(23) Annal. Winton.

(21) Chron. Saxon.



Queen was likewise sent for back to Court, and had restitution made of whatever had been taken from her. Robert was deprived of the Archbishoprick, in which he was succeeded

(24) Titles of Honour, p. 525.

which concerned their assenting to new laws, and advising in matters of state, or in a judicial, which was of giving judgments upon suits or complaints in the same court (24). He gives instances of all these; and in speaking to the last, the case of criminal proceedings, says he, is that against Earl Godwin. He having had a trial before the Lords, under King Hardecnute, (*coram proceribus regni licet falso se purgarat*, saith Bromton) touching the death of Alfred, son to King Ethelred, and brother to him that was afterwards Edward the Confessor, had fled out of England, and that as it seems upon some judgment of banishment, or at least of an outlawry given against him, and that also in a Witenagemote, or Parliament. And upon his return, with hope of Edward the Confessor's favour, he solicited the Lords to intercede for him with the King. In the time of his return the Witenagemote or Parliament sat at London.

(25) Johan. Bromton, col. 936, 937, 938.

He then proceeds to give the words of the Historian in Latin, which in English are to this effect (25): That the King having summoned a great council, as soon as he there beheld Earl Godwin, immediately accused him before them all of having betrayed and murdered his brother, Prince Alfred, in these words: 'Thou traitor, Godwin, I accuse thee of the death of Alfred, my brother, whom thou hast traiterously murdered; and for the proof of this, I refer myself to the judgment of *curia vestra*, i. e. your court.' Then the King proceeded thus: 'You, most noble Lords, the Earls and Barons of the kingdom, you, who are my liegemen, being here assembled, have heard my appeal, as also the answer of Earl Godwin. I will, that you now give a right sentence between us in this my appeal, and afford due justice therein.' Then the Earls and Barons, having maturely debated this matter among themselves, some were for giving judgment for the King, but others differed from them, saying, that Earl Godwin had never been obliged to the King by either homage, service, or fealty, and therefore could be no traitor to him; and besides, that he had not killed the Prince with his own hands. But others replied, that no Earl, Baron, nor any other subject of the King, could by law wage battle against him in his appeal, but ought upon the whole matter to submit himself to the King's mercy, and offer him reasonable amends. Then Leofric, Earl of Chester, who was an upright and sincere man, both with respect to God, and the world, spoke thus: 'Earl Godwin, who next to the King, is indeed a person of the best quality in England, cannot deny, but that by his counsels Alfred, the King's brother, was killed; and therefore my opinion is, that both himself, and his sons, and twelve of us Earls, that are his friends and kinsmen, should appear humbly before the King, each of us carrying as much gold and silver as he can hold in his arms, and offering it to him, most humbly supplicate for his pardon; and then the King should remit to the Earl all rancour and anger whatsoever against him; and having received his homage and fealty, peaceably restore to him all his lands.' To this the assembly agreed; and those that were appointed, loading themselves with treasure after the manner aforesaid, went unto the King, shewing him the order and manner of their judgment, which he being unwilling to contradict, complied with, and so ratified whatever they had before decreed. 'The circumstances, says Mr Selden, that belong to this case, are variously expressed in the published stories of William of Malmesbury, Huntingdon, Hoveden, Florentius, and others. But it seems by Florentius, that this was in the Consilium, as he calls it, or Witenagemote, held in 1052, or the ninth year of the Confessor: for then, he says, was the Earl reconciled to the King's favour in that court, though neither he, nor any other, relate this proceeding as Bromton doth.'

(26) General History of Britain, Vol. I. p. 84.

But, as Mr Tyrrel very well observes (26), it is surprising that Mr Selden did not see, that if there had been any truth in this story, it must have happened at least ten years before; for the year to which he fixes was not, as he supposes, the ninth, but the twelfth year of Edward's reign; and if this transaction could ever

have happened, it must have happened in the second. Indeed the author who reports it acknowledges he did not believe it, for he saw that it was big with absurdities and contradictions. Yet in the main, and for the purpose for which he brings it, Mr Selden is certainly right; for there was a great council in the year 1052, in which Earl Godwin might be said, with great propriety, to be tried by his Peers. We will give the reader a much better authority than that which we have subverted, and this is the Saxon chronicle, which relates the whole matter thus (27): 'A great Council, (the Saxon words are *Mycel Gemote*) without London, was then summoned, (that is, in some place near London) and there all the Earls and other Noblemen met in this Council; in which assembly Earl Godwin made his defence, and purged himself there before Edward the King, his Lord, shewing himself to be entirely free from the crime that had been objected to him, to his son Harold, and to all the rest of his sons. The King thereupon received the said Earl and all the rest of his sons into full friendship, and restored him to his whole county, and whatever he before possessed, as he likewise did to all who were with him. The King likewise restored to his Lady, that is, to the Queen, whatever she formerly possessed. There also, by unanimous consent, Robert, the Archbishop, and all the Frenchmen, were outlawed, because that they were the principal instruments of the enmity that had arisen between the King and Earl Godwin; and Bishop Stigand was promoted to the Archbishoprick of Canterbury.' As there can be nothing clearer or plainer than this, so the reader cannot but acknowledge, that it comes up as fully to Mr Selden's proposition, in regard to the jurisdiction of these great Councils, as what he is pleased to call the record preserved by the Historian whom he cites; in which there are not only several words in the original which were not in use in the Saxon times, and which consequently prove, that it cannot be the transcript of any record, but also various circumstances that shew it was written long after the time, from popular rumours only, and full of contradictions. For if it happened as the chronicle expressly says, it did happen early in the Confessor's reign, then the King must have afterwards married the daughter of a man who stood in a manner self-convicted of his brother's murder, who fled for it, and who with the assistance of his friends, had commuted his crime for a sum of money.

But if, with Mr Selden, we place this record in 1052, we must then admit, that the King, with all this in his heart, and with a full persuasion that Earl Godwin was both a murderer and a traitor, had married his daughter, and intrusted him with the conduct of all his affairs, and which is still worse, after a confession of these crimes, received him again into his favour. But there is an expression in what Mr Selden calls a record, which is equally irreconcilable to both dates; for Earl Leofric is made to say, that after the King, Earl Godwin was the most considerable man in the realm. Now this was impossible if he was an outlaw, and had been so for years, as must have been the case in 1042; neither was it true ten years after, for even then he had been driven out of his country, and was suing to be restored. One observation more, and we will conclude. The crime imputed to the Earl, and of which he cleared himself before this Council, could not be the murder of the King's brother; for in that Harold, and the rest of his sons, were never said to have any concern; indeed how should they, when the eldest could not have been more than twenty, and some of them might have been in their cradles. Upon the whole, the Saxon chronicle shews, that the King, misled by his affection for his brother-in-law, had commanded Godwin Earl of Kent to punish the people of Dover unjustly, that through the insinuations of his foreign favourites, he had resented his not complying with these orders, as an act of treason; that for this he had driven him and his whole family into exile without a hearing; that these points being made out in a great Council, who were

(27) Chron. Saxon.



(n) Chron. Saxon.  
Walteri Heming-  
ford.  
Sim. Dunelm.

ceeded by Stigand, and with most of the Normans were banished the kingdom, for having been the great instruments in the late troubles (n). But Earl Godwin did not live long to enjoy this return of prosperity, for on the fifteenth of April 1053, he departed this life, and was buried in the old monastery at Winchester (o) [H] His widow lady Githa, who

(o) Annal. Winton.  
Chron. Saxon.  
Ailred Bever.

were the proper judges between the King and his Nobles, Earl Godwin, and all his family, were restored to their just rights, and the foreign favourites banished. But these foreigners becoming afterwards masters of this kingdom, and having an interest in corrupting this period of our history, did as much in that respect as they could, and out of their mass of fictions and falsehood, by the assistance of the Saxon chronicle, the only authentic authority yet remaining, we have once more recovered the truth.

[H] *And was buried in the old monastery at Winchester* ] All men, however great and potent, must leave the felicities of this world, and account for the use they made of them in the next. But if in his life-time the fortune of Earl Godwin was envied, and his actions traduced after his decease, his death hath furnished still more matter, though the commonest of all accidents that befel him, than the rest. It may afford the reader some entertainment, as well as information, to see how the stories told upon this head have been gradually augmented, to a degree beyond all power of belief. In the Saxon chronicle, and in that of Winchester, the fact is set down as in the text, that is, the Earl's death, the time of it, and the place where he was buried. In the chronicles of Durham (28) we read, that the King keeping his Easter week at Winchester, Earl Godwin being as usual at the King's table in the holidays, was suddenly struck with so violent a disease, that he fell from his seat. Upon this his three sons, the Earls Harold, Tosty, and Gyrth, took him up, and carried him into the King's chamber, hoping that in a little time he would come out of his fit; but he growing worse and worse, died upon the fifth day after, which was the fifteenth of April. Another Historian tells us (29), that Godwin, the King's father-in-law, sitting with him at table, addressed him in these words: 'It has been often told thee, O King, though falsely, that I have conspired against thee; but if the God of Heaven be true and just, let not this morsel of bread pass through me, if I ever so much as thought of working thy destruction.' But God, true and just, heard the voice of this traitor, so that strangled with that bit of bread, he went to taste the pains of death eternal. William of Malmesbury (30) has a different story; he says, that some discourse arose concerning the King's brother Alfred, upon which Earl Godwin said, 'As often, O King, as this subject is mentioned, I see plainly with what countenance you look upon me; but let not God suffer this morsel to be swallowed by me, if I had any knowledge of the contrivances to his prejudice, or to your's.' Having said this, and put the bit of bread he had in his hand into his mouth, he was instantly choked with it.

But the professed Historian of Edward the Confessor intending to add the last hand to this fine tale, after having told us what a wicked wretch this Godwin was, and how he had thrust out all the King's Norman friends and favourites, was thus by his own confession punished by the hand of God (31). Upon a certain feast day, when Godwin, with other Nobles, was at the King's table, it happened while they were at dinner, that the cup-bearer made a false step through haste, but as he tripped with one foot, he recovered himself immediately on the other, without slipping down. Of this many of those who were present took notice, saying, that one foot came in luckily to the assistance of the other; upon which the Earl, to throw in his jest amongst the rest, added, 'So brother should assist brother, when either stands in need.' The King turning towards him replied, 'So might my brother have helped me, if Godwin had not interposed.' Upon this the Earl was much cast down, and with a countenance full of sorrow he said, 'I know, O King, that in your own mind you still look upon me as the author of his death, and that you still yield credit to those who have styled me a traitor to him and to thee; but God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, shall

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judge, and so let this morsel which I hold in my hand pass through my throat without doing me hurt, as he knows that neither guilt of treason towards thee, or knowledge of thy brother's death, rests in me.' Having said this, and put the piece into his mouth, he swallowed it half down; but then he tried in vain to get it farther, and struggling next to force it up, it stuck fast; the course of the springs of life being stopped, his eyes turned, and his arms became stiff. The King seeing his miserable death, and fully persuaded in himself that it was the effect of divine judgment, he said to those who stood by, 'Drag out this dog.' His sons upon this came, and taking him from under the table, laid him on a bed, where in a very little time the traitor breathed his last.

Though the abbot of Revesby did his best to illustrate this story, yet being rather a florid than an accurate writer, there are some unlucky escapes; for, either this Confessor had no conscience, or he would not have expected that his elder brother would have served him, seated on a throne. He would have been cautious also of behaving in such a manner to the father of his Queen; and, his meek spirit considered, he never would have called him dog in his last minutes, and presently after put it in the power of his sons to revenge the indignity. The worst of all is, the abbot has not told us where this happened; and therefore some who wrote after him have laid the scene at Winchester, while others have transferred it to Windsor (32). One of our antiquaries says, that Wulfstan Bishop of Worcester cursed the bread (33); another writer says, that before the Earl swallowed it, the King blessed it (34). One no doubt is as true as the other; but we must not suppose, that all monks were so blind or so bad as to believe this tale, for Eadmerus of Canterbury, and Walter of Hemmingford, are both silent. After an interval of ages comes Polydor Virgil, and to shew the quickness of Italian wit, adds a very considerable circumstance that slipped the abbot of Revesby's invention (35). He says, yet indeed it had been said before him, though not in conjunction with the abbot's story, that it was Harold, who being the King's cup-bearer, stumbled, and occasioned all this mischief. But it is time to leave these simple falsehoods to the reader's contempt, and not pursue them any farther, though that might be easily done, as they are falsehoods as much unworthy of criticism as of credit. But we cannot conclude this note without producing a very authentic testimony in support of the truth that we assert, and in disproof of all this long legend of lies. We stand indebted for this to the honest and diligent John Stowe, whose care and industry in collecting the materials of our history could be only equalled by his integrity. He had in his custody a manuscript life of Edward the Confessor, which after the Saxon Chronicle, was perhaps the most authentic piece of history that escaped the general wreck of all that regarded the Saxon constitution. Out of this curious work he has extracted the following passages in relation to this great man's death, and the impression it made upon the English nation; which therefore we shall transcribe in his own words: 'Duke Godwin and his sons being reconciled to the King, and the country being quiet, in the second year after died the said duke, of happy memory, whose death was the sorrow of the people; him their father; him the nourisher of them and the kingdom; with continual weeping they bewailed. He was buried with worthy honour in the old monastery of Winchester, giving to the same church gifts, ornaments, and rents of lands. Harold succeeded in his dukedom, which was a great comfort to the whole English nation; for in virtue both of body and mind he excelled all people, as another Judas Macchabeus, and was a friend to his country, diligently supplying his father's place, and walking in his steps; that is to say, in patience, mercy, and affability, to well-willers; but to disquiet persons, thieves, and robbers, with a lion's countenance, he threatened

(28) Simeonis  
Dunelmensis  
Historia, col.  
187.

(29) Abbrevia-  
tiones Chronico-  
rum Autore Ra-  
dolfo de Diceto,  
col. 476.

(30) De Gestis  
Regum Anglo-  
rum, lib. II.

(31) Ailredus  
Abbas Rievallis  
de vitæ & mira-  
culis Edwardi  
Confessoris, col.  
394, 395.

(32) Math.  
Westm. Annal.  
Johan. Brom-  
ton, col. 949.  
Hen. Knyghton,  
col. 2336.  
Will. Malmesbu-  
rienfis Chronicon  
Godstovianum,  
p. 81.  
Lelandi Collecta-  
nea, tom. I. p.  
760.

(33) Lambard's  
Dictionary of  
England, p. 415.

(34) Hen. Hunt-  
ingdon.

(35) Angliæ  
Histor. lib. VIII.



who had great possessions gave, according to the custom of those times, very liberally to several churches, that they might pray for his soul's health, and particularly to that of Winchester, the manors of Bleodan and Craukumb, with ornaments of different kinds (*p*). He was seized at the time of his decease of an immense estate in different counties, of which we are able to give no account with any tolerable degree of accuracy, but from a most authentic record it appears (*q*), that amongst others he held these Leleburne, Fereburne, Selesburne, Boltone, Herbreton, Brunfell, Coteham, Hore, Hanchest, Fulchestan, Romenel, Estefort, Oistreham, and Boltune in Kent. Dodimere, Ivet, Erbentone, Hiham, Wilendone, Radetone, Wineltone, Toringes, Lestone, Bercheham, Silleton, Lorentone, Trovorde, Tocherst, Stodeham, Botendone, Seleham, Tadeham, Borne, Gontone, Estone, Icemore, Clepinges, Benestede, Hentone, Lanefwic, Rotingedene, Bristelmestune, Berchinges, Fochinges, Salescome, Herst, Pluntune, Bercham, Bedling, Wilstanestune, Congeltune, Aplesham, Ordinges, Dentune, How, Essingetune, Walsingetune, and Etune in Suffex; and Stantune in Herefordshire, Witley in Surry, Sudbertune, Wallope, Alwartone, Funtley, Hallege, Ceptune, Seneorde, Hamledune, Bockeland, Copenore, and Sudtune in Hampshire. Out of his possessions he gave in his lifetime to the cathedral of Canterbury, the towns and lordships of Stiffede and Cogshall in Essex; as also Chich, which he received from the gift of King Canute (*r*), tho' some have not scrupled amongst other crimes to charge him with injustice done to the Church. In respect to his widow and his posterity, we shall give a succinct account of them at the bottom of the page [*I*]. The modern historians have treated his character as indifferently as the Monkish

' threatened his just severity.' Thus much addeth he out of the ancient monument intituled Vita Edwardi (36).

[*I*] At the bottom of the page.] We have already proved clearly, that the lady Githa was the same person with her whom Polydor Virgil calls Thira, the daughter of Knute, and the sister of Hardecnute (37). It appears that she had considerable estates in different counties, from the survey taken in the time of the Conqueror, viz. Hertinges, Tractone, Meredone, Mandreham, Westmestan, and Odemanscote, in Suffex, Cerdenord, in Berks, Otringtone, in Devon, as also of Edestoche and Stoches, in the county of Bucks (38). She obtained from the Conqueror the body of her son King Harold, and caused it to be interred at Waltham-Abbey. After this she was one of those persons of great quality whom the Conqueror blocked up at Exeter, from whence however she had the good luck to make her escape, and retiring into France, carried with her great riches (39). By this lady he had six, some writers say seven, sons, and one daughter; of these it is most probable, that Swegen, or Swægn, as the Saxons called him, Suane, or Swane, according to our manner of writing, was the eldest. He was Earl of the counties of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, Somerset, Berks, and as some say of Salop also (40). That he was Earl of one or more of them so early as 1045, is out of doubt (41); and a very indifferent character we have of him in all our histories. His first exploit was seducing Egiva abbess of Leominster, whom he kept as his wife for a year, and because the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury would not allow him to make her so, he quitted the realm (42). In 1046 he returned, and endeavoured to obtain his pardon; at which time he murdered his cousin, Earl Beorn, of which we have a large account in the Saxon Chronicle; so that there is no foundation for saying that work was penned by a monk, partial to Godwin and his family (43). He was however afterwards pardoned, and restored to his honours, but fell into disgrace again at the same time with his father, and for his sake (44). Malmesbury says was a man of a perverse disposition, disloyal to the King, and one who tarnished the honour of his illustrious family by turning pyrate (45), which in those times was no great disgrace. After his last banishment he went barefoot to Jerusalem, and died in his return, some say of a cold, and others in battle (46). He was married, tho' we know not well to whom, and left issue a son, Hæcun (47), of whom we shall speak hereafter. Harold, the second son, deserves more than a note, and therefore we shall say nothing of him here. The third was Wlnoth, or Walnoth, of whom we have very little to say; he some way or other fell into the hands of the Normans, with his nephew Hæcun, and after the Conquest was brought over hither, and died a prisoner at Salisbury (49). The fourth son, though some make

him the second, was Tosti, who A. D. 1056 was made Earl of Northumberland by King Edward, as some say, because Waltheof, the son of Earl Siward, was a child (49); but the Saxon Chronicle informs us, that he was made Earl of the East Angles the year before, when Earl Elfgar was banished (50). He was a bold resolute man, as appears by his usage of Pope Nicholas the second; for accompanying Aldred, who was elected Archbishop of York, to Rome, his Holiness refused him the pall, and in his return he was robbed; upon which Earl Tosti told the Pope, that if he did not make the Bishop amends, he would stop it out of the revenues he received from England, where he must not expect that his censures should do much execution, when they could not terrify thieves at his own door; upon which the Pontiff granted Aldred the pall, and all that he desired (51). He was with his brother Harold in the expedition against the Welsh, and behaved very bravely (52). A. D. 1064 the people of Northumberland expelled Tosti, and murdered all who acted under his authority, and elected Morker, the son of Elfgar, for their Earl; upon which King Edward sent Harold to pacify them, which he did without restoring his brother; upon which Tosti fled into Flanders, where he had married Judith, the daughter of Earl Baldwin (53). He returned again in 1066 with a strong squadron and a good army, but was beat by Earl Eadwin, and forced to retire; but having joined Harold King of Norway, who had a fleet of 300 sail, and a vast army, they defeated Earl Morker and Earl Eadwin, but soon after were beat by King Harold at Stamford-bridge, and both of them slain (54). He was the founder of the monastery of Tinnmouth, and had large estates in different counties, but it does not appear he had any issue. The fifth was Gyrth, who was so highly in King Edward's favour, that we find him subscribing a charter as an Earl so early as 1044 (55); when he must have been a very young man he likewise subscribed other charters, but there is yet extant an original Saxon charter directed to him, which, because it is very short, and very curious, we will transcribe in English (56). 'Edward, King, greeteth Wlfsy, Bishop, and Gyrth, Earl, and all my Nobles in Oxfordshire. And I tell you, that I have given to Christ and St Peter into Westminster that small village wherein I was born, by name Githshepe, and one Hycle at Merfice, scot-free and rent-free, with all the things which belong thereunto in wood and field, in meadows and waters, with church, and with the immunities of the church, as fully, and as largely, and as free, as it stood in mine own hand, as also as my mother Imme, upon my right of primogeniture, for my maintenance gave it me entire, and bequeathed it to the family.' He is said to have been a young man of knowledge and virtue far above his years (57), and behaving himself very bravely, was killed with his brother at the fatal battle of Hastings

(*p*) Annal. Winton.

(*q*) Domest. Kane.

(*r*) W. Thorn. col. 2224.

(36) Annales; or a General Chronicle of England, p. 97.

(37) Historia Anglica, lib. VIII.

(38) Doomesd.

(39) Odoric Vital. p. 513.

(40) Chron. Sax. Registr. Wigorn.

(41) Chron. Sax. on.

(42) Johan. Bromton.

(43) Chron. Saxon.

(44) Sim. Dunelm. col. 186.

(45) De Gestis Regum Anglorum, lib. II.

(46) Hen. Knyghton. Sim. Dunelm.

(47) Rogeri de Hoveden, p. 257.

(48) Will. Malmesburienfis. Rog. Hoveden.

(49) Hen. Huntingdon, fol. 210. Ingulph, fol. 510.

(50) Chron. Sax. on.

(51) Hen. Knyghton, col. 2336. n. 30 and 40. Johan. Bromton, col. 952. n. 20.

(52) Hen. Huntingdon, fol. 210.

(53) Will. Malmesburienfis. fol. 46. Hen. Huntingd. fol. 210.

(54) Rog. Hoveden, fol. 257.

(55) Monast. Anglicanum, Vol. II. p. 90.

(56) MS. num. 24. James in Muteo Bib. Bod. p. 54.

(57) Hen. Huntingdon.



Monkish writers, upon whom they relied, and finding different relations of his behaviour, and wide chasms in his history, they reconciled the former, and filled up the latter, according to their own notions of things, as the reader will be thoroughly satisfied, if he takes the trouble to consult and compare them (s). One thing very remarkable with regard to this history is, that not only the most authentick chronicle we have, reports none of the crimes that are commonly charged upon this nobleman; but the most judicious historians, in their order of succession, have likewise passed them over in silence, and are content to transmit him to posterity, as a bold, eloquent, factious person, who during the reign of a very weak prince managed all things at his will, which in some measure may be true (t). As for the crowd of transcribers, who followed one another implicitly, except what they added from the mouth of common fame, or to make their court to their respective patrons, they have indeed treated him very ill; and from these the Norman writers and the Normanized historians, from whom came our chronicles in verse, who when the study of our antiquities came to be revived were too much respected, with regard to what they delivered, as to these early times, have used him much worse (u). From them the English historians in the two last centuries took very freely, and upon their faith, and upon a supposition, that it was to little purpose to aim at coming at truth in these times of confusion, is the true source of that inconsistency which appears in all the accounts hitherto published of this great Earl. Sir William Dugdale (w) and Mr Tyrrel (x) indeed have shewn more judgment and greater impartiality than any of the rest. Yet both of them seem to think him guilty of the murder of Alfred, and what seems to justify them therein, are the imputations of the same kind in the Annals of Winchester (y). But to this we may oppose not only the silence of the Saxon Chronicle, but the apparent and irreconcilable contradictions visible in all the accounts of this matter, as hath been largely shewn, both in this and in a former article, from whence the certainty of that fact is unquestionably destroyed. If we may be indulged a conjecture, it should seem most probable if this prince was really killed at all, that he came over with his brother, at the instance of Queen Emma in the last year of the reign of Hardecnute, and was then treacherously destroyed, upon which his brother Edward fled in great fear to Normandy (z), from whence he came again when the supreme authority was committed to Earl Godwin, upon Hardecnute's death, which however it is very hard to conceive, he would have done, if he had looked upon Earl Godwin, as concerned in that fact; and as to the Annals of Winchester, it is not difficult to perceive that they have undergone some interpolation, since there still remains a passage in them in regard to Queen Emma's course of life, during the reign of her favourite son Hardecnute, which is not very consistent with the tale of her purgation. When therefore that was to be put in, whatever tended to fix the death of Alfred upon her was to be put out, and this seems to have thrown it upon Godwin. But as Queen Emma's disgrace was prior to the King's marriage with that Earl's daughter, it is very improbable that he was then loaded with this charge; and as to what is said in those Annals of the Norman Archbishop stirring up the King against both the Queen and the Earl, it seems to be confounding facts that happened at very different times; for when Queen Emma fell into disgrace, he was not either Bishop or Archbishop, tho' he might be the author of it nevertheless, as he certainly was of the King's enmity to Earl Godwin, notwithstanding the obligations he had to him, and as we have seen was deposed and banished for it, by judgment of his Peers. We will close this long article with two observations; the first is, that if the remark made by several of our historians be true, that tho' Edward the Confessor was not either a wise or a brave prince, yet he was generally successful, it ought in a great measure to be ascribed to the abilities of Earl Godwin and his sons, by whom all the successes in his reign were obtained. The second, that the public ruin of the English nation, and of the English constitution, by the Norman invasion, was the consequence of the divisions in and destruction of this family; so that if ever there was a great man, who flourished in this country, whose character and conduct deserved to be examined with care and candour, this is he.

(58) Chron. Saxon.

(59) Ord. Vit. p. 502.

Hastings (58); as was also Earl Leofwine, the sixth son; both of these had very large estates, but it does not appear that they were married, or had children. Elfgare, the seventh son, is said to have been a monk at Rheims in France (59). As for Egitha, consort of the Confessor, we have said much of her already,

to which we shall add, that the old life of that King before-mentioned was dedicated to her, that she had a competent allowance from the Conqueror (60), and dying on the 18th of December 1074, was buried near her husband (61).

(60) Will. Mal-mesburiensis.

(61) Lelandi Collectanea, tom. I. p. 598.

GODWIN [THOMAS], a learned Divine, an excellent Preacher, and Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was a native of the pleasant town of Ockingham in the county of Berks (a), but we know nothing of his parents, who very probably were but in low circumstances. He received the first tincture of letters in the free school of that place (b); and the pregnancy of his parts, recommended him to Dr Richard Layton Archdeacon of Bucks, and rector of Brington in the county of Northampton, a zealous Reformer, and one of the visitors of monasteries, who kept him some time in his house (c), and about the year 1538, sent him to the University of Oxford, where

(a) Godwini, de Præfatis Angliæ Comment. Lond. 1616. 4to p. 444.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 709.

(c) Godwin's Catal. of English Bishops, p. 385.



(d) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 709.

(e) Godwin's Ca-  
talogue of Eng-  
lish Bishops, p.  
385.

(f) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 709.

(g) Godwin's  
Catalogue of  
English Bishops,  
p. 385.

(h) Fasti Oxoni-  
ensis, Vol. I. col.  
83.

(i) Godwin's  
Catalogue of  
English Bishops,  
p. 385.

(k) Sir J. Har-  
rington's Brief  
View, &c. p. 3.

(l) Historia &  
Antiquitates,  
Oxon. lib. II.  
col. 254, 255.

(m) Willis's Sur-  
vey of Cathed-  
rals, Vol. III.  
p. 221.

(n) Somner's  
Antiquities of  
Canterbury, p.  
297.

(o) Harris's Hi-  
story of Kent,  
p. 585.

(p) Willis's  
Survey of Cathed-  
rals.

(q) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 686.

(r) Registr.  
Whitgift.

(s) Strype's Life  
of Archbishop  
Whitgift, book  
iv. chap. 25.

where he was entered of Magdalen College (d). His patron becoming the year after Dean of York, exhibited to him as long as he lived, and other friends, raised by his own merit, supplied his loss in that great man (e). In 1544, he became Probationer, and the next year Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow of his college (f). His zeal for the Reformation drew upon him some ill will, which with a prospect of bad times, made him very gladly embrace the rectorship of Brackley school in Northamptonshire, which was in the gift of his college, and having quitted his fellowship, he retired thither in 1549 (g); while he presided in this school, he took to wife Isabella the daughter of Nicholas Purefoy of Shalston in the county of Bucks, Esq; and what time he could spare from his school, he spent in the study of Divinity and Physic, making great proficiency in both (h). In 1555, he took his degree of Bachelor of Physick, by the practice of which faculty he maintained his family during the reign of Queen Mary, when he seems to have quitted his school on account of the persecution he met with from Dr Bonner, Bishop of London (i). In the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he received Holy Orders from the hands of Dr Nicholas Bullyngham, Bishop of London, to whom he became chaplain; and by his favour had often the honour to preach before the Queen; who was so well pleased with the gravity of his person, and his plain and pathetic oratory, that, for eighteen years together, he was constantly one of her Lent Preachers (k). But notwithstanding this brought him into public notice, and high reputation, it was some years before he had any preferment; at length on the removal of Thomas Sampson, Bachelor of Divinity, who was deprived for Non-Conformity by the definitive sentence of Archbishop Parker, he in the month of June 1565, was promoted to the Deanery of Christ-Church Oxford (l), and in the month of December in the same year, he had the prebend of Milton Ecclesia bestowed upon him, by his kind patron Bishop Bullyngham, on the death of Richard Mawde Master of Arts (m). In the spring of the succeeding year, he was promoted to the Deanery of Canterbury, on the demise of that famous statesman Dr Nicholas Wotton, who was the first Dean of that church, and at the same time Dean of York (n). In the Autumn he attended Queen Elizabeth in her pompous visit to the university of Oxford, at which time he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity with singular applause [A]. During the time he enjoyed this deanery, the house at Canterbury was much damaged by fire, and that at Chatham in great want of repair; so that the Chapter threatened him with a suit for dilapidation, which he prevented by rebuilding the deanery (o). After he had remained eighteen years at Canterbury, within which space he exchanged his prebend of Milton-Ecclesia for that of Leighton-Bosard, on the deprivation of Gabriel White (p); he was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, when it had been three years vacant, by the death of Dr Gilbert Barkley; and was succeeded in his deanery by Dr Richard Rogers, suffragan Bishop of Dover (q). He was confirmed Bishop and Pastor of the church of St Andrew's, Wells, September the 11th, in the parish of St Mary le Bow, London, and and was consecrated on Sunday September the thirteenth, 1584, by the Archbishop, at Lambeth, the Bishops of London and Rochester assisting (r). This last promotion, whether proceeding from the Queen's affection, or from the good Archbishop's great regard for him, was far from being conducive to his honour, in point of public character, or to his happiness, in respect to private life. There was, at the time he was raised to the episcopal dignity, a very high distaste among the courtiers against the Clergy and the Church, but more especially against the Bishops; not so much from any difference in point of doctrine, though that was likewise pretended, as on account of their revenues, of which they were eager to spoil them, and were not at all at a loss for plausible pretences to cover their unjust proceedings (s). Our Prelate felt this very early, and it found him in a condition which

[A] *With singular applause.* We have several short, and one very full account of this visit of the Queen; from whence it appears, that she set out from Woodstock for Oxford on Saturday the first of August, and remained in that city till the Friday following, being attended by the Dean of Toledo, then Ambassador from his Catholic Majesty; the Marquis of Northampton; the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Rutland, Oxford, and Ormond; the Bishops of Salisbury and Rochester, Lord Howard of Effingham, then Lord Chamberlain; Windsor, Stafford, Strange, Sheffield, Montjoy, Henry Seymour, Gray, and Paget (1). On every day the Queen was entertained with academical exercises of different kinds; in which the wits of the ablest men in that age, and perhaps there have been few abler in any, were stretched to the utmost, to merit the applause of so illustrious an audience; but more especially after the Queen, of the Spanish Ambassador, and Sir William Cecil, Chancellor of the university of Cambridge. On Thursday the Queen was present at a divinity-act, in which Dr Lawrence Humphries was defendant; and the Doctors, Godwin, Westphaling, Overton, Calfhill, and Peirce,

were opponents. Dr Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, acted as moderator. At the conclusion, the Queen herself made a speech, at the earnest request of the Spanish Ambassador, the Earl of Leicester, Chancellor of this university, and Sir William Cecil, which must have been extempore, since, in the several relations which are still preserved of this transaction, the copies of this speech differ widely in point of expression, though scarce at all in substance (2). The next day, in the afternoon, she left Oxford, being accompanied by the heads of the university to Shotover-Hill, where the public orator, Mr Roger Marbec, made a short speech; which ended, the Queen gave him her hand to kiss, turning her eyes towards the city, she said, *Vale Academia inclita, valete subditi fideissimi, valete scholares charissimi, Deumque studiis vestris propitium habeatis; Valete! Valete!* Farewel illustrious university, farewel most faithful subjects, farewel most dear scholars, may Providence be ever propitious to your studies; farewel! farewel! The large account we have of this royal visit, was written for the satisfaction of William Lord Brooke, Baron of Cobham, and Sir William Petre, both Privy-Counsellors to her Majesty.

[B] In

(1) Joannis Be-  
rebolci Commen-  
tarij de rebus  
gestis Oxoniæ  
ibidem commo-  
rante Elizabethæ  
Regina.

(2) Historia &  
Antiquitates Uni-  
versitatis Oxoni-  
ensis, lib. I. p.  
287.



which made him feel it very sensibly. He was drawing towards seventy, subject to several infirmities, and so broken with the gout that he was scarce able to stand. To govern his family, that he might bend the whole of his abilities to the discharge of his duty, he married a second wife, who was the widow of a trader of London, of years very suitable to his own; for which, notwithstanding, he was strangely misrepresented to the Queen, so that he entirely lost her favour; and was abandoned to the fury of his persecutors, who sought, by all the methods they could contrive, either to fright or to weary him, into granting a long lease of one of the best manors belonging to his see (t). What the issue was, as well as what the circumstances were, of this unequal contention, between favourites in the fulness of power, and a poor old Prelate, decayed in credit, and declining in health, the reader may learn from the pen of a person of distinction, who was an eye-witness of the whole, and an actor in some part of the business (u) [B]. This unlucky and troublesome dispute, with its consequences, contributed not a little to deject his mind; and thereby augmented the strength of his disease, and the feebleness of his body (w). In the summer of 1587, Dr Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited his diocese (x). The two succeeding years his health became more and more impaired, till at length, being attacked

(t) Godwin de  
Anania, Cantab.  
1743. fol. p.  
389.

(u) Sir John  
Harrington's  
Brief View, p. 3.

(w) Godwin  
de Episc. p. Ba-  
thons & Wellen.  
p. 98, 99.

(x) Registr.  
Whitgift.

by

(3) Fuller's  
Worthies, Berks.  
p. 92.

(4) Athenæ Ox-  
oniensis, Vol. I.  
col. 709.

(5) Brief View  
of the State of the  
Church of Eng-  
land, p. 3.

[B] In some part of the business.] We find some mention made of this affair by Fuller (3) and other writers, particularly Wood (4), who, except naming the great favourite, who was Sir Walter Raleigh, has nothing but what he collected and contracted from the original account, which is so well worth the reader's perusal, and so singular in its kind, it would be doing him an injury not to insert it (5). 'He came to the place, says Sir John, as well qualified for a Bishop as might be, unreprouable, without simony, given to good hospitality, quiet, kind, affable, a widower, and in the Queen's good opinion. Non minor est virtus quam quarere parta tueri. There is not less ability shewn in keeping than in acquiring. If he had held on as clear as he entered, I should have highly extolled him: but see his misfortune that first lost him the Queen's favour, and after forced him to another mischief. Being aged and diseased, and lame of the gout, he married (as some thought for opinion of wealth) a widow of London. A chief favourite of that time, whom I am sorry to have occasion to name again in this kind, had laboured to get the manor of Banwell from this Bishopric; and disdaining the repulse, now hearing this intempestive marriage, took advantage thereof, caused it to be told the Queen, knowing how much she disliked such matches, and instantly pursued the Bishop with letters and mandates for the manor of Banwell for one hundred years. The good Bishop, not expecting such a sudden tempest, was greatly perplexed; yet a while he held out, and endured many sharp messages from the Queen, of which myself carried him one, delivered me by my Lord of Leicester, who seemed to favour the Bishop, and dislike the Knight for molesting him; but they were soon agreed, like Pilot and Herod to condemn Christ. Never was harmless man so traduced to his sovereign: it was said that he had married a girl of twenty years old, with a great portion; that he had conveyed half the bishopric to her; that because he had the gout he could not stand to his marriage; with such scoffs, to make him ridiculous to the vulgar, and render him odious to the Queen. The good Earl of Bedford happening to be present when these tales were told, and knowing the Londoner's widow the Bishop had married, said merrily to the Queen after his dry manner, *Madam, I know not how much the woman is above twenty, but I know a son of her's is but little under forty.* But this rather marred than mended the matter. One said, *Majus peccatum habet, He hath therefore the greater sin.* Another told of three sorts of marriage; of God's making, as when Adam and Eve, two young folks, were coupled; of man's making, when one is old and the other young, as Joseph's marriage; and of the Devil's making, when two old folks marry, not for comfort, but for covetousness, and such they said was this. The conclusion to the premises was this, that to pacify his persecutors, and to save Banwell, he was fain to part with Willcombe for ninety-nine years, (I would it had been one hundred) and so purchased his peace. Thus the bishopric, as well as the Bishop, were punished; who wished in his heart he had never taken this preferment, to

foile himself in his decrepid age with that stain that all his life he had abhorred; and to be made an instrument of another man's sacrilege, and used like a leaden conduit-pipe to convey waters to others, and drink nothing but the dregs, and dross, and rust itself. Wherefore right honestly and modestly, and no less learnedly, writes his own son of him, in the fore-named treatise. *O! illum felicem, si felix manere maluisset, quam regiminis ecclesiastici laboris, tum suscipere, cum laboribus impar, fractus senio, necessum illi fuerit aliorum uti auxilio, &c.* (6) i. e. O happy he, if he would rather have remained happy (where he then was) than to undergo the labours of ecclesiastical government, when he grew unable to travel, broken with age, constrained to use the help of others, who, though their duty required their care of so good natured an old man, yet they proving, as most do, negligent of others good, and too greedy of their own, overthrew both. For my part, though I loved him well, and some of his actions, yet in this case, I can make no other apology for him, nor use no other plea in his defence, but such as unable debtors do, that when they are sued upon just occasions, plead per minas; or rather to liken him to an husbandman, that dwelling near a Judge that was a great builder, and coming one day, among divers other neighbours, with carriages, some of stone, some tin: the steward, as the manner of the country was, provided two tables for their dinners; for those that came upon request, powdered beef, and perhaps venison; for those that came for hire, poor-john and apple-pies; and having invited them to sit down in his Lordship's name, telling them, one board was for them that came in love, the other for those that came for money: this husbandman and his hind sat not down at either; the which the steward imputing to simplicity, repeated his former words again, praying them to sit down accordingly; but he answered, for there is craft in the clouted shoe, he saw no table for him, for he came neither for love nor money, but for very fear: and even so I dare answer for this Bishop; he neither gave Willcombe for love, nor sold it for money, but lett it for fear. How strangely he was intrapped in the unfit marriage: I know not if it may be called a marriage, *Non Hymenæus adest illi, non gratia lecto.* Himself protested to me, with tears in his eyes, he took her but for a guide to his house, and for the rest (they were his own words) he lived with her as Joseph did with our Lady. Setting this one disgrace of his aside, he was a man very well esteemed in the country, beloved of all men for his great hospitality; of the better sort, for his kind entertainment, and pleasant discourse, at his table; his reading had been much, his judgment and doctrine sound, his government mild and not violent, his mind charitable; and therefore I would not, but when he lost this life, he won Heaven; according to his word, win God, win all. This I say truly of him, which his son was not so fit to say, for fear perhaps of the foolish saying, yet wise enough if it be well understood, *Nemo laudat patrem, nisi improbus filius, i. e.* none so loud about a father's worth as a worthless son.

(6) See the Note  
[B] in the next  
Article.



(y) Fuller's  
Worthies, Berks,  
p. 92.  
Godwini de Præ-  
fulibus Angliæ.  
Hist. & Antiquit.  
Oxonienfis.

by an ague, which became at last an obstinate quartan, he was advised by his Physicians to try whether his native air in Windsor-Forest might not contribute to his recovery; and coming with this intention to Ockingham, he there breathed his last, November the ninth, 1590, in the seventy-third year of his age (y). His corps lies interred in the parish church (z), on the south side of the chancel; and against the east wall, on a black marble table, enchased in white, there is a modest and elegant inscription for the preservation of his memory, penned and erected by his son, of whom in the next article [C].

(z) Rawlinson's  
Additions to  
Ashmole's Berk-  
shire, Vol. I.  
p. xxxi.  
Godwini de Præ-  
fulibus Angliæ,  
Lond. 1616. 4to  
p. 444.  
Wood's Athen.  
Oxon. Vol. I.  
col. 687.

(7) Godwin's  
Catalogue of  
English Bishops,  
p. 385.

[C] *Erected by his son, &c.* Dr Francis Godwin speaks very decently of this act of duty, which he says was performed, in a manner rather suited to the circumstances of him who dedicated, than the merit of his memory to whom it was dedicated (7). The in-

scription, which deserves reading, is printed correctly only in one book of great price (8); and there, without a translation, which we hope will render what follows acceptable here.

(8) De Præfuli-  
bus Angliæ, Can-  
tab. 1743. fol.  
p. 390.

M. S.

Parentis charissimi

Patris verè reverendi

Thomæ Godwyni,

Sacræ Theologiæ Doctoris,

Ædis Christi Oxon. primum,

ac deinde Cantuarien. Decani,

Bathon. demum ac Wellen. Episcopi,

qui hoc in oppido natus;

hic etiam (dum valetudinis recuperandæ gratia (9) &c. medicorum sententia huc secedit) quartana febre confectus.

Mortalitatem exiit Novemb. 19. 1590.

conf. suæ anno septimo,

& hic jacet expectans adventum magni Dei.

P.

F. Franc. Godwyn Exon Subdecanus.

Sacred to the Memory

Of the most beloved Parent,

The truly reverend Father,

Thomas Godwyn,

Doctor of Divinity,

Of Christ Church in Oxford first,

Of Canterbury afterwards, Dean,

Lastly Bishop of Bath and Wells,

Who born in this town.

Here also (whether in hopes of recovery,

And by direction of Physicians he retired) broken by a Quartan,

He quitted this mortal state, Nov. 19. 1590.

From his consecration the seventh year,

And lies here, expecting the coming of the great GOD.

This (monument) hath placed

His son Francis Godwyn, Subdean of Exeter.

E

(9) Ockingham  
is celebrated for  
it's excellent air  
and pleasant  
situation.

(a) Godwin's  
Catalogue of En-  
glish Bishops,  
Lond. 1615. 4to.  
p. 534.

(b) Wood's  
Athenæ Oxoni-  
ensis, Vol. I.  
col. 581.

(c) Villare An-  
glicanum collect-  
ed by order of Sir  
Henry Spelman.

(d) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 581.

(e) Godwini, de  
Præfulibus Com-  
ment. p. 642.

(f) Fasti Oxoni-  
ensis, Vol. I.  
col. 120.

(g) Wood's  
Athenæ Oxoni-  
ensis, Vol. I.  
col. 581.

GODWIN [FRANCIS], son to the former, an able Divine, an extensive Scholar, a candid Historian, an elegant Writer in the Latin tongue, and successively Bishop of Landaff and Hereford, in the beginning of the XVIIth century. He was born at Havington, in Orlington hundred, in Northamptonshire; he calls it Havington (a), when writing in English; but in his Latin book, the letter being reversed, we read Hannington, which is copied by Wood (b) and all subsequent writers, though there is really no such place in that county (c). His father had at this time, 1561, no provision made for him; but as his affairs quickly changed for the better, he caused this son of his to be very carefully educated; nor was this diligence employed in vain, since the admirable capacity of his son Francis, discovered itself so early, and with such lustre, that in his sixteenth year he was sent to the university of Oxford (d), and in 1578 he was elected scholar of Christ-Church (e). He studied there with great reputation, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts, January the thirteenth 1580, being of the same standing with the famous Henry Cuffe, already mentioned in this work (f). March 16th, 1583, he was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts (g), and was at that time accounted one of the most ingenious persons, as well as assiduous students, in the university. He gave a very signal instance of the elevation, as well as elegance of his genius, in a little treatise he wrote about this time, on a very curious and sublime subject; and as he shewed the brilliancy of his wit, and the acuteness of his understanding, in the composition of this treatise, so he discovered a degree of prudence scarce to be expected in so young a man, in confiding this book only to a few particular friends, and not suffering it to go abroad into the world; which if he had done, it would, in all probability, rather have injured than raised his reputation (b) [A]. About this time also, he wrote another little work, in a manner no

(b) Fuller's Wor-  
thies, North.  
284.

[A] *Than raised his reputation.* There are but few instances in the History of Literature, where the imagination and judgment keep equal pace, and very few works in which a vigorous fancy appears, that the understanding is able to keep in exact discipline, so as never to be carried away by it. It is the extreme rarity of these works that gives them their high value. Don Quixote was a moral romance, in that respect easily comprehended, and universally applauded. Our author's was a philosophical fiction; and the important truths he had in view so elevated, that very few had the least conception of them; in so much, that those who have admired the book were rather pleased with the vivacity of the fable, than sensible of the solidity of the subject; which is the true reason, that at

this day it is so little regarded, and the most convincing mark of it's author's foresight, and true apprehension of mankind, who hid this candle under a bushel so long as he lived. It was printed about five years after his death by E. M. of Christ-Church (1), and appeared under this title:

*The Man in the Moon; or a Discourse of a Voyage thither.* By Domingo Gonfales. Lond. 1638, and 1657. 8vo.

The editor in his preface tells us, 'That this piece is an essay of fancy, where invention is shewed with judgment, and it was not the author's intention, says he, to discourse thee into a belief of each particular circumstance. It is fit thou allow him a liberty of conceit, where thou takest to thyself a liberty of judgment.'

(1) Wood's  
Athenæ Oxoni-  
ensis, Vol. I.  
col. 582.



less ingenious, and on a subject still more obscure; which he likewise suppressed at this juncture, though he suffered it to be published towards the close of his life, as will be observed in its proper place. We have no distinct account of the time when he received Holy Orders, but in all probability it was as early as might be, for, on the 11th of June, 1587, he was collated to the subdeanery of Exeter, being then a Canon in the cathedral church of Wells (i). In 1590, he went with his old friend, the learned Camden, into Wales, in search of antiquities (k); and he was scarce returned from thence before his father died (l). It is impossible to affirm, at this distance of time, when he conceived the plan of that great work which gave rise to his fortune, as well as his reputation; but there is nothing improbable in supposing that it was either at or before this time, and that this journey might have some relation to it; at least it is certain, that within four years after, he executed a very considerable article of it (m); for which he had the best materials, and in a manner

(i) Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Anglic. p. 120.

(k) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 421.

(l) Godwin de Perichibus Anglic. p. 445.

(m) See this verified in Note [B].

very

judgment. In substance thou hast here a new discovery of a new world, which perchance may find little better entertainment in thy opinion than that of Columbus, at first in the esteem of all men. Yet this then but poor espial of America, betrayed unto knowledge so much as hath since increased into a vast plantation, and the then unknown, to be now of as large extent as all the other known world. That there should be antipodes, was once thought as great a paradox, as now that the moon should be habitable. But the knowledge of this may seem more proper for this our discovering age, in which our Galilæus's can by advantage of their telescopes gaze the sun into spots, and descry mountains in the moon. But this and more in the ensuing discourse I leave to thy candid censure, and the faithful relation of the little eye-witness, our great discoverer.' Whoever this E. M. was, and it is a wonder that Anthony Wood did not let us into the secret, he was certainly a person of quick penetration, or received the key of this little work from its author. It was translated into French, and published under the following title (2):

(2) P. Nicéron Mémoires pour l'Histoire des Hommes illust. tom. xxii. p. 166.

*L'Homme dans la Lune: ou le Voyage Chimérique fait au Monde de la Lune, découvert, par Dominique Gonzales, Aventurier Espagnol. A La Haye, 1651, in 12mo.*

The shadow of this performance is, that Domingo Gonzales, a bold whimsical enterprising Spaniard, after having run through a variety of adventures, being shipwrecked with a negro servant on an uninhabited island, discovered by the fertility of his invention, a variety of curious and useful secrets, which gradually led him to attempt a passage through the air in a machine supported by ganza's, or a kind of wild geese, and that after various experiments, he was at length borne away by these flying coursers from the top of the pike of Teneriff to the moon. The sense is, that if ever discoveries shall be made of such a passage, it is most likely that the profundity of the Spanish genius will reach it, and possibly their romantic spirit lead them to the attempt. But whatever becomes of the fable, which is so pleasantly managed, and so well sustained, that it has amused the bulk of readers without looking farther; the judicious peruser will plainly perceive, that our author has hinted a multitude of philosophic truths little understood in those times, and perhaps no where more clearly, elegantly, or satisfactorily represented, than in this treatise. He not only gives his reader to understand, that this earth is a planet in respect to the sun, and a moon to the moon, but he shews likewise the effects this would have on a spectator placed between our earth and the moon; he discourses truly and correctly of gravity and attraction; shews the reason why the latter must be weaker in the moon, and what may very possibly be its effects; descants upon the length of lunar days and nights, and from thence gives a plausible account why the inhabitants of that world stand in need of a larger moon than we. He conjectures, that since we see but one side of the moon, because her rotation on her own axis, and her revolution about the earth is performed exactly in the same time, that there is some extraordinary provision for light on the other side, with a multitude of singularities of the like nature. Mr Wood and several others have thought, that Bishop Wilkins borrowed from our author; but much of this does not appear, though it is true he wrote two treatises on part of the subjects included in this, the one entitled, *A Discovery of a New World: or a Discourse*

tending to prove that it is probable there may be another habitable World in the Moon; and the other, *A Discourse concerning a New Planet, which is our Earth*. At the close of the first he gives us his thoughts of this performance (3), with which we shall conclude this long note. 'Having thus finished (says Bishop Wilkins) this discourse, I chanced upon a late fancy under the feigned name of Domingo Gonzales, written by a late reverend and learned Bishop. In which there is delivered a pleasant and well contrived fancy concerning a voyage to this other world. He supposeth that there is a natural and usual passage for many creatures betwixt our earth and this planet. Thus he says, those great multitudes of locusts, where-with divers countries have been destroyed, do proceed from thence. And if we peruse the authors who treat of them, we shall find that many times they fly in numberless troops, or swarms; and for sundry days together, before they fall, are seen over those places in great high clouds, such as coming nearer are of extension enough to obscure the day, and hinder the light of the sun. From which, together with divers other such relations, he concludes, that it is not altogether improbable they should proceed from the moon. Thus likewise he supposeth the swallows, cuckoos, nightingales, with divers other fowl which are with us only half a year, to fly up thither when they go from us. Amongst which kind there is a wild swan in the East Indies, which at certain seasons of the year do constantly take their flight thither. Now this bird being of a great strength, able to continue for a long flight, as also going usually in flocks, like our wild geese, he supposeth that many of them together might be taught to carry the weight of a man, especially if an engine were so contrived, as he thinks it might, that each of them should bear an equal share in the burthen. So that by this means it is easily conceivable, how once every year a man might finish such a voyage, going along with these birds at the beginning of winter, and again returning with them at the spring. And here, one that had a strong fancy were better able to set forth the great benefit and pleasure to be had by such a journey. And that whether you consider the strangeness of the persons, language, art, policy, religion of those inhabitants, together with the new traffick that might be brought thence. In brief, do but consider the pleasure and profit of those later discoveries in America, and we must needs conclude this to be inconceivably beyond it.' Bishop Wilkins's two treatises are very seriously and solidly written, and with much labour and learning, discussing thoroughly some, but not all the points that had been illustrated by our prelate, whose tract exclusive of Don Gonzales's adventures, which are only the vehicle of his instructions, does not comprehend more lines than there are pages in the other two discourses. It is not at all wonderful, that at the time he wrote this treatise he was unwilling to publish it, neither is it strange that for half a century after his decease, the whimsy of this work should be more regarded than its wisdom; but that since the publication and universal reception of the new Philosophy, this admirable piece should remain still neglected, is not easily to be explained; and for this reason we have taken some pains to revive the credit of this singular performance, by setting it in a true point of light.

(3) Discovery of a New World, p. 183, 186, 187.



(n) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 581.  
Fast. Oxon. Vol.  
I. col. 150.

(o) Sir John  
Harrington's  
Brief View of the  
state of the  
Church of Eng-  
land.

(p) Hist. &  
Antiquitates Ox-  
oniensis, p. 262.

very different from that in which his whole work was at first published, a circumstance very little attended to by those who have hitherto given us his memoirs, and which therefore we look upon ourselves obliged to explain and illustrate [B]. On the thirtieth of January, 1595, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (n), being then Rector of Samford-Orcais in Somersetshire, Prebendary of St Decuman in the church of Wells, Residentiary there, Rector of Bishop's Lidiard, by the resignation of the vicarage of Weston in Zoyland, all in the same county; and Subdean of Exeter. He was esteemed by the best judges a very able Preacher, and is commended by a very judicious Critic for honesty and boldness in this character, when a very young man; in which, upon sifting the matter closely, he lost nothing either in point of safety or reputation; on the contrary, he came to be considered at the Court, and elsewhere, as a man of sense and spirit, and one who had a true notion of the importance of his function (o) [C]. He never published, however, but one Latin sermon, on the third verse of the fifth chapter of St Luke. After much meditation, he sent abroad his Catalogue of the Bishops of England, a work, though short and imperfect in itself, and which no man knew better than he did, yet admirable, considering the time in which it was wrote, the age of its author, who was then scarce forty, and the prodigious difficulties that attended the collecting materials in those times (p), of which a stronger argument cannot well be offered, than the slender improvements that have

[B] To explain and illustrate.] There is a very fair manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College at Cambridge, of our author's own hand writing, consisting of 100 pages, with a very neat index at the end, which bears this title, *Hunc Catalogum, conscripsit Francis Godwyn, Ecclesiæ Wellensis Canonicus, Anno Domini 1595. Anno Reg. Eliz. 38.* A Duw, a digon. *that is, Francis Godwyn, Canon of the Church of Wells, wrote this Catalogue, in the year 1595, and 38th of Q. Elizabeth. Win GOD, win all.* This must be understood of the beginning of the year, since at the end we have this date, Dec. 15. 1594. It is larger, more elegant, and in some things more accurate, than the article of the Bishops of this see of Bath and Wells, even in the last edition of his elaborate work. We owe the publication of it to the indefatigable Thomas Hearne (4), who stood himself indebted for it to his worthy friend and patron Beaupre Bell, Esq; a great lover, as well as an excellent judge, of all things relating to British Antiquities. Some years before, Mr Hearne had published a part of it, and with it the following extract of a letter from the late learned Mr Thomas Baker, of St John's, in the same university (5). 'This account of Gul. de Marchia being sent me from Mr Bell, from a MS at Trin. Coll. of Francis Godwin, then Canon of Wells, ann. 1595, with an intimation of conveying it to you; I send it, but leave it entirely to you to make what use of it you please, if it be of any. The MS is a very fair one, and certainly wrote by Fr. Godwin, being his first essay. How he came to alter so much in this, and several other of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, I cannot say. The catalogue contains only the Bishops of Bath and Wells.' The plainest and most probable account of this matter seems to be this, that our author composed his whole work originally in Latin, but was prevailed upon by his friends to make an essay of the reception it would meet with by giving the substance of it in English. That he made no secret of this History of Bath and Wells, and consequently made no alterations from clandestine motives, appears from hence, that he actually communicated it to Sir John Harrington, who cites from it what he says of the father, Dr Thomas Godwin, which passage is not now to be found either in substance in the English, or in the same, or words to the like purpose, in his Latin work, as it now appears. But as Sir John has not cited the whole passage that is wanting in the printed work, and as it contains an apology for his not giving a longer character, and insisting more largely in commendation of so good a parent, because he says, he had rather the world in general should enquire, why he did not render him just praises, than that a few malevolent evil-speaking persons should demand, why he did praise him, we will insert the whole passage; whence the reader will see, that though extremely just and natural within four years after his death, it became less so at the distance of fourteen, and was therefore entirely omitted (6). 'O! illum felicem, si felix maluisset manere, quam regimines ecclesiastici labores, tum suscipere, cum laboribus impar, fractus senio, invalidus corpore, necessum illi fuerit ali-

orum uti auxilio. Qui quanquam ii delecti fuerint, qui omnium maxime debuerint optimi senis famæ & salutis prospicere; tamen (quod evinere solet) tanquam in re aliena negligentiores facti, de sua tantum solliciti, utranque perdiderunt. Hic vero expectare quis jure possit, ut quantos olim labores extant laverit in propaganda veritate evangelica, quam studiose pietatem socialisque virtutes coluerit, gregem denique, sibi commissum, quam sollicitè custodi dierit, solum paucis commemorarem. Sed cum præclara virtus præconem aut encomiastam nusquam desideret; & modestiæ meæ magis congruum, & ad gloriam illius propagandam commodius existimo, ab aliis posthac laudes ejus decantari, quibus fidem derogare non possit sanguinis propinquitatis, ac interim, quæri potius a ceteris mortalibus, cur non laudaverim, quam à calumniatoribus paucis & malevolis, cur laudaverim.'

[C] Of the importance of his function.] In those days, when the generality of people manifested a great zeal for religion, it sometimes fell out, as in these, that their actions and ordinary course of life did not seem to express any lively sense of religion at all. In cases of this sort some of the Clergy, and amongst these Mr Godwin, thought it his duty to reprehend such vices as were most glaring and most common in the presence of those who were most addicted or exposed to the strongest temptations to them. Thus he suited his sermon to his auditors, not to tickle their ears with the condemnation of those vices from which they were most exempt, and the applause of those virtues for which they were most distinguished; but by an honest and free representation of those ill qualities, with which they either were or might be infected; neither made he any distinction in conditions, but made his court to the great, if he made it at all, by shewing them they were but men, and often sinful men, of whose souls therefore the same care was to be taken as of the meanest of the people (7). 'Before his going to Exeter, says Sir John Harrington, I had some acquaintance with him, and have heard him preach more than once at our assizes, and elsewhere; his manner was to be sharp against the vices most abounding in that time, sacrilege, simony, contempt of God in his ministers, and want of charity. Amongst other of his sermons, preaching once of Dives and Lazarus, he said, *that though the Scriptures had not expressed plainly who Dives was, yet by his cloaths and face, he might be bold to affirm, he was at the least a Justice of Peace, and perhaps of Oyer and Terminer too.* This speech was so ill taken by some guilty consciences, that a great matter was enforced to be made of it, that it was a dangerous and seditious speech; and why, forsooth? Because it was a dear year. But see how a man's enemies sometimes do him as much good as his friends, their fond accusation, and his discreet justification, made him both better known and more respected by them that were able to do him most good.' No personal or malevolent sarcasm, but a just intimation, that no superiority of rank cancels the ties of humanity, or the obligations of charity.

(7) Brief View of the State of the Church of England, p. 166, 167.

(4) At the end of  
Johann. de We-  
thamstede Chro-  
nicon, p. 635.

(5) Joan. de  
Trokelowe, An-  
nales Edward II.  
p. 381.

(6) Francisci  
Godwini, Cata-  
logus Episcoporum  
Bathon. &  
Wellensium, p.  
98, 99.

[D] To



have been made since. This Catalogue, concise as it was, met with such general approbation, that Queen Elizabeth bestowed upon him immediately the bishopric of Landaff, which had not been above two months vacant (q), and to which he was consecrated, November the second, 1601: the reward was royal, but consisted rather in title than in substance; for this bishopric, now small, was then so small, that it did not produce more than one hundred and fifty pounds a year (r); and therefore, as well in regard to him, as for the sake of the service which he had lately rendered to the commonwealth of letters, and the Church [D], he had liberty to keep one of his dignities, which seems

q) Fuller's Church History, Cent. XVII. book x. p. 2.

(r) Godwin's Catalogue of Eng. 16th Bishops, p. 534.

to

[D] *To the commonwealth of letters and the Church.*

The digesting into a regular chronological order the succession of prelates in the respective dioceses within this kingdom, as simple and plain a scheme as it may now appear, was never attempted before the time of Dr Godwin; no wonder therefore that his essays were faulty, or that he revised and corrected them so many times. His coming abroad at first was the greatest difficulty, and on this perhaps he had never ventured, if the rank and power of his patron and the Queen's favour had not encouraged him. The title is as follows:

*A Catalogue of the Bishops of England since the first planting of the Christian Religion in this Island; together with a brief History of their Lives and memorable Actions, so near as can be gathered out of Antiquity. By F. G. Sub-Dean of Exeter.* Lond. 1601. in 4to.

It is dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Sackvill, Baron of Buckhurst, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Treasurer of England, and Chancellor of the university of Oxford, to whom he was chaplain. In his preface Dr Godwin tells us, 'that his delight in the study of History and Antiquities, had been somewhat greater than was needful for a man who had dedicated himself and his labours unto the service of God's Church in the Ministry, which fault he had long before in some sort reformed, by restraining himself within the compass of such antiquities as seemed to concern only ecclesiastical causes or persons. That his collections, with regard to matters ecclesiastical, could add nothing unto Mr Fox's large and painful work; but, that in the other kind, relating to ecclesiastical persons, what many years reading and observation could yield unto him, he had seven or eight years before comprized into a volume, which with some additions he was now induced to publish. The principal reason, says he, that moved me thereunto is in effect, that which Tacitus saith every Historiographer should propose unto himself, Ne virtutes fideantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate & infamia metus sit.' In the latter of these, the faults of those men of whom I am to write, I need not greatly to pain myself; for it is not to be denied, that the most part of the Chroniclers and Historiographers of our age have been hard enough, at least upon the Prelates and Clergy of former times, every where, like Cham's discovering the nakedness of these fathers, but seldom or never endeavouring with Sem to hide the same, much less affording unto them any honourable mention, never so well deserved. This kind of dealing, though happily intended to good purposes, might not expect that success and blessing at God's hand, that the plain and sincere truth is wont to find. These men impugning somewhat too furiously the superstition and errors which the Clergy of former times in a great measure through ignorance did teach and defend, whilst the rather to discredit their doctrine they depraved their persons, it hath pleased God that this uncharitable course should sort to some other effect than was intended, and that such as without his great mercy was like to have caused an inconvenience of little less importance, I will not say greater, than that which our late Reformation had redressed. For in the vulgar sort, which distinguish not so easily between persons and things, it bred a conceit not only that the men were wicked, and so their doctrine corrupt, although I know the consequence to be weak, but also their functions and callings to be utterly unlawful and antichristian; which opinion once received in the minds of the multitude, gave occasion of divers plots, coloured with the plausible shew of reformation, but indeed principally aiming at the goods and revenues of the Church, the temporal rewards of learning, which being once taken away, what confusion is like to follow

we may easily see by the effects it bringeth forth elsewhere. Those countries that heretofore have yielded great plenty of able work-folks for the Lord's vineyard, now that brood is spent which attained learning the rewards yet standing whole, they hardly can shew a man able to set pen to paper in defence of the truth. Yea even amongst us, although the godly and excellent care of her Majesty hath preserved the state of this our Church, in such sort as I think no other reformed Church of Christendom any thing near comparable unto it, yet the example of others, the known greediness of so many sacrilegious cormorants as await daily the destruction of the same, and the doubt least it will decay, for that we cannot hope for the like piety in all succeeding princes, it so far forth discourageth men from the study of Divinity, as the best wits daily refuse the universities, or Divinity at the least, which in some other countries is accounted the surest way to advancement, and rather betake themselves to any other kind of life. Hereof it cometh to pass, that every age bringeth forth less plenty of learned men than other amongst us. He also remarks, which is particularly worth the reader's attention, that he is not to expect any copious discourse of the lives and actions of the Bishops of his own time, or near it, since he had purposely avoided to set down any thing of them, but what either he found written by others, or else remaineth to be seen in public record. And that he hath taken this course because he judged it neither seemly to praise, nor safe to reprehend (how justly soever) those men, who either by themselves, their near friends, or posterity then living, might seem either to have allured him to flatter, or deterred him from disclosing that truth which otherwise he would have uttered. Neither did he think it needful to say much of them, who being either present in action, or fresh in memory, were sufficiently known. And whereas he has passed over in silence two sees, he was obliged to it by want of some necessary instructions, which by reason of the distance of his dwelling from them, he had not means to attain, although he had endeavoured it. He therefore desired all men who were able to yield him help for the supplying of whatsoever might seem wanting either in those sees, or any other.

It was by way of supplement to this edition, that Sir John Harrington wrote the short treatise that has been so often mentioned, for the use of Prince Henry, son to King James, with whom he was in great favour. It rises higher in many places than the close of our author's book, but goes no lower than the year 1608. It was not intended for public view, otherwise in all probability the author would not have expressed himself so freely; but of this more in its proper place, that is, in the article of the author, who well deserves one; but it may not be amiss to present the reader here with his character of our author, and his books. 'Of this Bishop (says he) I may speak sparingly, or rather spare all speech, considering that every leaf of his worthy work is a sufficient testimony of his virtuous mind, indefatigable industry, and infinite reading; for even as we see commonly those gentlemen that are well descended, and better bred, are most careful to preserve the true memory and pedigree of their ancestors, which the base and ignorant, because they could not conserve, will seem to condemn. So this worthy Bishop, collecting so diligently, and relating so faithfully, the succession and lives of so many of our Christian most reverend Bishops in former ages, doth prove himself more by spiritual than carnal birth, to come of those ancestors of whom it was long before prophesied by the princely Prophet, Instead of thy fathers, thou shalt have children whom thou shalt make Princes in all places.'



(s) See Le Neve's  
Fasti Eccl.  
Anglic.

(t) Wood's  
Athen. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 582.

(u) De Præsul.  
Angl. Comment.  
P. 443.

(w) Sir John  
Harrington's  
Brief View, p.  
265.

(x) De Præfuli-  
bus Angliæ  
Comment. in  
Præfat.

(y) Histor. &  
Antiquit. Oxoni-  
ensis, lib. ii. p.  
262.

(z) Nicholson's  
Hist. Library,  
p. 85.

to have been his subdeanery of Exeter (s); and also to take the rectory of Kingston-Seymour, in the diocese of Bath and Wells (t); which whatever favours they may be in appearance, yet without them the bishopric had been none. He succeeded Dr William Morgan, who was translated to St Asaph, and to whose pious care he always professed himself obliged, for having made the bishopric what it was, and for having opened a path for him to make it better (u). While he continued in this see, which was sixteen years, he employed his leisure hours in the improvement of his Catalogue, and in making collections relative to our Civil and Ecclesiastical History (w). In 1615, he published another edition of his Catalogue, with considerable additions, and more considerable alterations, which he dedicated to King James. But by some very unlucky accident, this new Catalogue was most wretchedly and erroneously printed, through the author's being at a great distance from the press; and therefore, to gratify the desire of the Public, and to comply with the advice of his learned friends, he resolved to publish it the next year, as he originally intended, in Latin; which he accordingly did, with the King's Licence; and in this also he made considerable alterations, but with great propriety, as he was sensible, that though his two English Catalogues could only benefit his own countrymen, this would be read and examined throughout Europe (x). He also sent abroad in the same year, and in the same language, from the collections before-mentioned, the annals of those three English reigns preceding that in which he was born, digested into so clear and concise a method, as recommended it equally to the lovers of history (y), and to such as had a true relish of the beauties of an elegant Latin style (z), in which he certainly fell short of none of his contemporaries; in which he has been imitated by few, and exceeded by none [E]. In consideration of these learned labours, King James translated him

The title of the second edition of his book in English ran thus: *A Catalogue of the Bishops of England since the first planting of Christian Religion in this Island. Together with a brief History of their Lives and memorable Actions, so near as can be gathered out of Antiquity. Whereunto is prefixed, A Discourse concerning the first Conversion of our Britain unto Christian Religion.* By Francis Godwin, now Bishop of Llandaff. London: Printed for Thomas Adams. 1615.

In this the two bishoprics formerly omitted were supplied, many things added in the course of the work, and at the end there is a discourse concerning such Englishmen, as had either been, or in our histories were reputed Cardinals of the Church of Rome; and this for two reasons, first, because these persons were in themselves eminent and memorable in many respects; and next, because Ciaconius had published a very florid but false account of them, which our author held it his duty to refute. The Latin work, incomparably more perfect in every respect, is thus entitled,

*De Præfulis Angliæ Commentarius: Omnium Episcoporum, necnon & Cardinalium ejusdem gentis, nomina, tempora, Seriem, atque actiones maximè memorabiles ab ultima antiquitate repetita complexus. Per Franciscum Godwinum, Episcopum Landavensem.* Londini ex Officina Nortoniana apud Joannem Billium. 1616. 4to.

This as well as the last English edition is dedicated to King James, and indeed except some small alterations, the dedications are pretty much the same; the preface however is longer, and very different from that prefixed to the foregoing edition. In it he gives an account of the rise and progress of his undertaking; he says, that more than twenty years before he began to make a Catalogue of English Bishops, intending nothing more than that title expressed; but by degrees, according to the Latin proverb, his Jug was become a Jar. The first edition he says his friends wrought or rather wrung from him in English; the latter he greatly enlarged, but that it was so ill printed he could scarce own it. This accident induced him to recollect and to reflect on the advice given him long before by many of his learned friends, which was to put his work into Latin, which he accordingly did. At the close he promises, in case proper materials were furnished him by those who had it in their power, to send abroad like Catalogues of the Bishops in Scotland and Ireland. This edition is elegantly, though not very correctly printed.

[E] In which he has been imitated by few, and exceeded by none.] We will speak of this work and of its different editions in this place, that we may keep within bounds as much as possible. The title of it runs thus:

*Rerum Anglicarum Henrico viii. Edwardo vi. & Maria regnantibus Annales.* Lond. 1616. in fol. ib. 1628. and 1630. in 4to and fol.

The Bishop in his preface observes, that he had undertaken this work when he was passed fifty years of age, with a view to excite others of greater abilities to write the History of those reigns, and to satisfy the desires of foreigners; who not without cause complain, that those times, than which for 1000 years there have not been any more memorable, with regard to remarkable revolutions, were not described by any person except in a slight manner, and as if the writer had not intended any such thing. He in this excepts Polydor Virgil, who was not only ignorant of our language and constitution, but also wrote the first of these reigns, which was the only one he wrote, partially, in abuse both of K. Henry and Cardinal Wolsey, that he might make his court to Queen Mary; notwithstanding which the methodical elegance of his history gained it that credit which truth only deserved, and was another just reason for his taking up the pen. He tells us therefore he had written in such a way, that though many things proper to an Historian might be wanting in him, yet he is confident his endeavour would find acceptance with many. Other writers may have here (as it were) a storehouse, from whence they may supply themselves with some materials which help to raise an everlasting monument. Foreigners likewise, ignorant of the English tongue, may have some knowledge of those times, 'till some other should arise, who shall compile an History of our nation, worthy the majesty of the British name. He assures us, that he has in this work been so observant of impartiality, sincerity, and truth, that he feared nothing so much as a domestic anger for not being pious enough, because he would not be over pious. Many contend, that a good Prince should be *μη πονερός, ἀλλ' ἡμιπονερός*.

This he thinks no man will affirm of an Historian, though some seem to be of that opinion; so that he will be thought to fail of his duty either to God or his country, who in writing History will not be at least *ἡμιπονερός*, who by affirming uncertainties as known truths, shall not yield much to his affections, if they be but joined with the love of religion and his country. But how much do they injure truth, says our author, who from lies and falsehood desire help to support her? But we have no need of them; and if we had, yet it would not do us much service to rely on such weak advantages, since one pious lie detected, proves more hurtful than a thousand others, although so artfully contrived as to escape discovery, can prove profitable. For an example of this we need seek no farther than the Papists, whose feigned miracles, impostures, and legends, have made even



him from Landaff to Hereford (a), where he succeeded Dr Robert Bennet; and through the care of that reverend prelate, and his predecessor, Dr Herbert Westphaling, he found the houses at Hereford and at Whitborne in excellent condition, which he gratefully acknowledged, and did justice to their memories, in that respect, to posterity (b). He was consecrated, November 28th, 1617, being then in his fifty-sixth year (c). There, in as great a degree as the duties of his function and some bodily infirmities would permit, he prosecuted his studies, but very prudently aimed rather at perfecting the works he had already published, than to investigate new subjects. Accordingly, in 1621, he published an Appendix to his Latin Commentaries, on the succession of English Bishops, in that language, and in them speaks very highly, of Archbishop Abbot, of Canterbury, and Dr Williams, Bishop of Lincoln; and afterwards Archbishop of York (d). But his complements to them, though very well turned, are mighty concise. In respect to Dr King, Bishop of London, then lately deceased, he vindicates, with great strength of argument, and with becoming vehemence, the character of that good man, from the infamous calumny of dying a Papist; which defence takes up more room than he affords to three or four Prelates that were then living (e). By this he put his seal to that undertaking, and left it in the best condition it was in his power to leave it to succeeding times. Yet, however honest our author's intentions, whatever candour he expressed in the execution of them, they have been, as what has there been, so well designed, or so well put together, that has not been exposed to censure [F]. It is a shade that always attends the light of Fame, more especially

(a) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 731.

(b) Godwin, Append. ad Comment. de Presulibus Angliæ, p. 11.

(c) Registr. Abbot, fol. 186.

(d) Append. ad Comment. de Presulibus Angliæ, p. 1, 6.

(e) Ibid. p. 2, 3, 4.

even what is true suspected. Wherefore I am well content, that truth, which in spite of all opposition will at length be every where victorious, shall prevail with me. I have done to my power. Politely, eloquently, politicly, I could not write. Truly, and *fide Anticæ*, I could. If I have done amiss in any point, it is not out of malice, but error. Degory Whear tells us, that these annals are written *non magis succinctâ, quam laudabili brevitate* (8), which Dr Nicholson observes to be our author's *just character, and that he was a perfect master of the Latin tongue* (9). We might cite in farther support of this, several foreign testimonies, which we decline, because these ought to weigh little either for or against an English Historian, who is entitled by the law of reason to what would be granted him by the law of the land, an equal trial in which his countrymen are to be his judges. A reverend prelate has taken his Life of Queen Mary into his collection of English History, and certainly it would have been no discredit to it, if the annals of the other two reigns had been added also; for our Historians are in nothing so defective as in method, and even those who are the most careful in respect to facts, are but too apt to be negligent in point of dates. These annals, when published for the third time in Latin, were likewise rendered into English, and that in such a manner as made them in some measure a new work; and this too, if not of our author's writing, yet in some degree of his dictating, and sent into the world with his allowance. They came out under the following title,

'Annales of England: containing the Reigns of Henry the VIIIth, Edward the VIth, and Queen Mary. Written in Latin by the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God Francis Lord Bishop of Hereford. Thus englished, corrected, and enlarged, with the Author's Consent, by Morgan Godwyn.' In the preface to the translation his son tells us, that he hopes the reader will not object against the omission of some things in them, the knowledge whereof is to our natives so innate, that now to insert them, were as bad as to farce with tautologies, and make this little volume nauseous. Yet hath it lost nothing of it's bulk, whatsoever it hath of it's splendor, those defalcations being here and there in the course of this History supplied with not unnecessary additions, whereto the author's approbation and consent was not wanting. These English Annals have also been deservedly admired.

[F] *That has not been exposed to censure.* In his life-time he was harshly treated in private by a person of great worth and learning, whom one could scarce have thought capable of using such coarse language towards a prelate of our author's rank and learning, and this on the account only of a very small historical mistake. It occurs indeed in a private letter, viz. from Sir Henry Savil, to Mr Camden, dated Feb. 26. 1617 (10); but instead of excusing, this heightens the offence; because it was attacking and lessening the

the character of a man of letters in such a way, as he had it not in his power to defend himself. It runs thus: 'Sir, I find in the Bishop of Hereford's book of Bishops, a babble of one William Sever, Bishop of Duresme, son (as he saith) of a sievemaker, Warden of Merton College, and Provost of Eton, made Bishop of Carlisle 1496, and translated to Durham (ut videtur) 1502, and died anno 1505. True it is, that Henry Sever was first Provost, and so named in the Act of Parliament, of Eton Foundation; and the same man was afterwards Warden of Merton College, where he had his breeding, as kinsman to our founder, and as our Register says, *penè alter fundator*. He lies buried in that church, as Warden there, and never Bishop, as I remember, though he had twelve or fourteen ecclesiastical promotions, as by a pardon in Edward the fourth's time, to the college, I find him stiled. Besides, the times cannot agree: Eton College was founded in 1440, so that to 1505 he must live sixty-five years afterwards, to the latter end of Henry the seventh; whereas, in Merton College, we had two or three wardens in the mean time, Gurgur and Fitz-James. I pray you advise with Mr Linsey, the Bishop of Durham's chaplain, with you, what he findeth in Historiâ Dunelmensi, touching that man, and at your leisure let me understand from you.'

All that our Prelate had said was this, that William Sever, according to common report, was a native of Shinkley, the son of a poor man, who made sieves for his bread, and, in the English of those times, was stiled a *Sievewyer*; and his son having no other, took the name of his father's trade for a surname (11). This, it seems, Sir Henry took for a great affront; but being fully satisfied, by Mr Camden's means, that there was no connection between William Sever, Bishop of Durham, and his predecessor Henry Sever, Warden of Merton, and Provost of Eaton, he came into pretty good temper again, and could mention the Bishop of Landaff (though he was then translated to Hereford, and this as great a mistake as that which he had censured) with some degree of patience (12). The Oxford Antiquary, according to his usual custom, speaks of him what he thought, good and ill, in that blunt language which was peculiar to him (13). 'He was,' says he, a good man, a grave Divine, skilful Mathematician, excellent Philosopher, pure Latinist, and incomparable Historian, being no less critical in Histories than the learned Selden. A person also he was, so celebrated by many in his time, whether at home or beyond the seas, that his memory cannot otherwise but be precious in succeeding ages, for his indefatigable pains and travel, in collecting the succession of all the Bishops of England and Wales, since the first planting of the Gospel among the Christians; not pretermittting such of the British Church, or any that have been remembered by the care and diligence of preceding writers, or had been kept in memory

(11) Catalogue of English Bishops, p. 666.

(12) Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 224.

(13) Athenæ Oxoniensis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(8) Relationes Hyemales, Oxon. 1637. p. 144.

(9) Historical Library, p. 85.

(10) Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 219.



(f) See his Prefaces in Latin and English.

especially in the literary world. Our Prelate knew it well; but, like a wife and great man, regarded it least; for, out of his zeal to truth, and public utility, he was ever ready to combat envy, and justify science, however misrepresented or misunderstood (f). This

(14) See that passage in note [D].

(15) Nicholson's Historical Library, p. 123, 124.

in any old monument or record. But as he hath, in those his infinite labours, endeavoured, out of a puritanical pique, to bring a scandal on the antient Catholic Bishops; and to advance the credit of those that were married since the Reformation, he being one of that number, for the credit of the Protestant cause: so comes one afterwards, by name William Prynne, a crop-eared and stigmatized Presbyterian, the most inveterate enemy to the Bishops that ever appeared in our horizon; who thence, from his labours, takes all advantages, whether truth or not truth, to raise arguments against, or bring a scandal upon, the prelatical function. Take heed therefore of being partial, lest others light candles from your torch, and thereby, in the end, you lend a helping hand for the cutting your own throat.' The full and proper answer to this is to be found in the Bishop's preface to the first edition of his Catalogue (14). Mr Prynne could find nothing there which was of the Bishop's invention; and as he was very well acquainted with the original authors, from whence our author took all his facts, he might, and no doubt he would, have had recourse to them, if this Prelate had never wrote at all. But we come now to a writer, who has saved us some trouble, by collecting and abridging the scandal thrown upon the Bishop and his work by other pens (15). 'Francis Godwin was most fortunate in his Commentary, as he calls it, on this subject, being himself advanced to the episcopal order, for the good services that Queen Elizabeth thought he had done the Church by that book. It was twice published in English, equally full of the author's and printer's mistakes. The faults of the latter edition, especially, were so very gross, that they put him upon the speedy dispatch of another in Latin, which came out the next year. The style of this is very neat and clean; and he seems to have taken more pains in polishing it, than in gathering together all the materials of his history. He quotes no authorities, expecting, belike, that posterity should acquiesce in his, singly, without enquiring any farther. He is particularly ungrateful to the author of the *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, from whom he has borrowed (by the great) his account of the see of Canterbury, varying only the phrase, and sometimes for the worse. The like carriage he is guilty of, towards Bale, Camden, and others: but what is most especially notorious, is, his transcribing out of Joseline and Mason, what he pretends to have had immediately from the Archives and Registraries, from the year 1559 to his own time. He is also frequently guilty of chronological mistakes, a too confident reliance on the authorities of counterfeit Charters, in Ingulfus and others, an uncertain calculation of years, beginning some at Michaelmas, and others at Christmas, &c. as his authors blindly led him: And lastly, a contenting himself with false and imperfect catalogues of the Prelates, in almost every diocese. These are the failures wherewith he stands charged by Mr Wharton, who modestly assures us, that a better progress had been made in these matters, by himself, within the compass of eighteen months, than by this Bishop in twenty years. Our Oxford Antiquary further complains, that he puritanically vilified Popish Bishops, with a design thereby to advance the credit of those since the Reformation: whereby he had given unlucky advantages to William Prynne, the professed enemy of episcopacy, who made ill use of his book. I will not say that either of these censurers are mistaken: but I must observe to the reader, that each of them intended to have furnished us with a view of this part of our ecclesiastical history, of his own drawing; and therefore, like all new builders, they must be allowed to spy more faults in the old fabrick than others can.' Infidious praise is of all others the foulest kind of railing, and yet in this some writers take great delight. Henry Wharton and Anthony Wood were not of this kind; they often censured wrong, but they always thought themselves in the right. Here

three authors are introduced, two abusing the third; and he who introduces them, sneering at all three, and darting at them through each other's sides. Hereafter it may be, Providence will indulge us an opportunity of saying something for the other two, at present it is our duty to defend Bishop Godwin, not because we have written his life, but because he is injured. As to the charge of his borrowing, and not citing, the fact is false, as the reader, upon consulting the Bishop's book, will see with his own eyes. A single and a short quotation, will, in a great measure, prove this, and demonstrate that our author was not either negligent in consulting the best authors, or disposed to conceal the helps he received from them. Speaking of the first Christian King in this island, he says (16), 'It is time for me now to say somewhat of a certain epistle, written, as we find delivered by Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, unto King Lucius. The copy of which epistle was first found, for ought I can discern, in an old Chronicle, entituled Brutus, amongst certain laws or statutes of the Saxons. The occasion thereof was, that Lucius, some time after his conversion, (but whether before or after his baptism appeareth not) made request unto Eleutherius to send him some kind of abstract of the Roman Laws, whereby he might establish a settled order of government in his dominions. Now whereas the Druids, they were the judges of all matters both spiritual and temporal, the abolishing of them made an alteration in politic matters, as well as ecclesiastical, or concerning religion. So that the cause of reformation in both kinds being one and the self same, I see no reason why we should not think that the remedy of both was likewise sought at once. And true it is, that the author of the book, called *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, affirmeth, how that Elvan and Medwin made the foresaid motion for the Roman laws, at their being with Eleutherius before the baptism of Lucius, and then received answer. So doth Mr Fox: and the reverend father, of happy memory, Bishop Jewell, seemeth to be of the same opinion. Yet, because the authors of our great Chronicle, Holinshed and the rest, deliver, not only that this motion was made after the baptism of Lucius; but also, setting down precisely the particular time, do say it was in the third year after his conversion. I will not take upon me to pronounce either one way or other, but leave it unto the reader's judgment and discretion to determine.' In his first Catalogue of the Bishops of Bath and Wells, he quotes plentifully; perhaps, when he came to print, he was deterred, by heaps of mistakes, from loading his margins; however, for such a work as he intended, he cites abundance of authorities, Bale, fifty times at least. At the head of the article of Norwich, it is said, *collected for the most part out of Mr Alexander Nevill, his Norwicus*, by R. T. At the head of that of Exeter, we read, *this Discourse following is taken for the most part verbatim, out of Master John Hooker's Catalogue of the Bishops of Exeter*. This has not much the air of arrogating the merit of other men's labours to himself. That he took from moderns what he would have understood to be transcribed from ancient authors, is a suspicion without proof, and, we are pretty sure, is without foundation; for his writings manifest, that he had read those ancient authors, and therefore he might use them as well at first as at second hand (17). That he did not cite Mr Camden is true, but that the modesty of this great man induced him to desire his friends not to cite him is as true; so that now the wonder ceases, without bringing any charge of ingratitude on the memory of Bishop Godwin (18). That he might be mistaken as to ancient charters shall be granted, as well as that he might not be infallible in respect to dates; but then it must be also granted, that some who were very learned men mistook before him, and that many who thought themselves so have been mistaken since. The new edition of this work, elegantly and accurately printed, has removed these (with regard to him) unavoidable defects, entirely.

(16) Catalogue of English Bishops, p. 29, 30.

(17) See a clear testimony of this in the letter to Camden in note [H].

(18) Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 219.

[G] Has



This induced him to communicate to King James that secret, of which he wrote a discourse at the university; and thereby satisfied the King, that it was a fact, and not a fiction (g). In 1628, he published the second edition of his Annals, which was much more correctly printed than the former; and this, without any of the high-flown complements which were the vice of that age, from which, however, few writers were freer than himself, he dedicated to King Charles (h). The year following, he published that discourse, written in his youth, on a very mysterious subject; and with design, in so obscure a style, that though many have guessed at it, yet his riddle, to this day, has never met with a clear solution (i) [G]. In 1630, he published a third edition of his Annals, which shews how

(g) Hist. & Antiquitates Oxon. lib. II. p. 272.

(h) Printed by the King's Printer.

(i) See Dr. Thomas Smith's Letters.

kind

[G] *Has never met with a clear solution*. This small piece, which consisted but of two sheets, and which is now so extremely scarce, that it is to be found only in the closets of the curious, was published under the following succinct title.

*Nuncius Inanimatus. Utopia, 1629. 8vo. i. e. The Inanimate Courier.* The design of it was to point out several methods of conveying intelligence, secretly, speedily, and safely; a matter frequently of great importance to private men, and sometimes of much more consequence to persons in public office. In the first place, he gives an account of such inventions as were practised by the Ancients, the memory of which is come down to posterity; and then he asserts, that one who is a proficient in the art which he professes, may tell whatever he pleases to another person at a distance, who is alike skilful, if he be within a quarter of a mile, though besieged, or lying hid, or, perchance, detained in any place which is not directly known to him that sends the tidings, and, if known, yet not accessible. 'Let nobody come near him, says he (19), secure the body in a prison, let the hands be bound, hood-wink the face, but be not troublesome any other way, and he shall understand the words of his absent friends, if this liberty be not taken away from him, that he may be able to do those things which are wont sometimes to be done by freemen, or may do them without fear or danger. I say, moreover, that if the place be known where a friend resides, to whom our message should be brought, and if both enjoy a full liberty, the causes being before agreed upon which conduce to the disposition of the means, any thing may be told such a friend, without any messenger going between each, or any living creature, though he be a hundred, nay, perchance, a thousand, miles off, and that in a short space of time, perchance an hour, or, it may be, somewhat less. These things, some whisperingly say, are strange and wonderful, but they are not so soon to be believed. But what doth seem so wonderful and incredible? you have yet but this only in the genus and species; behold an individual is presented to thy eyes which thou wilt less believe. Tell unto this my nuncio at London, in as few words as may be, what you desire may be told to me dwelling at Bristol, Wells, or, if you will, rather at Exeter, for I do not much regard the length of the way, so it is but passable; I say, tell him at London, and that just about noon, any one whole verse of the sacred Scriptures I will see that he shall perform our commands in the designed place (mark what I say) before the high noon of the same day. Do not rashly pronounce this proposal impossible, for the course of the sun makes the noon later by some minutes at Bristol than at London. This it is that you wonder at, that this messenger should exceed the heavenly motion thereof in swiftness. This he will do, will do it, I say, if there be need, or else I am the vainest person of all that know how either to speak or write. What, speak I of towers or cities that are besieged? Our inanimate nuncio, not fearing any thing, will pass through whole troops of enemies. A trench digged almost as low as Hell, or a wall, though higher than those of Babylon, shall not hinder his journey, but he will faithfully perform the message, so it be in as concise terms as may be, of him that sent him, though besieged; or whether he would have it told to him that is besieged, and that with such incredible swiftness, if he be to be found within five or seven miles, though I doubt not but it may be done effectually within twenty miles.' It is evident from what our author says, that he had two, and those very opposite,

designs in writing this treatise; the first was, to extol the advantages resulting from his secret; and the second, to avoid, in the doing this, letting slip any such expression as should absolutely reveal it. It should seem, that nothing by his art could be done but by agreement settled between the parties who enter into this correspondence; in the first case, firing guns, ringing bells, sounding a trumpet, &c. might probably be intended; in the second, disposing of candles, torches, or beacons, which signals being repeated at proper distances, would certainly perform all he promises; and in the third, bombs, granadoes, or rockets, might do the business, or, in some cases, smokes. These explanations will, perhaps, appear more clearly, by reading the following paragraph from our author, wherein he seems willing to be a little more explicit. 'You have here three promises of this my nuncio presented to your consideration, perchance it will be worth our while to shew how they differ among themselves, for periphrasis's sake. In the first, I set forth the subtlety of deceiving, in the second, the swiftness of its passage, in the third, its unconquered power and strength in penetrating all things. That in the first place will easily be performed without any cost or labour of any one, save him that sends; but it hath this inconvenience, that its frequent use will not free us from suspicion. That in the second place is very often effected without any help from others, and in some places almost without any charge; but, for the most part, it will do little or nothing without preparation, and that such, that for each mile it will cost five pounds, more or less, if it be designed for perpetual use; and nothing can be done without the countenance and authority of the magistrate, who can easily, if he please, hinder our nuncio's journey. As concerning the third, truly it requireth no great charge, but it must be observed, that he that doth act be settled in a place without danger, where he may resist his enemies force until he hath perfected his work; and here we must not deny, that the condition of him that sends in, is worse than that of him that sends out.' It may be, the reader will be inclined to think a little contemptibly of the methods here insinuated, from an apprehension that they are things obvious enough, and the knowledge perhaps that they are things frequently practised. To this it may be answered, that all things are obvious when they are once explained; but, till it was explained, Columbus's egg was as much a wonder as his voyage to the new world. That these things were not known then is certain; that they have been since brought into frequent use, proves nothing more than that our author's judgment was as strong as his imagination was vigorous, which, we must repeat it, are circumstances rarely united. But it may be said, why promise new lights, and exhibit only dark clouds? Why spend so much time to shew the value of a secret without disclosing it? or why entertain the world with a long chain of riddles and hard sayings? The answer to this is not difficult; our author did not intend his secrets for the use of the vulgar, he wrote to men of superior understandings, knowing that by a comparison of circumstances they would certainly attain his true meaning; and he wrote for persons of superior rank, who were in a situation to apply his discoveries for public benefit. At the time he wrote he had many things to apprehend, of which modern writers stand not at all in fear, which was another motive to his being reserved, and that his aim was not tainted either with vanity or self-interest is evident, from his pushing this matter no farther than he did. His own words will convince the reader of the truth of what has been said, 'He that shall rightly understand (and by exam-

(19) Nuncius inanimatus, §. xix.



kind a reception they met with; since, though penned in Latin, and no translation till at this time, they were thrice printed in fourteen years. At this juncture also appeared a Latin paper of his, respecting the value of Roman money, which shewed how perfect a master he was of classical learning, and how correct a taste he had in most kinds of literature (k) [H]. In the latter part of his life, he fell into a low and languishing disease, which

(k) Hakewell's  
Apology for Di-  
vine Providence,  
Lond. 1630.  
folio.

'ples they are more clear than the sun in it's meridian splendour) how sounds of this nature are reported to a place far distant, will never question the verity hereof. And here, lest any one should timorously suspect these things to be effected by unlawful and condemned arts, in the presence of that God, who is both the greatest and best, I protest and openly denounce, that this discipline contains in it nothing that is unlawful or contrary to the laws either of God or man; and that many things are done by the help of arithmetic, geometry, and music; the rest, if not by usual yet by lawful means, and that at a very small cost, I had almost said none at all, for certainly many things may be performed in this kind without the least expence or loss that can be imagined. And seeing that it is so, I leave it to the judgment of those that are judicious, to consider how much and how far these our inventions may be profitable to the Commonwealth for the future. If they are defective let them die, and, like an untimely birth, let them not see the light, or, if they chance to see the light, let them not enjoy it ever so little, but forthwith vanish into nothing. Yet I my self think the use of this art to be very great, as well in times of peace as war, and I thought it my duty to bestow some pains in the delivery thereof, which I will not do so willingly, lest that when it shall be made known to many, we cannot use or practise these things in their due time.'

About eighteen years after, this treatise was printed, and, about fourteen after our author's death, there came abroad an English translation which bore this title.

NUNCIUS INANIMATUS, or, *The Mysterious Messenger, unlocking the Secrets of Mens Hearts*, by F. G. B. of H. It was near fifty years a secret who made this translation, but at length it came out; for the learned Dr Thomas Smith, in a letter to Mr Hearne, dated August 16, 1705 (20), hath these words, 'Of what authority the little note you mention concerning Bishop Godwin's speaking brazen head is, I know not. I am satisfied, that his Nuncius Inanimatus, which I translated into English almost fifty years since, at the request of the bookseller who printed it, was designed only in the way of wit and fancy for an amusement.' In another letter, dated the thirteenth of September following, he carries the thing still farther. 'I have not had by me, says he, I believe these forty years, the English translation of Bishop Godwin's *Nuncius Inanimatus*, which I wholly neglected and threw by as a trivial and puerile sort of exercise; and I fear that both it and the Latin original are irretrievable.' It is plain the Bishop's secret remains still a secret, for the Doctor, who made a very good translation of a book he did not understand. A Divine, who was our author's contemporary, and second to none either in point of learning or sagacity, has given a very different account of this treatise (21), and these are his words. 'Among the rare inventions, says he, which this present age hath afforded, Nuncius Inanimatus may justly challenge a place; and it were to be wished, that being an experiment of so great consequence, greater notice were taken of it by the higher powers than hitherto hath been.' Bishop Wilkins was somewhat indebted to our author for what he has delivered to the world on similar subjects (22); perhaps it will not be displeasing to see in plain terms a secret of this nature, known to neither of these Prelates, free from all disguise, and which never yet appeared in our language.

#### THE INKS OF SECRECY.

Take of good litharge half an ounce, pick it clean, and powder it very carefully, then dissolve it in two ounces of spring water; with this ink write your true meaning. Take two or three corks, burn them carefully as long as they will flame, then quench them with a little brandy. This being reduced to a fine powder, mix with gum water, and then you have a second ink, in which write over the former what you would have

thought your meaning. Your friend, to whom this shall be addressed, must take one ounce of orpiment, finely powdered and sifted, with two ounces of quick lime, being put into a wine pint of water, and well shaken, let him apply this softly with a sponge, upon which the covering letters will vanish, and the secret sense of the epistle will appear. A little practice will make this easy.

[H] In most kinds of literature.] This Dissertation upon the Roman SESTERCE and TALENT, as our author penned it in Latin, is preserved at the end of his learned friend Dr Hakewell's very valuable work; he observes, that (23) *unus sestertius, five nummus*, in the masculine gender, signifies a piece of money worth about two pence, or, more exactly, ten of them made nineteen pence. A thousand sesterces made a *sestertium* in the neuter gender. In regard to the talent, he remarks, that the Ancients made use of many, such as, the Attic, Euboic, Æginian, Hebraic, and Babylonish, and that when the word occurs alone, it is always to be understood of the Attic talent, the worth of which he fixes at one hundred and ninety pounds sterling. This is one instance, and we will produce another of his willingness to oblige his friends, by communicating to them whatever he judged worthy of their notice, or useful to any particular branch of study in which they were engaged. The judicious Camden, at least seven years after the publishing his Latin History of English Bishops, in which he is supposed to have been wanting in respect to him, speaking of the great antiquity of Kaer Lheion, or Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, delivers himself, in regard to our Prelate, thus (24). 'In confirmation of

this, I have taken care to add some antient inscriptions, lately dug up there, and communicated to me by the Right Reverend Father in God, Francis Godwin, Lord Bishop of Landaff, a lover of venerable antiquity, and all other good literature.' In the year 1602, some labourers digging in a meadow adjoining, found, on a chequered pavement, a statue of a person, in a short trussed habit, with a quiver and arrows, the head, hands, and feet broken off; and also the fragment of an altar, with an inscription of fair large characters about three inches long, erected by Haterianus, lieutenant-general of Augustus, and Proprætor of the province of Cilicia. These inscriptions, which are preserved in Camden, are in the garden walls of Moinscourt, then the house of the Bishop of Landaff, and which became afterwards the seat of Thomas Lister, Esq; (25). He also furnished such informations as he thought acceptable to Dr Holland, who translated the Britannia with the approbation of Camden, inasmuch, that some have accounted the English to be almost as much his as the Latin; in the description of Monmouthshire (26), we find this testimony of gratitude to our Prelate. 'Adjoining to port Skeweth (says he) is Sudbroke, the church whereof, called Trinity Chapel, standeth so near the sea, that the vicinity of so tyrannous a neighbour hath spoiled it of half the church yard, as it hath done also of an old fortification lying thereby, which was compassed with a triple ditch and three rampiers as high as an ordinary house, cast in form of a bow, the string whereof is the sea-cliff. That this was a Roman work, the Britain bricks and Roman coins there found are most certain arguments, among which, the Reverend Father in God, Francis, Bishop of Landaff, (by whose information I write this) imparted unto me, of his kindness, one of the greatest pieces that ever I saw, coined of Corinthian copper, by the city of Elaia, in the lesser Asia, to the honour of the Emperor Severus, with this Greek inscription, ΑΥΤ. Α. ΣΕΠΤΙ. ΚΕΒΗΡΟΚ. ΠΙΕΡ. that is, the Emperor Cæsar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax. And, on the reverse, an horseman, with a trophee erected before him, but the letters not legible, save under him, ΕΛΑΙΩΝ, that is, of the Elaïans, which kind of great pieces the Italians call Medaglioni, and were ex-

(23) Apology  
for Divine Provi-  
dence, London  
1630. fol.

(24) Britannia,  
Lond. 1607. fol.  
Tit. Silures.

(25) Additions to  
Camden as pub-  
lished in English  
by the late Bishop  
of London.

(26) Britannia,  
translated by Dr  
Philemon Hol-  
land.

(20) Thom.  
Hearn. Præfat.  
ad Thom. Otter-  
bourne, p. 83.

(21) Apology  
for Divine Provi-  
dence, in the ad-  
vertisement at  
the close.

(22) Natural  
Magic, &c.

traordinary



which he bore with invincible patience, and which brought him gradually to his end, towards the close of the month of April, 1633, when he wanted about a year of his father's age (*l*). His corps was interred in the chancel of his church, at Whitborne, which, with the manor, belongs to the Bishops of Hereford, and lies about fourteen miles from that city (*m*). He was, as those who lived in his times, and nearest them, confess, and as his writings incontestably prove, an admirable writer, and a general scholar (*n*). His style in Latin has been highly commended, and never censured. In English, he wrote with great perspicuity and elegance, always equal to his subject, without any of those high-flown metaphors, strained comparisons, or preposterous affectations of wit, which disfigure many of the books published in his time. His learning was solid, and so was his judgment; yet there was nothing affected in the one, or overbearing in the other; on the contrary, his modesty is every where conspicuous, and he is equally tender in censure and in panegyric. Yet his zeal for the Protestant religion, as professed by the Church of England, appears every where with a decent warmth; which, as it procured him many enemies amongst the Puritans and Papists, ought to endear his memory to all who have a just sense of our religion, and a proper respect for that cause which he maintained (*o*). As to his private life, though it has received some severe strictures from a modern pen, on account of the preferments he bestowed on his children (*p*); yet one of those children has sufficiently vindicated his character, in the account of it which he gave to Anthony Wood, importing that 'he was esteemed a good preacher, and a strict liver; but so much employed in his studies, and matters of religion, that he was, as it were, a stranger to the world, and the things thereof' (*q*). Such a man, how honest, how upright soever, might be imposed upon, but not seduced. There is however no proof of the former, and it would be very uncharitable to take it for granted, against a prelate otherwise so eminent in every respect. If, in the vindication of this good Bishop's fame, we have expressed some degree of warmth, let not the reader be displeased. It would be surely unkind to refuse justice to his memory who has preserved the memories of many, or to see unmoved a Prelate, whose life was devoted to the rescuing other men's reputations from oblivion, now when death has rendered him incapable of defending it, unfairly injured in his own. He married, when a young man, the daughter of Dr John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter (*r*), by whom he had many children; but we can speak with any tolerable degree of certainty of four only, three sons and a daughter. Thomas Godwin, Vicar of Newland, Rector of Whitborne, Prebendary of Landaff, Prebendary of Bullingham in the cathedral church of Hereford, Chancellor of that diocese, and Doctor of Divinity. He died in 1644 (*s*). Morgan Godwin, Bachelor of Arts, of Christ-Church, Bachelor of the Civil Law, of Pembroke College, Master of the free school at Newland in Gloucestershire, Prebendary of Warham, in the cathedral church of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Salop, in the same diocese; to both which he was collated by his father in 1631 (*t*); and was also Doctor of Laws of the university of Dublin, as appears by a petition of his relict to the corporation, for the relief of Minister's Widows: he died in 1645, being turned out of every thing during the rebellion, and leaving a widow and five children in such distressed circumstances, that she was constrained to apply for that charity, and received it (*u*). Charles Godwin, who was beneficed at Monmouth (*w*). The Bishop's daughter was married to Dr John Hughes (*x*), Rector of Kingsland, Prebendary of Landaff, Prebendary also of Junkabarrow, in the cathedral of Hereford, and archdeacon of Hereford; he died, and was buried in his church at Kingsland, in the year 1648, being then near seventy years of age (*y*). Dr Godwin was succeeded in his Bishoprick by Dr William Juxon, Dean of Worcester; who, before his consecration, was removed to London. The bishopric was then bestowed on Dr Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, but he being a scrupulous man, and unwilling to take a second bishopric, waved it; so that at length,

(*l*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 581.  
(*m*) Hist. & Antiquities of Oxon. Vol. II. p. 273.

(*n*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 223.

(*o*) See Camden, Weaver, Tanner, Wood, Antiquities of Hereford.

(*p*) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 223, &c.

(*q*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525.

(*r*) Athenæ Oxoniensis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(*s*) Catalogue of English Bishops, p. 414.

(*t*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 445, 460.

(*u*) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 35.  
(*v*) Athen. Oxoniensis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(*w*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 555.

(*x*) Wood's Athenæ Oxoniensis, Vol. I. col. 582.

(*y*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 552.  
Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583.

(*z*) Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 552.

(27) Camdeni Epistolæ, p. 109.

'traordinary coins, not for common use, but coined  
'by the emperors, either to be distributed by the way  
'of largess in triumphs, or to be sent for tokens to  
'men well deserving; or else by free cities, to the glory  
'and memory of good princes.' We will conclude  
with a letter from our Prelate to the learned Camden,  
which will shew his candour, his diligence, his communicative disposition, with that warmth of affection and flow of sincerity which must have rendered him amiable while living, and ought to endear his memory to posterity (27). 'I send you here enclosed the copy of an old charter, which myself long since writ out of the autographum, remaining in the archives of the church of Wells. It seemeth to me that you have not hitherto lighted upon it, and I perswade myself that Leland's conceit of naming Wells Theodorodunum had his grounds here. For as Theodoric, by corruption of speech, became Tidder, so he might happily think Tiddington to be derived of Theodorici dunum. This name of Theodoricus putteth me

'in mind of Theodoricus, rex and martyr, that lieth  
'entombed here in our church of Marthern, and gave  
'unto the place the name of Merthir Tendric, that is,  
'the martyrdom of Tendric. His tomb, partly ruined, I have repaired, and added a memorial or epitaph, the copy whereof I send you also enclosed. My author for what I have there set down, is our book of Landaff, called St Taylor's Book, which I perceive you have not seen. It is a very venerable antiquity, and, if ever I come to London again, I will bring it with me, that you may peruse it if you please. The church of Exeter hath divers charters of Saxon kings, which methinks it were good you did see. If ever you travel that way you shall do well to make means for a sight of them; otherwise, I do not think but by the means of my friends, I could in time get them copied for you. If you advise me so to do I will do my endeavour. You see how easily I take any occasion to talk with you, nay rather to you I should say. For how often I provoke you to talk to me in that



(x) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 583. Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 525, 526.

length, Dr Augustine Lindfell, Bishop of Peterborough, was translated thither, and confirmed March the 24th, 1633, who was found dead in his study, November 6, 1634, being a person of distinguished character for learning and piety (z).

' that your incomparable work no man knoweth that  
' seeth not how much time I spend in reading again  
' and again of the same. For it and many other un-  
' deserved kindneses I rest much beholden unto you,  
' which I wish I may one day have means but in part  
' to requite. In the mean time, with my heartiest fa-

lutation, I make an end, committing you to God.  
' Marthern, May 27, 1608.'

In all old evidences, not Your very assured,  
above 300 years, I find it Fr. Landavens.  
called Marthern, but before  
that Marthir Tenderic. E

(a) Leland. Com-  
mentar. de Script.  
Britan. cap. 493,  
p. 414.

(b) Bal. Scriptor.  
Bryt. Cent. VII.  
n. 23. p. 524.

(c) Pitt. de illust.  
Angliæ Scriptori-  
bus, n. 731, p.  
575.

(d) Fuller's  
Worthies, York-  
shire, p. 207.

(e) Leland's Com-  
mentar. de Scrip.  
Britan. cap. 493.  
p. 415.

G O W E R [JOHN], or as some think with probability enough Sir John, an eminent English poet, in the XIVth Century, and contemporary with the famous Chaucer. We are told, by the indefatigable Leland, that according to the information he had received, he was of the ancient family of the Gowers of Stitenham, in Yorkshire (a), which Bale repeating (b), and after him Pitts (c), and Fuller (d), make him positively assert, tho' in his own opinion doubtful, and perhaps all circumstances considered, notwithstanding its being now generally received false, or at least improbable [A]. But it is very certain that of whatever family he was, he came into the world with great advantages, and had a liberal and extensive education, tho' we are in the dark as to the places in which he received it. The only thing that can be affirmed of him with certainty, is, that he applied his great abilities both natural and acquired, to the study of the municipal laws of this kingdom, according to the laudable custom of those times, when gentlemen finished their education in the Inns of Court (e). He was a member of the honourable Society of the Inner Temple, and there it was Chaucer found him very eminent and much considered in his profession (f), and there that strict friendship grew between them, which has been so much celebrated by other writers, and of which they left such ample testimonies themselves [B].

(f) Leland. Bal.  
Pitts.

He

[A] False, or at least improbable.] The words of Leland are, 'descended originally, as I have been told, 'from the family seated at Stitenham in the county of 'York;' ex Stitenhamo villa Eboracensis provincie, ut ego accepi originem ducens (1). Fuller gives this passage in these words, John Gower was born, saith Leland, at Stitenham, (in the North Riding in Bulmore Wapentake) of a knightly family (2). Leland does indeed say, that he was himself a Knight, but nothing of the family; yet Fuller is not to blame, since he wrote not from Leland's work, but from Bale's transcript. But we have more concerning our author in another work of Leland. In one place he says (3), 'The house of Gower the Poete, sum tyme chief Juge 'of the commune place, yet remaynith at Stitenham 'yn Yorkshir, and diverse of them syns have beene 'Knights. There be other of the Gowers therea- 'bout, men of veri meane landes. There be also of 'the Gowers men of meane landes in Richemonthshire. 'There is also a gentilman of landes cawllid Gower 'in Wicestreshire.' According to this account, we ought to entitle him, Sir John Gower, Knight, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas: yet in another place Leland has this memorandum (4). 'Mr Ferrares told 'me, that Gower the Juge could not be the man that 'write the bookes yn Englisch. For he said that 'Gower the Juge was about Edward the secundes 'tyme.' We have fought with some care for this Judge Gower, but have not been able to meet with any thing relating to him, either in the reign beforemen- tioned, or any other. It is however highly probable there was a Judge of this name, and not at all impro- bable that our Poet was the same man. That he was not of the family of Stitenham, which is that of the present Earl Gower, may be inferred from the wide difference between their arms: those of the Gowers of Stitenham are (5) barry of eight argent and gules over all a cross flory fable. Crest, on a wreath a wolf passant argent, collar'd and chained or. But the arms of our poet were (6), argent, a cheveron, azure, the leopard's heads thereon, or, their tongues, gules, two angels supporters, and on the crest a talbot. Weever, a most indefatigable man, and perfectly well acquainted with our author's works, asserts that he was of a Kentish family (7). Yet, in the title-page of the first printed edition of the only work of his extant, he is said to be a native (8) of Wales. Leland also mentions branches of this family settled in many other places (9).

[B] And of which they left such ample testimonies themselves.] There was a great likeness in their tem-

pers, and though Gower was the elder man, yet prob- ably there was not any considerable difference between their ages. There is another circumstance not men- tioned by any author, that might very likely contribute to endear them to each other, and that was, their being of the same party. Chaucer had addicted himself to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, one of the uncles of King Richard; and our author, Gower, adhered as steadily to Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, another of his uncles; and so warm he was in his at- tachment, that he not only celebrates him often in his poem, historically and allegorically, but likewise di- rected that his badge, or cognizance of the swan, to be annexed to that collar which was the ensign of his dig- nity, whatever it was, which appeared on the statue placed on his tomb, as we shall shew hereafter (10). Be- sides, John Gower was as much offended with, and censured as freely, the vices of the clergy, as Chaucer had done; and therefore no wonder that they were so very intimate, that they conferred together about their works, and that sometimes they argued warmly with each other without anger, and rallied without pique, of which Leland speaks with so much pleasure, and ob- serves, that the only real dispute between them was, which should honour the other most. At the close of his admirable poem of Troilus and Cresside, Chaucer has these words (11),

(10) Antis's  
Register of the  
Order of the  
Garter, Vol. I.  
p. 116.

(11) Chaucer's  
Works, by Urry,  
p. 333.

O moral Gower, this boke I directe  
To the, and to the philosophicall Strode,  
To vouchsafe there nede is for to correcte  
Of your benignities and zelis gode.

In the language of our days, thus,

O moral Gower! this little book I send  
To thee, and to the philosophic Stroud,  
Perfect what's right, what's wrong in it amend,  
As friends to me, and furtherers of good.

Gower, on the other hand, in the last work he pub- lished, introduces Venus speaking to him, thus (12).

— Grete well Chaucer, whan ye mete,  
As my disciple and my poete,  
For in the flours of his youth,  
In fondrie wife, as he well couth

(12) T. Barthe-  
lette's edition of  
the Confessio  
Amantis, A. D.  
1532. fol. 190.

Of

(1) Leland Com-  
mentar. de Scrip-  
toribus Britanni-  
cis, cap. 493, p.  
414.

(2) Fuller's  
Worthies of Eng-  
land, Yorkshire,  
p. 207.

(3) Leland's It-  
inerary, Vol. VI.  
fol. 15.

(4) Id. ibid. fol.  
61.

(5) Collin's  
Peerage, Vol. IV.  
p. 244.

(6) Ashmole's  
Theatrum Che-  
micum, p. 486.

(7) Weever's  
Ancient Funeral  
Monuments, p.  
270.

(8) T. Barthe-  
lette's Edition of  
the Confessio  
Amantis, A. D.  
1532. Fol. see  
also the Article  
CAXTON, Note  
[O].

(9) Leland's  
Itinerary, Vol.  
VI. fol. 15.



He was singularly learned, whether we respect words or things, and had a great genius for poetry, in which he sought to accommodate the severest sentiments to the sweetest language. He tried this (according to the notions of those times) with success, in the French tongue. This led him to attempt imitating Ovid with more pains than profit (g), (says Leland) which has been excused at the expence of the age in which he lived, as being at least half barbarous in the sentiments of the critics; but perhaps it would be more just to consider, how little the matter suited with the manner, and that those works of Ovid, in which he shews himself most learned and wise, are not the most esteemed. This however had a good effect, for it induced him to try what could be done in his own language, in which he acquitted himself harmoniously and happily. All these three pieces which make the bulk of his works have a connection with, and a dependance on, each other, so as to appear manifestly efforts of the same genius. But these writings did not at all interrupt, much less take from the reputation of his graver studies (h). On the contrary they heightened his character extremely, and with good reason, as they not only shewed he had escaped the infection of those luxurious times, but had also the courage and virtue to attempt stemming the tide of corruption, by taking the only method left, of instilling principles of morality and good sense, in the garb of pleasant tales. This accounts likewise for his persisting in this stile of writing, as knowing this alone in that wild and wanton age could procure him a hearing, which it did, and he was esteemed for his knowledge and integrity, even by those who had no great inclination to imitate either, which however has been the cause, that all these pieces, either in print or manuscript, have been preserved to our days (i) [C]. He was known to and admired by

(g) Commentar. de Script. Britan. cap. 493, p. 41.

(h) Leland, Bale, Pitts, Holinshed, Stowe, &c.

(i) Chiefly in the Cotton and Bodleian Libraries.

King

Of detees, and of songes glade,  
The which he for my sake made,  
The londe fulfilled is over all;  
Whereof to him in speciall  
Above all other I am most holde.  
For thy nowe in his daies olde  
Thou shalt hym tell this message,  
That he upon his later age,  
To sette an ende of all his werke,  
As he whiche is myn owne clerke,  
Do make his *testament of Love*,  
As thou hast done thy shrifte above,  
So that my courte it may recorde.

The sence in modern English.

Greet Chaucer when you him next see,  
My pupil and my poet he,  
Who in his youth fit age for song,  
Of tales and ditties sweet a throng,  
Made for my sake, and with his lays  
Through all this island spread my praise,  
For which, as merit still should rise,  
Him beyond other bards I prize.  
But now his silver locks appear,  
To him from me this message bear;  
That as my own especial clerk,  
Of Genius th' expiring spark,  
Shall breathe his *testament of love*;  
As thou hast done thy shrift above.

[C] Have been preserved to our days.] The first of these works, intitled *Speculum Meditantis*, of which there are two copies in the Bodleian Library, is written in French, in ten books (13). The title at large runs thus,

I. 'Un traitté, selonc les auctours, pour ensampler les amants marietz, au fin qils la foy de leur seints espousailles, pourront per fine loyalte garder, & al honneur de Dieu salvément tener.' Pr. *Le creature de tout creature*. Which has been rendered, *A treatise, exhorting, by examples drawn from many authors, married persons joined through love, to keep the faith of their holy espousals with steady loyalty, and to the honour of God to hold themselves chaste*. Beginning, *The creature of all creatures*. It does not appear that either Bale or Pitts had ever seen this piece, and John Stowe, who had a fair manuscript of that treatise of which we are next to speak, had never seen this (14). II. *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin verse, comprised in seven books. There is a copy likewise of this in the VOL. IV. No. 188.

Bodleian Library, and more than one in that of All Souls College (15); it is also much more frequent in private hands. This is a kind of chronicle or history of the insurrection of the commons, in the reign of Richard II. The reader perhaps will be pleased to see a specimen of this work, but he must excuse us from a translation, which would be very difficult if not impossible. It is the poet's vision, in the eleventh chapter of the first book.

(15) MS. Bodl. Laud. F. 24. Digby. vii. 138. in Coll. Omn. Animarum, 26.

Watte vocat, cui Thomæ venit neque Symme retardat,  
Betteque Gibbe simul Hykke venire jubent.  
Colle furit, quem Gibbe juvat nocumenta parantes,  
Cum quibus ad dampnum Wille coire vovet.  
Grigge rapit, dum Dawe strepit, comes est quibus Hobbe  
Lorkin & in medio non minor esse putat.  
Hudde ferit quos Judde terit, dum Tebbe juvatur  
Jakke domos que viros vellit & ense necat,  
Hogge suam pompam vibrat, dum se putat omni  
Majorem Rege nobilitatem fore.  
Balle propheta docet quem spiritus ante malignus  
Edocuitque sua tunc fuit alta schola.  
Talia, que plures furias per nomina novi,  
Que fuerant alia pauca recordor ego.  
Sepius exclamant monstrorum vocibus altis,  
Atque modis variis dant variare tonos.  
Quidam sternutant Asynorum more ferino;  
Mugitus quidam personuere boum.  
Quidam porcorum grunnitus horridiores  
Emittuntque, suo murmure terra tremat.  
Frendet aper spumans magnos facit atque tumultus,  
Et queritat verres auget & ipse sonos.  
Latratque ferus urbis compresserat auras  
Dum Canum discors vox furibunda volat.  
Vulpis egens ululat, lupus & versutus in altum  
Conclamat, que suos convocat ipse pares.  
Nec minus in sonitu concussit garrulus anser  
Aures, que subito fossa dolore pavent.  
Rombuant vaspe sonus est horrendus eorum,  
Nullus et examen dinumerare potest.  
Conclamant pariter hirsuti more leonis,  
Omne que sit peius quod fuit ante malum.  
Ecce rudis clangor, sonus altus fedaque rixa,  
Vox ita terribilis non fuit ulla prius.  
Murmure saxa sonant, sonitumque reverberat aër,  
Responsumque soni vendicat Eccho sibi.  
Inde fragore gravis strepitus loca propria terret,  
Quo timet eventum quisquis adire malum.

Terruerat

† The English of *Confessio Amantis*. See the Article CHAUCER.

(13) NE. F. 8, 9. Fairfax, 3.

(14) Annals, p. 326.



King Richard, at whose request he wrote the last of his principal works, this appears from the prologue, wherein he relates the occasion, but in the first printed copies it was altered, and inscribed to Henry of Lancaster. One would imagine this was done by some other hand, and to accommodate things to the times, when the house of Lancaster was in quiet possession of the Throne; but however, it is at least as probable, that he might alter his own book, after the coming in of Henry IV. to whom beyond question he was very highly devoted. The author of the life of Chaucer (k), and the plain spoken Thomas Hearne (l), blame him exceedingly for his conduct in this respect, and for his attacking the character of his old master Richard, very severely, on purpose to court the party of the house of Lancaster, when they became triumphant [D]. But it may be, and indeed is, more

(k) Prefixed to the worthy Mr Urry's excellent edition of his Work.

(l) *Historia vitæ & regni Ric. II.* in Præfat. p. xiv, xv.

Terruerat magnas nimio pre turbine gentes  
Graculus a cuius nomine terra tremit.  
Rumor it, & procures sermonibus occupat omnes  
Consilium sapiens nec sapientis erat.  
Casus inauditus stupefactas ponderat aures  
Et venit ad sensus dures ab aure pavor:  
Attemptant medicare sed immedicabile dampnum  
Abique manu medici curaque cessit ibi.

(16) Tiberius, A. iv. 1.

In the Cotton Library there is a very correct manuscript of this work, with the title at large (16), viz. *Johannis Gower Chronica, quæ Vox Clamantis dicitur, sive Poema de Insurrectione Rusticorum contra ingenuos & nobiles, tempore Regis Richardi II. & de Causis ex quibus talia contingunt Enormia: libris septem.* That is, 'The Chronicle of John Gower, commonly called *Vox Clamantis*, the voice of one crying in the wilderness; or, a Poem on the insurrection of the clowns against the gentry and nobility, in the time of King Richard II. and of the causes that gave rise to those enormous actions.' But there is yet a fairer and more beautiful manuscript at Oxford, with an epistle in Latin verse prefixed, which is thus addressed (17), 'Hanc epistolam subscriptam corde devoto, misit senex & cæcus Johannes Gower, reverendissimo in Christo patri ac domino suo principio D. Thomæ Arundell Cantuar. Archiepiscopo, &c. Pr. Successor Thomæ, Thomas humilem tibi do me.' It clearly appears from hence, that this was no dedication of the original work, but of a kind of second edition, when he joined to it some other historical pieces, and being written, as himself says, when he was old and blind, might very probably be one of the last things he ever penned, or rather dictated.

(17) MS. Oxon. in Coll. Omn. Animarum, 26.

III. CONFESSIO AMANTIS, in eight books in English verse. This was printed at Westminster by Caxton, 1493\*. The second edition bears the following title, *Jo. Gower de Confessione Amantis. Imprinted at London in Fleet Street, by Thomas Barthelette, Printer to the King's Grace, Ann. 1532, cum privilegio.* Again, Anno Domini 1544. and a third time, Anno Domini 1554. It is in the title page of the first edition printed by Barthelette, that Gower is said to be a native of Wales. There is likewise a dedication prefixed to Henry VIII. in which are many things said to the honour of Gower; but we have no room to repeat them here, though a paragraph or two will appear in another place (18). This performance is a kind of poetical system of Morality, interspersed with weighty sentences, excellent maxims, and shrewd sayings; but far the greatest part composed of pleasant stories happily introduced, as instances or examples in support of the virtuous doctrine delivered. The seventh book contains an abridgment of Aristotle's Philosophy, from whence he takes occasion to give the King a great deal of good advice, and that upon very delicate subjects, with much dignity and freedom.

\* See a curious account of this edition in the Article CAXTON [WILIAM] Note [O].

(18) See Note [K].

[D] *When they became triumphant.* The first who fell upon our author was a reverend Prelate, whose inclination to a coarse kind of raillery, might have been shewn almost any where with greater propriety than in the work (19) from which the following quotation is taken. 'Richard the second's good success in Ireland was so far outbalanced by the other (more unlucky) adventures of his reign, that I have not heard of any who have thought it worth their while to write his life, except only a poor Knight of John Pits creation. That author says, that one Sir John Gower, a Yorkshire Knight, and contemporary with the famous

(19) Nicholson's English Historical Library, p. 81.

Chaucer, died in the year 1402, leaving behind him a deal of monuments of his learning, and, amongst the rest, a Latin chronicle of King Richard II. There was indeed one Mr John Gower, a noted Poet, who lived about the time he mentions. This witty person took the liberty that has always been allowed to men of his profession, to make free with his prince; and Mr Stowe, or his continuer Howes, has done him the honour to translate the elegy he made on this king's untimely death.' It is not easy to discover what is this great critic's meaning, but assuredly no great fame will result to him from these remarks. He might have been informed, that, in the Cotton Library, there were two manuscripts of another history of this reign, written by a monk of Evesham; and, indeed, notwithstanding what he asserts here, he mentions them tho' but very slightly in the same article. But, as this history is very short, we shall have occasion to speak of it presently, and it will then appear to be a considerable work. That our author was a poor Knight of Pits creation is not true, since Leland expressly affirms, and some other writers also, that he was a Knight; and his rebuilding part of the church of St Mary Overs, shews that he was not poor. His censure, as to the liberties taken by poets, might have been well enough applied, if Gower had been famous for satire and invective; but when it is known that he was a great and grave lawyer as well as a poet, and that in the latter character he had established it as his surname, the *moral Gower*, it becomes absurd and ridiculous. As to his verses on the death of King Richard, the reader shall have them before we part, and judge for himself. The author of the life of Chaucer, speaking of Gower, says, 'that he was a man of singular learning and great piety, but much given to change with the turns of state.' This had been liable to no exception; but afterwards, commending Chaucer for not trampling upon his master's memory, and basely flattering the new king, he adds (20), 'As most of his contemporaries did, and particularly Gower, who, notwithstanding the obligations he had to Richard II. yet when old, blind, and past any hopes of honour or advantage, unless the view of keeping what he enjoyed, basely insulted the memory of his murdered master, and as ignominiously flattered his murderer.' He has a note to explain this, in which one would have thought these obligations had been brought to light; but they amount to no more than the King's calling him into his barge, and requesting him to write a book, which he accordingly performed, and therein laid before him very honestly the luxury that prevailed in his court, the irreligious lives of his clergy, the danger of listening to flatterers, the wickedness of corrupt judges, and the uncertainty of human glory and happiness, even in the most exalted states. Mr Hearne, in his preface to the life of King Richard by the monk of Evesham, acquaints the reader, that the reason why he did not annex what our author, Gower, had written concerning this King, was owing to the account he had received of his having treated this monarch's memory ill, and having spoke with equal freedom of the clergy; and for these causes he is for leaving his writings in lasting obscurity, as not deserving a better fate. But, at the same time, he does all imaginable justice to his character as a polite writer, allows him to have been, after Chaucer, the best poet of his time, and applauds the noble sentiments that distinguish his writings. But it may be, he would have altered his sentiments with respect to stifling his writings, if he had either come to London to peruse them, or had caused them to be transcribed

(20) Life of Chaucer prefixed to Urry's edition of that Poet's Works.



more like to be the truth, that our author was ever averse to King Richard's administration, in consequence of his steady attachment to Thomas of Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, whose cruel murder at Calais, he has lamented in a very affecting manner (m). It is undoubtedly a very atrocious breach of the laws of honour and charity, as well as of history, to insult the memory of the vanquished, or to give implicit credit to whatever has been charged upon them, to justify their ill-usage. But, on the other hand, it is ridiculous to espouse parties in ancient history, and to fancy we have a right to condemn to perpetual oblivion, the writings of such historians, as have represented things in a light different from that, in which we would incline to place them. This humour is contrary to that zeal for truth, which is the characteristic of an honest historian, who thinks himself obliged to publish fairly what has come to his hands, on every side, without declaring for any. After the deposition of Richard, and the accession of Henry IV. our author added several historical pieces to his *Vox Clamantis*, which are those that have given offence, and drawn upon him heavy imputations, tho' it does not at all appear, he used the character of that unfortunate monarch, worse than other writers have done (n) [E]. He composed also many other pieces, which are mentioned by Bale and Pits,

(m) *Vox Clamantis*, & *Chron. Tripartita*, in *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 4.*

(n) *Vide Th. Walsingham, Th. Otterbourne, Johan. Rofs, &c.*

and

transcribed for his use; he would then have seen that much personal history might be extracted from them, such as of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was murdered in the insurrection of the clowns; Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester; Humfrey, Earl of Buckingham, and others. Yet in another place (21) we shall see he published pieces which justify what J. Gower has written.

[E] *Worse than other writers have done.* These that are to be mentioned in this note are several small historical pieces, of which copies are extant in several libraries (22). *Chronicon Ricardi secundi, lib. III.* 'Opus humanum est inquirere.' This is in effect no more than marginal notes upon, or principal heads of, the ensuing piece (23). *Chronica tripartita de depositione R. Ricardi II. & Coronatione R. Henrici IV. tribus partibus*; that is, a Chronicle of the deposition of King Richard II. and the coronation of King Henry IV. in three parts. 'Ista tripartita sequitur quæ mente petita.' 'Pr. I. Tolle caput mundi C. ter & seq.' He asserts in this chronicle (24), that the king being informed that the noblemen who had taken up arms for his restoration had been subdued and put to death, took it so much to heart that he refused all nourishment, and died of voluntary famine in the castle of Pontefract, which is contrary to what is asserted by most of our historians; some of whom report that his table was served in a royal manner, but that he was restrained from eating or drinking any part of what was set thereon. Others, that he was murdered by Sir Peter of Exeter, accompanied by eight ruffians, against whom he gallantly defended himself, and slew some of the assassins. We find our author's account of this unhappy monarch's death expressly confirmed by Thomas Otterbourne, a Franciscan or grey friar (25), who flourished in his time. 'Richard, the deposed king of England, says he, being kept close prisoner in the castle of Pontefract, when he heard of the misfortune of his brother John Holland, and the rest of his friends, fell into so deep a melancholy that he resolved to destroy himself by abstinence; and in this he persisted so long, that the orifice of his stomach closed in such a manner, that when overcome by the intreaties of those about him, he at length attempted to take nourishment, it proved too late; so that, being unable to eat, and nature gradually decaying, he breathed his last on St Valentine's day.' John Rous, the antiquary of Warwick, who flourished in the next age, tells us (26), that the hapless King Richard was hurried about from one prison to another, 'till at length, says he, it is reported, he died of hunger at Pontefract. Tunc rex Ricardus amotus est de carcere in carcerem. Tandem apud Pontem fractum in carcere pro fame obiit ut dicitur. This is a full justification of our author, and, at the same time, a proof that there is not such a deficiency of materials for writing the story of this reign, as some have represented. In this chronicle also those verses occur which Stowe has in part translated. They are in truth but very poor ones, but this is principally owing to the vice of the age, which had stamped a credit upon these tinkling trifles; and our Gower was not the only sensible man, that for this reason was content to comply with the vulgar taste.

*Cronica Richardi qui sceptrum tulit Leopardi  
Ut patet est dicta, populo sed non benedicta  
Ut speculum mundi quo lux nequit ulla refundi,  
Sic vacuus transit, sibi nil nisi culpa remansit,  
Unde superbus erat, modo si preconia querat.  
Ejus honor fordet, laus culpat, gloria mordet:  
Hoc concernentes caveant que sunt sapientes;  
Nam male viventes Deus odit in orbe regentes:  
Est qui peccator non esse potest dominator,  
Ricardo teste finis probat hoc manifeste:  
Post sua demerita perit sua pompa sapita  
Qualis erat vita cronica stabit ita.*

Which has been thus translated.

The reign of Richard, who the sceptre bore,  
Of England's monarchs, not as heretofore  
With spotless honour, for though crowds proclaim  
His deeds, yet from those deeds result no fame.  
He's gone, and of his greatness all we find,  
The memory of his faults is left behind,  
His honour soiled, his praise to censure turn'd,  
And all his claim to royal glory scorn'd.  
Be this a warning unto those who rule,  
If wise, they'll learn in Providence's school,  
Those who live ill, Heaven meant not to command,  
Or spread their vile examples through the land.  
The fate of Richard, hapless hopeless youth,  
Proves, but too plainly, this important truth.  
Like to his life a doom he justly shares,  
And what that life this chronicle declares.

*De Rege Henrico IV. lib. I. (27). 'Rex cæli Deus & Dominus qui tempora solus.' Ad eundem, lib. I. Otho. D. i. 4.*  
'O recolende bone pie rex Henrice patrone.' *Carmen de pacis commendatione in laudem Henr. IV. (28). Nobilis ac digne rex Henrice. In English, O noble worthy King Henry the fourth.* This is printed in Chaucer's works (29), and the three first stanza's are so clear in themselves, the language with so little difficulty to be understood, the sense so strong and so significative of his skill in both professions of lawyer and of poet, that we may with reason intreat the reader's attention, in order to establish from them the reputation of John Gower.

(27) *Bibl. Cotton. Otho. D. i. 4.*

(28) *Ibid. Tiberius. A. iv. 4.*

(29) *In Urry's edition, p. 540.*

# I.

O noble worthie King Henrie the feth;  
In whom the gladde fortune is befall  
The peple to governe here upon yerth,  
God hath The chosen in comfort of us all,  
The worship of this land which was down fal,  
Now stant upright through grace of thy godenesse,  
Which every man is hold for to blesse.

# II.

(21) See the next Note.

(22) MSS. in *Biblioth. Cotton. Otho. D. i. 4.*

(23) MS. in *Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. Otho. D. i. 4.*

(24) *Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. iii. p. 367.*

(25) *Chronica Regum Angliæ, p. 228, 229.*

(26) *J. Rous, Historia Regum Angliæ, p. 206.*



and some likewise, that neither of those inquisitive writers have seen, and which are still remaining, some in publick, and some in private libraries. These shew him to have been a person of great integrity and true piety. One who placed religion in actions not in ceremonies, and who laboured to convince mankind, that virtuous deeds were not more suitable to honour than to interest. It must be acknowledged, that his thoughts are now more to be valued than his expression; but, as Leland well observes, even his expression is equal, if not superior, to any of those who attempted Latin poesy in his time (o), and if in succeeding ages he and they have been far excelled, yet this could scarce have happened if these writers had not preserved a taste, tho' a bad one, for Latin poetry. Yet in point of learning he had few equals, since if we consider the authors quoted or alluded to by him, and the science, which tho' sometimes with impropriety lies scattered thro' his treatise, we shall be obliged to confess, the harsh epithets bestowed on this age are rather rude than just. True it is, that in point of fashion they are now useless, but this abates nothing of their intrinsic value, and tho' they may not be fit to stand with modern compositions, thro' their want of elegance, yet they deserve to be still kept and visited, sometimes as monuments of the progress of good sense thro' former ages, and evidence that in seasons of the most dissolute luxury (as those in which he flourished undoubtedly were) there wanted not a remnant of honest and stout men, who durst oppose a debauched nobility, a voluptuous clergy, complying judges, and a corrupted people. In this point of view perhaps they were not useless examples to succeeding times (p) [F].

He

(o) Commentar.  
de Script. Britan.  
cap. 493.  
Bal. & Pite, ubi  
supra.

(p) De Confes-  
sione Amantis.

## II.

The most high God of his Justice alone  
The right whiche longith to thy regalie  
Declarid hath to stande in thy persone,  
And more then God maie no man justifie,  
Thy title is knowe upon thyne ancestrie,  
The land's folk hath eke thy right affirmed,  
So stant thy reigne, of God and man confirmed.

## III.

There is no man maie saie in othirwise,  
That God hymself ne hath the right declared,  
Whereof the lande is bounde to thy service,  
Whiche for defaute of helpe hath long yeared,  
But now there is no mann's herte spared,  
To love and serve, and worchin thy plesauce,  
And all this is through God's purveiaunce.

At the close of this poem, according to the custom of Gower, who seldom wrote in English without recapitulating his thoughts in Latin, we find the following remarkable lines, in which he seems to take his leave of the Muses and of the world.

Explicit carmen, de Pacis Commendatione, quod, ad laudem & memoriam serenissimi principis domini regis Henrici quarti, suus humilis orator Johannes Gower composuit.

Electus Christi pie Rex Henrici fuisti,  
Qui bene venisti, cum propria regna petisti,  
Tu mala vicistique bonis bona restituiisti,  
Et populo tristi nova gaudia contribuisti.  
Et mihi spes lata, quod adhuc per te renovata  
Succedunt fata prisca probitate beata,  
Est tibi nam grata gratia sponte data.  
Henrici quarti primus regni fuit annus,  
Quo mihi defecit visus ad acta mea.  
Omnia tempus habent, finem natura ministrat,  
Quem virtute sua frangere nemo potest.  
Ultra posse nihil, quamvis mihi velle remansit,  
Amplius ut scribam non mihi posse manet.  
Dum potui scripsi, sed nunc quia curva senectus  
Turbavit sensus, scripta relinquo scholis.  
Scribat, qui veniet post me, discretior alter,  
Ammodo namque manus & mea penna silent,  
Hoc tamen in finem verborum quæso meorum  
Prospera quod statuatur regna futura Deus.  
Explicit.

## In English thus.

Here ends the Poem of the Commendation of Peace, which his humble Orator John Gower, composed; in honor and to preserve the fame of his serene Sovereign Lord King Henry IV.

Chosen of Christ, thou pious King wer't known,  
And wellcome met, when claiming of thy own;  
The Bad subdued, the Good to rights restor'd,  
To the sad realm, you springing joys afford.  
To me, great prince, thy hand benign and kind,  
Return'd whate'er my better day assign'd;  
Let me record this act with chearful lay,  
And the great good, with grateful thanks repay.

Henry the fourth's first year, I lost my sight,  
Condemn'd to suffer life, devoid of light.

All things in time submit, and nature draws  
What force attempts in vain, beneath her laws.  
More I cannot, what tho' my will supplies,  
My ebbing strength all future pow'r denies.  
While that remain'd I wrote, now old and weak,  
What wisdom dictates let young scholars speak.  
Let him who follows, be sublimer still,  
My works are finish'd, here I drop my quill.  
My parting words, may heavenly goodness last,  
And times ensuing much excel the past.

[F] They were not useless examples to succeeding times.] The most effectual way to demonstrate the truth of what is asserted in the text, is to give the reader one of his tales, and to render it more legible, at least if not more entertaining, to throw it into modern language. In order however to comprehend its full force, we must consider to whom it was directed, and for whose use it was written. Richard the second was a young prince, not more amiable in his person, which was the most handsome ever graced the English throne, than in the qualities of his mind. He was in himself gentle, generous, and good, and yet a worse reign than his does not deform the English story. This was owing to the pliancy of his nature, if he had ruled himself he had ruled well; but being ruled by others, or rather suffering them to rule in his name, he paid the forfeit of their faults, and lost his crown and life for want of having fortitude enough to resist his favourites. To this prince, in this situation, John Gower, amongst many others of the like nature, addresses this story (30).

(30) Confessio  
Amantis, lib.  
VII. fol. cXLV.

In



He wrote also many other little discourses on religious and moral subjects, which possibly, if drawn out of the dust and cobwebs, with which they are oppressed, might pay us with some

In a Cronike it telleth thus,  
The Kynge of Rome Lucius,  
Within his chambre upon a night,  
The stewarde of his hous a Knight,  
Forthwith his Chamberleine also,  
To councelle had both two,  
And stoden by thy chymnee,  
To gather spekende all thre.  
And hapneth that the Kynges foole  
Sat by the fire upon a stole,  
As he that with his bable plaide,  
But yet he herde all that thei faide,  
And thereof toke thei no hede.  
The Kynge hem axeth what to rede,  
Of suche matere as cam to mouth  
And thei him tolde, as thei couth, &c.

In modern language thus.

In Rome when LUCIUS bore the sway,  
It happ'd, so ancient stories say,  
One evening 'ere he went to bed,  
To ease of all his cares his head,  
He call'd his steward, a doughty Knight,  
That he might counsel what was right.  
With 's Chamberlain, a lord of parts,  
Deep skill'd in all the courtly arts;  
And by the chimney as they stood,  
They freely talk'd as they thought good.  
Before the fire upon a stool,  
Close by them sat the monarch's fool.  
And as he with his bauble play'd,  
He heard right well what 'ere they said.  
The King his various doubts propos'd,  
And they at will their thoughts disclos'd.

When many questions thus had past,  
The King demanded at the last,  
What with his people was his fame,  
And if rever'd or scorn'd his name?  
Bid them the truth to him declare,  
And tell him all things as they were.  
On their allegiance—without awe  
Or dread that they might anger draw.  
Since 'twas his will as tongues will walk,  
To know the common peoples talk.

The steward in answer told the King,  
(As palace nightingales still sing)  
That far and wide, as he could hear,  
His majesty to all was dear.  
That all his actions were admired,  
And his long reign by all desired;  
In this that high and low agreed,  
Hoping that Heaven had so decreed.  
Thus spoke the steward, and all he spoke  
Was flat'ry dress'd in falsehood's cloak.

Next turning to his Chamberlain,  
The King required in language plain;  
That he would tell him all he knew,  
Nor heed th' event so it was true.

His Chamberlain a subtle man,  
Who could both truth and int'rest scan.  
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Perceiving by the monarch's brow,  
He really meant the truth to know.  
First bowing low—My liege, said he,  
Your subjects high and low agree,  
That if your Council were but true,  
And you things fairly from them knew;  
In ev'ry point thus understood,  
You would be gracious, great, and good.  
For well they know your princely nature,  
Heav'n never form'd a better creature!

A gleam of truth he thus reveal'd,  
Behind a cloud of words conceal'd.  
Hinted at what he would not name,  
And on the Council laid the blame.

The fool who heard what both had told,  
And in the cause of Truth more bold.  
Or else, which surely was the case,  
Prompted thereto by heav'nly grace,  
First sigh'd as he his lungs had torn,  
Then laugh'd the courtiers both to scorn.

Sir King, said he, if so it was,  
As this wise lord has put the case,  
Be sure your Council have done right,  
To please is always their delight.  
From them if ill advice be had,  
It is because the King is bad.  
Take not on trust—if you would find,  
The truth—go look it in your mind.

The monarch paus'd, amaz'd to hear  
Language so foreign to his ear;  
Began to weigh the golden rule,  
And took the counsel of his fool.  
Conscience stood ready at his call,  
And as he ask'd—It answered all.  
He quickly felt the good of this;  
Discern'd what 'ere h'd done amiss.  
He saw nor started at the sight,  
Resolving soon to set things right.  
And thus by Providence inspired,  
The FOOL wrought what the KING desired.

The weak, the wanton, and the wild,  
Were from the monarch's court exil'd.  
The grave, the gen'rous, and the good,  
Before the King in office stood.  
By them advis'd he thought no ill,  
He did no wrong, yet did his will.

Bad laws were presently amended,  
Wisely the public wealth expended.  
All injuries were clean redressed,  
The people were no more oppressed.  
For where a King is good and wise,  
None dare to give him bad advice.  
His measures too so deeply plann'd,  
Are executed out of hand.  
His people bless their prince's name,  
And foreign realms repeat his fame.

But if the common people cry,  
And their proud monarch ask not why?  
Or told refuses to redress,  
And make unnumber'd burthens less.



some discoveries of an historical nature, for he knew the force of example, and commonly illustrated his precepts by having recourse to antient or modern history. At all events they would add to those wise, and weighty instructions, that abound in his other treatises, and gained him such high reverence in his own, and in the age succeeding his own, and which has secured them, tho' unprinted, against the teeth of time, and those vicissitudes, to which letters, as well as every other thing in this country has been liable. But 'till they are ensured against oblivion by the press, let us do our duty to his memory, and to posterity, by securing their titles, and indicating where the pieces themselves remain [G]. He was much respected, and a very considerable man in his profession, but whether a Judge or no, is not now to be determined. He lived to a great age, and in the first year of Henry IV. lost his eye-sight, which, as the reader has already seen, he lamented very pathetically, which induced Leland to quote those verses in the short memoirs he has left us of his life (q). His circumstances were easy, or rather affluent, which enabled him, as his pious charity induced him to undertake, and Providence allowed him to finish, the rebuilding at his own expence, and with contributions which his influence procured, the church of the convent of St Mary Overie, which had lain for many years in ruins, to which with a great part of Southwark, it was reduced by a fire, in the beginning of the XIIIth Century (r). On this account when full of years, and covered with glory he breathed his last, A. D. 1402 (s), his remains were entered here under a sumptuous tomb, enriched with various ornaments, as we have mentioned at the bottom of the page [H]. Married

(31) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 5.  
Bibl. Bodleian. MS. NE. F. 8. 9.  
Fairfax. 3.  
Bal. & Pits.

(32) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 6.  
MS. Coll. Omn. Anim.  
Biblioth. Bodleian. Fairfax. 3.  
Bal. & Pits, ubi supra.

(33) MS. in Coll. Omn. Animarum in French.  
Bal. & Pits, ubi supra.

(34) MS. in Coll. Omn. Animarum.  
Bal. & Pits, ubi supra.

(35) Bal. & Pits.

(36) MS. Bibl. Cotton. Tib. A. iv.  
Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 9.  
Laud. F. 24.  
Fairfax. 3.  
Bal. & Pits.

(37) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius. A. iv. 14.  
Bal. & Pits.

(38) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius. A. iv. 5.  
Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(39) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 6.  
Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 9.  
Laud. F. 24.

(40) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 8.  
Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(41) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius A. iv. 3.  
Bibl. Bodl. Fairfax. 3.

(42) Bibl. Cotton. Tiberius, A. iv. 9.  
Bibl. Bodl. NE. F. 8. 9.  
Laud. F. 24.

(43) Tanner, Bibliotheca, p. 336.

(44) Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 368.

Or careless seeks in sports and play,  
To pass the jocund hours away.  
Tho' hunger, penury, and toil,  
Afflict his subjects all the while,  
Their fate at length becomes his own,  
As from examples may be shewn.

[G] And indicating where the pieces themselves remain.] These pieces of our author are of different sizes, some very short, none of any considerable length; so that if any votary to learning in that university, where most of them are to be found, would cause them to be transcribed, collated, and printed, the lovers of English history, and English literature, would be under great obligations to him. In the mean time their titles are these.

*De peste vitiorum, lib. I. (31).* 'Non excusatur qui verum non fateatur.'

*Tractatus de lucis scrutinio quam vitiorum tenebrae suffocant, lib. I. (32).* 'Heu quia per crebras humus est vitiata tenebras.'

*De Conjugii dignitate, lib. I. (33).* 'Qualiter creator omnium rerum Deus.'

*De Regimine principum, lib. I. (34).* 'O Deus immense sub quo dominatur.'

*Epigrammata quedam, lib. I. (35).* 'Alta petens aquila volat alitque.'

*De amoris varietate, lib. I. (36).* 'Est amor in gloria pax bellica lis pretiosa.'

*Carmina diversa, lib. I. (37).*

*De Remediis contra vitia sui temporis (38).* A. 20. Ric. II.

*Contra demonis astutiam in causa Lollardie (39).* 'Quod patet limen instanti tempore crimen.'

*Contra mentis sevitiem in causa superbie (40).* 'Deficit in verbo sensus.'

*Contra carnis lasciviam in causa concupiscentie (41).* 'O sexus fragilis ex quo.'

*Contra mundi fallaciam in causa perjurii & avaritie (42).* 'Sunt duo cognati.'

*A balade morale of gods counseyle (43).* 'Passe for the thou pilgryme, and bridel wele thy beeste.'

Some short poems of his are printed amongst those of Chaucer, and there were many more annexed to the first edition of his book *De Confessione Amantis*. Some have added to these treatises, one upon the philosophers stone, which however, is not a distinct work, but is taken out of the fourth book of his printed volume, and transferred by Mr Ashmole into his collection (44), under the title of 'John Gower concerning the philosophers stone,' and with great propriety, for of all the old poets, that have handled this singular subject, he has expressed himself with the greatest perspicuity. He discourses largely and learnedly on the Hermetic Science, shews what its principles are, how much they have been mistaken, to what vile

abuses they have given rise; and in the end concludes, that, notwithstanding all these frauds, the art is in itself true. In his fifth book he treats the expedition of the Argonauts, in search of the golden fleece, in the stile of the Hermetic Philosophy; and indeed it is wonderful, how he could reduce such a multitude of various subjects into a work of that nature, and in so narrow a compass; we pretend not to justify the method he has used, and yet that method shews singular ingenuity; but we must take the liberty to assert, that after the famous Friar Bacon, Chaucer and Gower were men of the most extensive learning of any, whose writings have escaped the wreck of time, and have come down safe to our hands.

[H] As the bottom of the page]. We have several accounts of this monument. Stowe (45) in describing it says, that the image of stone lying upon it, represents him with long auborne hair, reaching to his shoulders, and curling up, a small forked beard, and on his head a chaplet of roses red, four in number, an habit of purple (Mr Speght an older writer says greenish) damask, reaching down to his feet, a collar of SS gold about his neck, under his head the likeness of three books which he compiled, *Speculum Meditantis* in French, *Vox Clamantis* in Latin; the third, *Confessio Amantis* in English. Stowe is perswaded he was no Knight, from the circumstance of the collar, which convinced Leland, that he was one. Fuller is very angry with those who have considered him as the first of our crowned poets; 'Bale, says he, makes him *equitem auratum, & poetam laureatum*, proving both 'from his ornaments, on his monumental statue in 'St Mary Overies Southwark. Yet he appeareth 'there neither laureated, nor hederated poet; except 'the leaves of the Bayes and Ivey be withered to nothing, since the erection of the tomb; but only 'rosated, having a chaplet of four roses about his 'head.' But it will appear that this is really the case, and that the bays have been withered. We will present the reader with two accounts of this monument when fresher than it is at present, the first from the preface to his printed book, 'John Gower prepared 'for his bones a resting place in the monastirie of 'St Marie Overes, where somewhat after the olde 'facion he lieth right sumptuously buried, with a garlande on his head, in token, that he in his life daies 'flourished freshely in literature and science. And 'the same monumente in remembrance of hym erected, 'is on the north side of the foresaide church, in the 'chapell of St John, where he hath of his owne foundation a masse daily songe. And moreover he hath 'an obite yearly done for hym, within the same 'church on fridaie, after the feaste of the blessed Pope 'Saynte Gregorie. Beside on the wall where he lieth, 'there be painted three virgins with crownes on their 'heades, one of the which is written Charitie, and 'she holdeth this divise in hir honde.

(q) Lelandi Commentarii, p. 415.

(r) Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 233.

(s) Leland. Bal. Pitseus.

(45) Annals. p. 326.



Married he certainly was, since his wife's body lies there likewise, under a monument much lower than his (t); but what posterity he had, or whether he was, as a very ingenious and indefatigable writer reports, the grandfather of John Gower, Sword-Bearer to the unfortunate Edward Prince of Wales, son to the yet more unfortunate Henry VI. and who with his master lost his life after the decisive battle of Tewksbury (u) cannot be clearly ascertained. But if in a matter so doubtful as this, and about which the greatest masters in our Antiquities have differed, it be free to aim at obtaining some new light, we could also offer some conjectures [I]. His great merit was introducing the Muses into this

(t) Lelandi Collectanea, Tom. I. p. 503.

(u) See the Antiquities cited in the Note [K.]

En tōy qui es fitz de Dieu le pere  
Saune soit que gift souz cest pierē.

Thro' thee, of God the only Son,  
Be saved, who rests beneath this stone.

The seconde is written Mercie, which holdeth in hir hande this divise.

O bone Jesu fait ta mercie !  
Al alme dont le corps gift icy.

O Jesus kind thy mercy shew !  
To the soul of him, who rests below.

The third of them is written Pitee, whiche holdeth in hir hande this divise followynge.

Pur ta pite Jesu regarde !  
Et met cest alme in saune gardē.

For pitie's sake sweet Jesus keep !  
The soul of him, who here doth sleep.

‘ And thereby hongeth a table, wherein appereth, that whosoever praith for the soule of John Gower, he shall so oft, as he so doth, have a M. and D. daies of pardon.’ The other authority is that of Leland, who expressly affirms, that his head was crowned with a wreath of ivy interspersed with roses, and with a chain about his neck, as a mark of the honour of Knighthood. But the reader will doubtless be pleased to see Leland's own words (46). ‘ Joannes Gower sepultus est apud canonicos marianos in ripa Tamesis, in cujus effigiei capite corona est ex hedera rosis distincta, in collo cateno equestris ordinis inditum. Sub capite tres libri instar pulvinariorum cum his inscriptionibus. ‘ Speculum meditantis. Vox clamantis : Confessio amantis, ‘ Vixit tempore Ricardi 2, & Henrici quarti, cui libros suos dedicavit. Tempore Joannis coenobium S. Mariæ conflagravit, quod post multos annos cura & industria, partim etiam sumptibus suis restauravit. Nam ante illius tempora quamvis canonici veteres sedes retinebant, squallebat tamen semirutæ ecclesia. ‘ Uxor Goweri ibidem sepulta.’

(46) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. III. p. 48.

(47) Ashmole's Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, p. 486.

#### His Epitaph (47).

Armigeri scutum nihil a modo fert sibi tutum,  
Reddidit immolatum morti generale tributum,  
Spiritus exutum se gaudeat esse solum,  
Et ubi virtutum regnum sine labe statutum.

Which has been thus translated.

His shield henceforth is useless grown,  
To pay death's tribute slain;  
His soul's with joyous freedom flown,  
Where spotless spirits reign.

In the time of John Stowe the inscriptions were washed out and illegible, the image also defaced by cutting off the nose, and striking off it's hands; but in later times it has been repaired, and a new inscription placed, of which we take notice, that it may not mislead posterity, which is very often the case in such monuments, that inscription runs thus (48):

(48) Maitland's History of London, &c. Edit. 1739. p. 797.

Hic jacet Joannes Gower armiger, Anglorum poeta celeberrimus ac

Huic sacro Edificio Benefactor insignis temporibus Ed. 3, & Rich. 2.

[I] We could also offer some conjectures.] We have already shewn, from the comparison of the arms of the two families, that it is very improbable he should be descended from the Gowers of Stitenham (49), and we have also mentioned an authority as old, and Caxton is yet older than that of Leland, that he was a native of Wales (50), we are inclined to think this is the truth. If proof be demanded we cannot pretend to alledge any, but we propose it only as a conjecture, and we can say something to render it probable. There is a part of Glamorganshire called Gower or Gowerland, of so great extent, that it is divided into east Gowerland and west Gowerland; from whence the noble family of Herbert, when Earls of Huntingdon, derived the title of Barons Gower; and this title by the marriage of Elizabeth the sole daughter of William Earl of Huntingdon, and Lord Herbert of Gower, came to Sir Charles Somerset Knight of the Garter (51), and is borne at this day by his most noble descendant Noel Duke of Beaufort, who is Lord of Ragland, Chepstow, and Gower (52). But the critics will say what is this to the purpose? how does this prove that there was a family of Gower in Wales, or that it flourished there in the time of our poet? I will undertake the proof of both. Henry Gower Archdeacon of St David's, was advanced to that Bishoprick in 1326 (53). He was in great credit with King Edward the third, Leland says that he was Chancellor of England, but that was a mistake, it was his successor Dr John Thorlby (54). But however Bishop Gower was a man of a great spirit and great family, he built the episcopal palace of St Davids, for his successors (55), he beautified the castle of Swanzy, which is the chief town in east Gowerland, for the sake of his family, this being his paternal estate (56). This reverend prelate died in 1347, being the twenty-first of Edward the third, at which time our author must have been twenty-five years of age or more. We may from hence also guess, that our poet was bred at Oxford, and possibly at Merton-College, of which this prelate was a fellow; and so was the famous Ralph or Nicholas Strode, who was equally intimate with Chaucer and Gower. In regard to his rank and condition, it is most likely that he was in some signal manner attached to the service of Thomas of Woodstock, first Earl of Buckingham, and then Duke of Gloucester (57), for the reason very judiciously assigned by the late learned Garter King at Arms, his wearing the badge of the Swan appendant to his collar (58). Gower himself affords the strongest evidence, as to the modes of those times, in distinguishing persons of rank, and their followers, by these kind of cognizances; having in one part of his poem mentioned those of most of the great Lords in his time (59). But either his rank must have been very considerable, to have justified his assuming such a distinction; or he must have belonged to that great prince in the way of his profession, which is the most probable. In respect to this it appears clearly, that not only the King and the Prince of Wales, when there was one, but also the princes of the blood, had their standing counsel learned in the law, who were heard in parliament in case any bill was read there that might be detrimental to their interests (60). In the reign of Henry the sixth, the Duke of York's counsel proposed in parliament, his claim to the Crown, against the King then upon the Throne. We may therefore presume that John Gower, who we know

(49) See Note [A].

(50) Gower, de Confessione Amantis; in the title page of that edition printed by T. B. in A. D. 1532. Lond. fol. and in the first edition printed by W. Caxton.

(51) Brook's Catalogue. p. 112.

(52) Collin's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 14.

(53) Godwin de Præsul. p. 610.

(54) Leland. Collectan. Tom. i. p. 415.

(55) Godwin de Præsul. p. 611.

(56) Leland. Collectan. T. iii. p. 54.

(57) Bib. Cotton. Tiberius. A. 4. p. 153.

(58) Anstis's Register of the Garter, Vol. I. p. 116.

(59) Bibl. Cotton. Tiber. A. 4. p. 151.

(60) Cotton's Records. p. 149, 150, 177, 310, 665, 666.

was



this kingdom, for in order of time he was before Chaucer, though he also survived him. It was from their joint endeavours, that there came to be such a thing as English poetry, for notwithstanding the distance of time, and the uncouthness of their language, the wit and genius of either sufficiently vindicates his title as a poet (*w*). Indeed their successors, Lidgate, Occleve, and the rest, very fairly own it, and treat their memories with all due respect. Some have blamed them for introducing so many words from other languages, as if by this they had injured their own (*x*). But it may be this is not so certain as is commonly imagined. The long wars with France, in the days of Edward III. and the residence of some of the principal nobility in that kingdom, with their families for many years; the French King John's keeping his court here, with the number of Princes, and great Lords of his realm, who were either prisoners with, or resorted hither to wait on him; the expedition of Edward the black Prince into Spain, the marriage of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, and his brother the Duke of York, to the daughters of Don Pedro King of Castile (*y*), must have had a great effect on the court language; so that it appears at least as reasonable to suppose they complied with what was already become common, (for poets always write to be understood) as to believe that they brought in an inundation of new words, which must have rendered their writings dark and unintelligible, of which none that lived near their own times ever complained (*z*). It would be no difficult task to bring a crowd of witnesses to establish, by their testimonies, his right to the high reputation he possesses, but a few shall suffice [*K*]. It was a point of duty to render so

was an eminent lawyer, and we also know was steadily attached to this prince, might be of his counsel; or, as we find that word sometimes used, his chancellor, that is, the chief of his lawyers, and he who directed how justice was to be administered, and his prerogative maintained, in his honours lordships and manors. Weever (61) also has shewn us, that there was an ancient family of the Gowers in Kent, of which he thought our author to be; and whether that family sprang from the Gowers of Wales, or from the Gowers of Yorkshire, or from neither, is a question we are not able to resolve. All we pretend in this note is, to furnish the inquisitive and judicious reader with some hints for his farther researches, so that gradually these memoirs may be rendered compleat, which possibly they might have been before this time, if one writer had not been content to transcribe another, without looking into the author's own works, or the histories of those times. In respect to the gold collar of SS about his neck, John Stowe, though a very intelligent man (62), was too hasty in pronouncing him no knight; for though it be true, that men were raised to the rank of Esquires, by the imposition of collars of SS, yet these were of silver. The great Selden (63) is indeed of Stowe's opinion, but he gives a much better reason for it, alledging the two first words of his epitaph *armigeri scutum*. It may not be amiss to observe here, that the true cause of this perplexity, is the want of proper distinctions, which did not become a fashion till after the insurrection of the clowns, when persons of family and fortune began to add their titles to their surnames. By the way, the collar of SS, which became afterwards a mark of dignity, was originally the cognizance or badge of the house of Lancaster; and was worn by such as were desirous of shewing their attachment to that house (64). Yet being in conjunction with a robe, it seems to imply that our author had some office under Henry the fourth, it may be in the nature of his attorney or solicitor, or it may be, as many have conjectured, that he was a Judge. As for John or James Gower, for he is called by both names, he was taken prisoner at the battle of Tewksbury, which was fought May 4th 1471 (65). And there was this remarkable in his case, that with the Duke of Somerset, and several other persons of great distinction, he had taken shelter in a church, into which, when King Edward IV. would have entered with his sword drawn, a priest met him with the sacrament, who would not let him proceed, till he had promised them their lives, notwithstanding which, after remaining there from Saturday to Monday, they were taken out and beheaded. This seems to have been done in revenge of what had passed about ten years before, since in the charge (66), upon which Henry VI. his Queen, Edward Prince of Wales, &c. were attainted, one article, viz. the eighteenth, is, that they caused William Lord Bonville, and Sir Thomas Kiriell, Knights of the Garter, and William Gower, standard-bearer to Rich-

ard Duke of York, to be beheaded against law, and consequently murdered. We see from hence that there were several families of the Gowers, and that they took different sides in these miserable times. It is however clear, that John or James Gower, slain at Tewksbury, was of the Stitenham family, and from him there is a clear descent; but of what family William Gower was, does not appear.

[*K*] But a few shall suffice.] As we reserved this note for the commendations bestowed upon our author, by several persons of skill in our language and learning, we have purposely omitted some points, which the reader will find cleared up here. We will begin with Thomas Barthelette, a man of parts and learning, who upon reprinting our author's works, and dedicating them to King Henry VIII. addresses him thus, 'Plutarch writeth, when Alexander had discomfite Darius the kynge of Perse, amonge other jewels of the faide kynges, there was found a curious littel cheste of great value, which the noble King Alexander be holding faide, this same shall serve for Homere, whiche is noted for the greate love and favour that Alexander had unto lernyng: but this I think verily that his love and favour thereto, was not so great as your gracie, whiche caused me, mozte victorious, and mozte redoubted soveraigne Lorde, after I had printed this warke to devise with myself, whether I might be so bolde to presente your Highnesse with one of them, and so in your graces name put them forth. Your mozte high and mozte princely majestee abashed and cleane discouraged me so to do, both because the present (as concernyng the value) was farr to simple (as me thought), and because it was none otherwise my acte, but as I toke some payne to print it more correctly than it was before. And though I shulde saie it was not muche greater peine to that excellent clerke, the moral Johan Gower, to compile the same noble warke, than it was to me to print it, no man will believe it without conferringe both the printes, the olde and myn together. I very well knowe that both the nobles and commons of this your noble royalme, shall the sooner accepte this boke, the gladlier rede it, and be the more diligent to marke and beate away the morall doctrines of the same, when they shall see it come forth under your graces name, whom thei with all their very hertes so truly love and drede; whom they knowe so excellently well lerned, whom they ever fynde so good, so juste, and so gracious a prince. And who so ever in redyng of this warke doth consider it well, shall fynde, that it is plentifully stuffed, and furnished with manifolde eloquent reasons, sharpe and quicke argumentes, and examples of great auctoritie, perswadyng unto vertue, not only taken out of the poets, oratours, historie writers, and philosophers, but also out of the holy scripture. There is to my dome no man, but that he maie by readinge of this warke get righte great knowledge, as well for the understandinge

(w) See Camden, Blount, Winstanly, &c.

(x) Skinner, Peacham.

(y) See all our Histories of the Reign of Ed. III.

(z) See the Life of Chaucer prefixed to Urry's edition.

(61) Funeral Monuments, p. 270.

(62) Stowe's Annals, p. 326.

(63) Titles of Honour, p. 692.

(64) Antient Register of Garter, Vol. I. p. 118.

(65) Stowe's Annals, p. 424. Speed's History, p. 684.

(66) Cotton's Records, p. 670.



so much justice to John Gower, whose memory has been too much neglected by some, and too hastily injured by others, on whose credit more stress has been sometimes laid, than upon a calm and close review they will be found to deserve. And it is from a consciousness of this, that we have not spared either industry or labour, to set, as we hope we have done, this article in a proper light.

(67) The Art of English Poësie, p. 48.

standynge of many and divers auctours, whose reason, sayenges, and histories, are translated in to this warke, as for the pleintie of Englishe words and vulgars, beside the furtherance of the life to vertue.

The ingenious (67) Mr Puttenham writes thus of the parents of our English poetry. 'I will not reach above the time of King Edward the third and Richard the second, for any that wrote in English metre, because, before their times by reason of the late Norman Conquest, which had brought into this realm, much alteration, both of our langage and lawes, and therewithall a certain martial barbarousnes, whereby the study of all good learning was so much decayed, as long time after, no man or very few intended to write in any laudable science; so as beyond that time, there is little or nothing worth commendation to be founde written in this arte. And those of the first age were Chaucer and Gower, both of them as I suppose, Knights. After whom followed John Lidgate, the Monke of Bury, and that nameless, who wrote the Satyre, called Piers Plowman.' The learned and judicious Sir Philip Sydney (68) concurs also in these sentiments.

(68) Defence of Poësie, p. 492.

'In the Italian language, says he, the first that made it to aspire to be a Treasure House of Science, were the poets Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch. So in our English, were Gower and Chaucer, after whom, encouraged and delighted with their excellent foregoing, others have followed to beautifie our mother tongue, as well in the same kind, as other arts.' We shall next quote Mr Henry Peacham a very ingenious gentleman, and in whose works there are many things entertaining, and some instructive; but for what he says of our author the reader finds it here only to shew him how easily he might be misled. 'Gower

(69) The Compleat Gentleman, p. 94, 95.

(69) being very gracious with King Henrie the fourth in his time, carried the name of the only poet; but

his verses to say truth were poor and plaine, yet full of good and grave moralitie, but while he affected altogether the French phrase and words, made himself too obscure to his reader, beside his invention cometh far short of the promise of his titles. He published only that I know of three books, which at St Mary Overies in Southwark, upon his monument lately repaired by some good benefactor, lie under his head; which are, Vox Clamantis, Speculum Meditantis, and Confessio Amantis. He was a Knight, as also was Chaucer.' There is still preserved in the Cotton Library, a catalogue of our ancient Historians, made by the inquisitive and very judicious Mr John Jocelyn (70): whose critical skill and wonderful exactness in matters of that nature are generally known; he mentions his two histories of King Richard, and calls him expressly a Knight; which shews that he was not biassed, either by the assertion of Caxton or the notions of others, who contend eagerly that he was but an Esquire. In all the discourses that regard our legal, our historical, and our literary antiquities, we are sure to find some mention more or less of this eminent person; and therefore it would have been a discredit to an undertaking like this, to have given the reader a transcript only of those meagre accounts, which Bale, Pits, and Fuller, have borrowed from Leland, who if he had been so happy as to have enjoyed his senses, would undoubtedly have published his Commentaries in a much more ample and accurate manner than we have them at present; though even as they now stand, they are an invaluable treasure, and with his other pieces eternal monuments of their author's fine genius, indefatigable labour, and true public spirit; so that any little slips in him, like spots in the sun, are visible only to the curious, and are no sensible diminution of his splendour.

(70) Nero, C. III. 47. fol. 191. 6.

E

GRANT or GRAUNT, the surname of a very antient and potent family in Scotland. It is commonly believed, that the original name was Groot, and that they came from Denmark or Norway; and it is said, that an old manuscript history of that country, by Vanbassan, still extant in the Advocates library, gives countenance to this opinion (a); which is farther supported from a point of fact, that this name has long flourished in that kingdom; as a proof of which it is urged, that there are two antient churches, at a small distance from Christiana, bearing the name of Grant soyn, *i. e.* the parishes of Grant (b). If so, it is most probable that these were erected by such of the family as remained in that kingdom, since the Grants are supposed to have come over into Scotland in the very beginning of the fifth century, upon the following occasion. The Romans, under the command of Maximus, having defeated the Scots, and killed their King Eugenius, or Ewen, and compelled the princes of the blood and nobility to take shelter where they could, in the western islands, Ireland, and in Denmark, began soon after to oppress the Picts, in whose behalf they engaged in this war, and by whose assistance they had almost extirpated the Scots (c). This so provoked the Picts, who now found they had been fighting to establish a power capable of depriving them of liberty, that they resolved to be reconciled to their old foes, to preserve themselves from being enslaved by their false friends (d). With this view they encouraged the broken remains of the Scots to invite Fergus, the lineal descendant of their old monarchs, who had gained a great reputation by his military exploits abroad, to vindicate the rights of his native country against the Romans, in which they promised to assist him. On this invitation, Fergus having collected as many of the exiled Scots as he could, and some Irish, carried over with him also some Danish and Norweigan gentlemen, who, out of affection to his person, were content to follow his fortunes (e). He was seated on the throne anno Domini 404, and with him it is said came over the ancestor of the Grants, whose posterity have ever since flourished in the North of Scotland (f). It is a very difficult, or, to speak the truth, an impracticable task, to trace things of this kind so high, with any tolerable degree of certainty; but it is a thing out of dispute, that a very antient family they are, and have all the authentic marks of being old Chiefs. The head of this house bears in a field, Gules, three antique crowns, Or, alluding, as is supposed, to those of the nation from whom they sprung (g). His crest a burning hill proper, with two savages for supporters, with this motto, STAND SURE. Another mark of their antiquity, is their having what the old

(a) Nisbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(b) M.S. Memoirs of the family of Grant.

(c) Zosim. lib. IV. p. 74. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. IV.

(d) Gild. de Excid. Britan. Bed. Hist. Eccles. lib. I. Buchan. Hist. Scot. lib. V.

(e) Memoirs of the family of Grant.

(f) Less. in Vit. Fergus. ii.

(g) Nisbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.



French writers call *Cri de guerre*, or Cry of war, which was *Graig ellachie*. These cries, in this country at least, were taken from the places at which the clan assembled in time of war; for which purpose, persons were appointed by the Chief, who carried a wooden cross burnt at the ends, called from thence a *fiery cross*, through all the district, inhabited by their dependants, who immediately, upon seeing that cross and hearing that cry, repaired to the post assigned. The antient record, so famous under the title of Ragman-roll, which contains the submissions of the nobility and gentry of the best families in Scotland to King Edward the First, in 1292 (*b*), as it was then and long after glorious to England, contributes now in some measure to the honour of Scotland, as it affords the clearest and most authentic proofs of the antiquity of their families; insomuch, that it has been deservedly explained by a long and learned commentary of one of their most able Antiquaries (*i*). Amongst those of whom the subscriptions are preserved in that roll, we find Robert de Grant, who was probably the chief of his clan at this time. When King Edward thought fit, in order to establish his power more effectually in that kingdom, to imprison a multitude of the most considerable men, whom in 1297 he set at liberty upon bail, we find one John Grant among these, which are evidences more than sufficient to shew, that there was more than one considerable family of this name (*k*) in these early times, for so in respect to ours they may well be called; which at the same time adds to the probability of the foregoing accounts, since, in those days, families did not start up suddenly into wealth and power, but acquired both property and respect by very slow degrees. In one of our antient historians, we find two of this family, John Graunt and Alan Graunt, mentioned as knights, and leaders of renown in that army, which the Scots raised for the relief of Berwick, besieged by King Edward the Third, and Edward Baliol, anno Domini 1333 (*l*). In much later times, we find such confirmations of charters, as very clearly prove the rank and power of the family, to which it must have arrived gradually, and by a progressive accumulation of land, in a long course of years; since, though we find them often in the field, and intrusted with public offices, yet we meet with none of them mentioned as royal favourites, as great officers of State, or deriving large gifts from the Crown. Amongst the Earl of Haddington's collections (*m*), there is a confirmation of his barony to John Grant of Freuchie, by King James the Fourth, the redendum of which shews, that he was then a powerful chief, since he is required to furnish a well-supported lance, which is explained to be three sufficient horsemen for every district of a certain size, within his said barony, when the King should make war without his realm, and to assemble all the defensible persons inhabiting within the bounds of his barony, when so required to do, by the royal mandate of that prince, or his successors, for the convocation of their lieges within the realm. Their marriages is another and perhaps a stronger proof, than any yet offered, both of their antiquity and rank; for, about the year 1095, Ursula Grant was married to Duncan the Second, king of Scotland (*n*). In 1165, Izabella Grant was married to Bancho Stuart of Lochabar. In 1335 (*o*), Patrick Grant, of Grant, married Bigla Cummine, sole daughter of Lord Glencherruick, the only remaining nobleman of that great name, in which there had flourished no fewer than fourteen distinct noble families but two generations before (*p*). In 1555, Sir John Grant married the lady Margery Stuart, daughter to the Earl of Athol (*q*). In 1587, Sir John Grant of Grant was married to the Lady Lilius Murray, daughter of the Earl of Tullibarden (*r*), from whom his Grace, the present Duke of Athol, now Lord Privy-Seal of the kingdom of Scotland, is descended. These are at once the most conclusive evidences that can be had of the antiquity of any family, because, in those early times, unequal marriages were very uncommon, and taken in conjunction with other evidences, strengthens them extremely; to which we may add the very situation of the country where this clan is seated, which corresponds so well with the facts before laid down, that one can see no just reason to suspect them; and in all enquiries of this sort, the best judges will allow, that evidences drawn from records and charters are infinitely preferable to private memoirs, subsisting only in the hands of the families to which they belong, since such, unless supported by testimonies of this kind, are frequently uncertain and always suspected. But where possessions from time immemorial, honourable offices, charters of confirmation, marriage-settlements, and state-records, concur, with an uninterrupted claim to a descent of a more antient date than most of our histories, they add, if not certainty, at least probability, to tradition. It is very certain, that a family of this surname, Grant or Graunt, was also seated very early in England; and therefore Sir George Mackenzie (*s*), who was an indefatigable enquirer into, and a very competent judge of, these matters, was inclined to think the family in Scotland came from them, which, however, we cannot hold probable, for reasons that will appear hereafter. In 1229, we find Richard de Wethershed, the successor of the famous Stephen Langton, in the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury (*t*); but it is very certain that his true name was Grant, and, as there are some particulars very singular in his history, we shall take notice of them at the bottom of the page [*A*]. In all probability this Archbishop

(*b*) Prynn's History, p. 649.

(*i*) Printed at the close of Nisbet's Heraldry.

(*k*) Rymeri Foeder. Angl. Tom. II. p. 769, &c.

(*l*) Walteri Hemmingford Chronicon. Edward. III. p. 276.

(*m*) See these Collections, p. 581.

(*n*) M.S. History of the family of Grant.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) Ibid.

(*q*) Charta penes Grant. Registers of Parliament, 1565.

(*r*) Charta in publicis Archivis.

(*s*) As we find him cited in Nisbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(*t*) Godwin de Præfatis, p. 89, Cambridge 1743, folio.

[*A*] At the bottom of the page.] In the Lives of the Henry Wharton, we find nothing more said of this pre-Archbishops of Canterbury, published by the learned late than what follows(*1*): 'Richardus cognomento magnus,

(*1*) Stephani Birchingtoni Vitæ Archiepiscoporum Cantuar. p. 10.



Archbishop was a North-country and it is likely a Yorkshire man, if not a native of the city of York, of which one of his name was Bailiff or Sheriff the succeeding year; nor was he the first of that family who had born that office (u). We likewise find them benefactors to the abbey of St Mary (w), but how long this family continued, or when it extinguished, in those parts, we cannot determine. In the fifteenth century, there flourished one Thomas Grant, an eminent divine, who was Rector of St Margaret Lothbury, in the city of London, and one of the Prebendaries of St Paul's (x). In the succeeding century, we find the learned Dr Edward Grant master of Westminster-School (y), whom we have had occasion to mention already, but of whom it is but just that we should say something more in this place. He was esteemed one of the best classic scholars of his time,

(u) Drake's History and Antiquities of the city of York, p. 183, 359.

(w) See the Charters relating to that abbey in the Appendix to Drake's History before cited, p. 619.

(x) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 160, 401.

(y) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 310.

(2) De antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, p. 246.

(3) Polychron. A. D. 1230.

(4) Chronica de Mailrois int. rerum Anglican. scriptor. veter. Tom. I. p. 200. Chronicon Thomæ Wikes, int. Historiæ Anglican. scriptor. Thom. Gale, Tom. II. p. 40. Annales Waverlienses, ibid. p. 193.

(5) Parkeri de Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, p. 245.

(6) Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 350.

(7) Chron. T. Wikes, p. 40.

(8) Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 350.

(9) Parker, Godwin, &c.

(10) Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 355.

(11) Chron. T. Wikes & Nic. Trivetii Annales, p. 183.

(12) De Antiquitate Britannicæ Ecclesiæ, p. 246.

nus, qui prius fuit Cancellarius Lincolnienfis, successit & sedit annis II. Vacavit ecclesia annis II, pastore desolata. Archbishop Parker (2) also has preserved the same name, and styles him *Richardus Magnus*, though he enters at large into the history of his primacy. Ralph Higden (3) calls him Richard de Wethersted, the great Dean of London, who from thence received the surname of *Richardus Magnus*; but, in our ancient Chronicles, his name appears plainly to be *Richardus de Graunt* (4). Archbishop Langton died July 9, 1228, at his manor of Slindon in Suffex (5). Within a few days after, the Monks of Canterbury, with the King's licence, proceeded to the election of a successor, when they made choice of Walter de Hempham (6), or rather de Evesham (7), one of their own body, whom the King however, upon the suggestion of several prelates, did by no means approve. Walter, however, set out immediately for Rome, in hopes of obliging his master, by the papal authority, to admit him to the possession of the temporalities of the see (8). King Henry the Third thereupon sent the Bishops of Coventry and Rochester (not of Chester, as in Godwin), to represent to Pope Gregory the Ninth, that this man was altogether unfit for the office, being a person of little learning, and scandalous in point of morals, having had several bastards by a nun, being the son of a man hanged for theft, and who had deserved that punishment himself for his adherence to the rebels. All this, however, had signified little, if the two prelates had not availed themselves of an argument much more conclusive in the court of Rome. Pope Gregory was then embarked in an open war against the Emperor Frederick; and the Embassadors promised him a tenth, not on the benefices of the clergy only, but on the estates of the laity also, to be levied in all the King their master's dominions (9). This had its effect; the election at Canterbury was examined by a congregation of Cardinals, declared to be upon full proof utterly null, and the right of naming to the still vacant see devolved upon the Pope. In consequence of this, at the suggestion of the King, his Holiness appointed Richard de Graunt, Chancellor of Lincoln, who, as our historians tell us, was a person of great gravity, learning, prudence, eloquence, and probity, a stout maintainer of the rights of his see, and in his person tall, and of a very graceful presence (10). He was consecrated by Henry Bishop of Rochester at Canterbury, in the presence of the King and many of the nobility, June 10, 1229, being Trinity-Sunday (11). He did not govern the see long or in much quiet, for the raising the tenth beforementioned occasioned great disturbances. He held, however, a synod at Westminster, in which some excellent canons were made; the wisdom and equity of which, as his successor, Archbishop Parker, tells us, shewed the mild disposition of the man (12). Yet, upon some wrong done, as he conceived, to the see of Canterbury, by Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, he complained to the King, and finding no redress at his hands, he had recourse, according to the custom of those times, to ecclesiastical censures; and having excommunicated all who had any hand in this affair, the King excepted, he withdrew out of the kingdom and went to Rome. He was presently followed thither by Roger de Cantelupe, or, as Matthew Paris writes, de Cantilu, the King's embassador. The complaints suggested by the prelate to his Holiness were, that the whole business of his kingdom Henry transacted by the advice of Hubert Earl of Kent, and other noblemen of like inclinations. That this Earl Hubert had married a second wife, who was very nearly related to his first, and had despoiled the

see of Canterbury of its lands, of which he was still in possession. That many of the Bishops, his suffragans, neglecting their pastoral duty, sat in the King's Exchequer, hearing lay causes, and giving judgment in matters of blood; that many of the inferior clergy held more than one living; with a cure of souls annexed; and being misled by the behaviour of their prelates, intermeddled, like them, with things foreign to their profession, and applied a great part of their time to the management of secular affairs. He therefore desired that the Pope would interpose his authority, in support of the discipline of the Church, the general amendment of manners, and the removal of those grievances. The King's embassador, according to his instructions, suggested much in mitigation, and some things in justification, of the King's measures, and of his minister, Earl Hubert, which he enforced in the best manner he was able. But the eloquence of the Archbishop, his sagacity and prudent behaviour, made such an impression on the Pope and the Cardinals, that he obtained all he desired; upon which he set out on his return home (13). But the joy of this victory was of very short continuance; he fell sick on the third day of his journey, at a place called St Gemma, and taking up his lodging in a house of Minor Canons, deceased there August 3, 1231, and was interred in the church belonging to the monastery (14). It is reported by a grave author, but the reader is not obliged on that account to believe it, that soon after he was interred, some thieves broke into the vault where his body was laid, and took it up, with an intent to despoil him of his ring, his mitre, and other pontifical ornaments; but they stuck so fast to his body, that finding all their endeavours in vain, they in a great fright abandoned their sacrilegious intent (15). We have an article of this prelate, under the name of *Richardus Magnus*, also in Pits, who tells us, that he was a very learned writer, and gives us the titles of his Canons in the Council of Westminster (16): but we meet with nothing relating to him either in Leland or Bale; and when, in the posthumous work of the learned and accurate Bishop Tanner, we have a reference to the Canons made in his Council of Westminster (17), there seems to be a mistake; for those Canons were not made by him, but by his predecessor Richard the First, in the year 1131, and in the reign of Henry the Second (18). The books written by our author, and remembered by Pits, are these,

*De Fide & Legibus*, Lib. I. *Of Faith and Laws*. One book.

*De Sacramentis*, Lib. I. *Of Sacraments*. One book.

*De Universo Corporali & Spirituali*, Lib. I. *Of the Corporal and Spiritual World*. One book.

After having said so much of this great prelate, it may not be amiss to caution the reader, that this *Richardus Magnus*, or *de Wethersted*, is not to be confounded with *Richard Wethersted*, alias *Grantebrigenfis*, who is mentioned by Leland, Bale, and Pits (19), and who flourished about twenty years later than our Archbishop. We have taken this opportunity of restoring this prelate to his own name, and of giving a succinct abridgment of his life from original writers, all of whom we have carefully consulted and collated; and perhaps it would be no unacceptable present to the learned world, if any laborious and accurate writer would give us in English a complete history of the lives and acts of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from those ancient and original authors already extant, which would throw new lights on several parts of our civil as well as ecclesiastical history, which seem at present very dark and deficient.

(13) Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 363.

(14) Chron. T. Wikes, p. 41. Annales Waverlienses, p. 193. Dies Obituales Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium, apud Wharton, Tom. I. p. 57.

(15) Matth. Paris Hist. Angl. p. 370.

(16) De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 307.

(17) Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 626.

(18) Concil. M. Britan. & Hib. Vol. I. p. 474, & seq.

(19) Jo. Lelandi Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, p. 272. Baleus de Scriptoribus, p. 436. Pits de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, p. 307.



time, which, if we consider how many great men flourished in them, will appear no very ordinary character. He was a good Latin Poet, and excellently skilled in Greek; to facilitate the learning of which most useful language, he composed a very copious Grammar, which was afterwards contracted by his successor, the famous Mr William Camden (z). This Dr Grant was not only distinguished by his perfect knowledge of the learned languages, and by the happiness of his method in teaching them, but also by his generous and disinterested disposition, which discovered itself clearly, in his zeal for preserving the fame, and providing for the orphan family, of the celebrated Roger Ascham, whose letters he published; and, in his pathetic dedication to Queen Elizabeth, so effectually recommended his pupil, Giles Ascham, to her protection, by letting the world know how much, though a Queen, she stood obliged to his father, that he procured for him, if not a happy establishment, at least a comfortable subsistence, which, without this gentleman's help, neither his father's merits or his own would have obtained (a). The poems of Dr Grant, for so he wrote his own name, prefixed to several excellent pieces published in those times, shew how much more ready he was to bestow than to acquire praise, and, in truth, his modesty in this particular was very commendable. He made way, by his resignation in 1592, for Camden's succession to his chair in Westminster-School (b); and having been long a Canon, became at length Subdean of that collegiate church. He deceased August 4, 1601 (c), and not in September or October, as Anthony Wood has placed it (d), and was interred in that church: we find also another of the same name interred in the cloisters of this abbey, in 1587, a child of five years old, and it is not improbable, the son of this Dr Edward Grant: the monumental inscription being long ago worn out, the reader perhaps will not be displeased, as it is very elegant, to find it recovered and preserved in the notes (e) [B]. We have not been able to discover in what part of England the family was settled from which these Grants descended; but we know that there was a family of this name in Hampshire (f), from whom sprung that famous citizen of London, John Grant, who, as we have shewn, has immortalized his memory by his excellent discourse on the Bills of Mortality. But for all this, it seems to us more probable, that the English family derived it's origin from that in Scotland, unless we should suppose, that the English as well as the Scots Grants came from Denmark or Norway, and with others of their countrymen settled in Cumberland, Northumberland, Yorkshire, and other northern counties, and from thence spread into the heart of the kingdom. At all events, however, we cannot help rejecting Sir George Mackenzie's notion, that the Grants of Scotland derive themselves from those of England. If this had been so, we should certainly have found them in the southern or western counties of Scotland, and not in the north. Besides, they appear to have been a very potent clan before the time of the Conquest, when, according to some, the family of le Graunt came over to England (g), and most evidently before they flourished at York. All circumstances concur, in shewing, that from the time they came into that part of the island, they continued, like other great families, seated for the most part in the same country, and branching out into different houses, bearing however all the same arms, with proper marks of distinction, and all acknowledging the Grants of Freuchie, or, as they are now styled, the Grants of Grant, for their chief (h). On the other hand, we do not find any of the English Grants, though a very numerous name, who formed a permanent establishment any where; nor are we able to trace them in such a manner as to decide the question, whether they descended from that old family, originally settled in the North of England, or from some branch of the Grants of Scotland, who removed occasionally into the South after the Union of the two Crowns.

[B] *In the notes.* We know not where this monument was placed, farther than that it was in the cloisters; and the inscription, as copied by Camden, ran thus:

Hic jacet Edwardus Grantus, bellissimus infans,  
Dulce decus matris, deliciæque patris.  
Quem mors ætheream citius transcripsit in urbem  
Effet ut Angelicus, deliciæque Deo.  
Ille quidem fælix: nam paucos vixit ut annos  
Sollicitæ vitæ, sic mala pauca tulit.

*In English thus.*

Here, reader, lies interr'd a lovely boy,  
His mother's dearest pride, his father's joy.  
Whom early snatch'd to the æthereal quire,  
With kindred Angels now he tunes his lyre.  
Happy in this, as little life he knew;  
Of life's inherent ills he felt but few.

Beneath were these lines.

Thy sweet desire to praise thy God,  
Thy tender love to parents dear;

Thy nature mild to every one,  
Remains alive, though corpse lie here.

VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS.

Virtue unhurt by Death survives the grave.

Obiit Januarii 2, 1587, ætatis suæ 5.

He died January 2, 1587, at five years of age.

That we may not appear to have bestowed this son upon Dr Edward Grant without any foundation, it may not be amiss to close this note, with observing, that he had a son, Gabriel Grant, who in the year 1602, was presented by Peter Tuke, Esq; to the rectory of Layer Marney, in the archdeaconry of Colchester, in the diocese of London and county of Essex (20). He became afterwards, by the presentation of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, Rector of St Leonard's Foster-lane (21), in 1604; and January 20, 1612, was seated in the tenth stall, as Prebendary of the Collegiate Church of Westminster (22). We might have mentioned many more of this name, of whom some memorials are preserved, more especially in the work (23) from which these are taken; but that we look upon what we have done already as sufficient for our purpose.

E  
GRANT

(z) Lond. 1597  
8vo. reprinted  
about 100 times  
since.

(a) See the article of ASCHAM [ROGER] in this Dictionary. See also Camden's Verses to the memory of Ascham.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(c) Reges, Reginæ, Nobiles, & alii, in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti, p. 77.

(d) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(e) See the Histories of Westminster-Abbey.

(f) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 311.

(g) See the Catalogues of those who came with the Conqueror, in Stowe and Hollinshed.

(h) Nisbet's Heraldry, Vol. I. p. 427.

(20) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 379.

(21) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 394.

(22) Ibid. p. 928.

(23) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 676, 401, 806. Vol. II. p. 48, 389, 591, 609.



GRANT [Sir FRANCIS], an eminent Lawyer and Judge in North-Britain, styled, according to the custom of that country, from the name of his estate, Lord Cullen. He was of a younger branch of the Grants, though a lineal descendant from Sir John Grant of Grant, by the Lady Margery, or Margaret Stuart, daughter to the Earl of Athol, which family of Grant have very conspicuously distinguished themselves in support of the Protestant Religion, and the principles of the Revolution [A]. This Francis, who is to be the subject of the present article, was born about the year 1660, and laid the foundation of his literary accomplishments in the university of Aberdeen; but being intended for the profession of the Law, he was sent to perfect his studies at Leyden, under the celebrated Professor Voet, who taught there with great reputation. Under him he made so great a proficiency, and distinguished himself by so singular and steady an application, that many years after his return to his native country, the Professor mentioned him to his pupils as one who had done honour to the university, and whose example, in point of attention and diligence, it would become them to follow. On his coming back to Scotland, he passed through the trials requisite to his being admitted Advocate, with such singular success, as to attract the particular notice of Sir George Mackenzie, the then King's Advocate, one of the most knowing and ingenious men, as well as one of the ablest and most eminent Lawyers of that age. This is the more remarkable, since Mr Grant's principles, which he never dissembled, did not correspond at all with the maxims and measures of the Court at that time; but as his merit was very conspicuous, Sir George, who was a man of the greatest candour, gave him upon all occasions distinguished marks of kindness and esteem. At the time of the Revolution, being twenty-eight years of age, and having made the constitutional points of law his peculiar study, he made a very great figure when the Convention of Estates met, in order to canvass matters of the highest importance; such as, whether the throne was full or vacant, and if vacant, how it was to be filled. Some of the old Lawyers, in pursuance of the principles they had long espoused, argued warmly against those upon which the Revolution had taken place in England, and particularly insisted on the inability of the Convention of Estates to make any disposition of the Crown. Mr Francis Grant opposed these notions with great strength and spirit, and published about that time a treatise, in which he undertook, from the principles of law, to prove, that a King might forfeit his Crown for himself and his descendants; and that in such a case, the States had a power to dispose of it, and to establish and limit a legal succession, concluding with the warmest recommendations of William Prince of Orange to the regal dignity. This work was generally read, and was believed to have had a considerable influence on the public resolutions. It was certainly a very bold step, and one that clearly manifested Mr Grant's integrity and zeal for the constitution, in support of which, it was plain, he was determined to risk every thing; for after such an explicit declaration of his sentiments, there was no possibility for him to retreat. It must appear not a little extraordinary, but so the fact really was, that this conduct recommended him to both parties in the way of his profession. Those who differed from him in opinion admired his courage, and were desirous of making use of his abilities; as, on the other hand, those who were friends to the Revolution were also so to him, which brought him into great business, and procured him, by special commissions, frequent employment from the Crown. His character was firmly

[A] *And the principles of the Revolution.* At the time of that great event, Lodovic Grant, of Grant, Esq; was the chief of the family. He was entirely for that measure, he levied a regiment of foot, which was raised, clothed, and maintained at his expence, 'till put upon the establishment by King William in 1689, who by his commission appointed Colonel Lodovic Grant to command it. According to the resolutions of the Scotch Parliament, the great expences which this gentleman had been at, were to have been repaid him; but except the honour of this resolution, which shewed the sense the legislature had of his service, he never received any indemnification. His son Alexander Grant, Esq; who inherited his father's principles as well as his estate, commanded a regiment of foot at the time of the Union, and served with great reputation in Flanders, under the command of the glorious Duke of Marlborough; and in consequence of those services, was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General and Governor of Sheerness. Upon the breaking out of the rebellion in 1715, he accompanied his Grace John Duke of Argyll as a volunteer, who, as a proof of his high regard for, and great confidence in the Brigadier, appointed him to command in the castle of Edinburgh, upon the preservation of which so much at that juncture depended. Brigadier Grant, while thus employed, dispatched his brother, then Captain, now Major Grant, northward, with orders to raise his clan; which, though the attempt as things were then circumstanced was equally difficult and dangerous, he very effectually

performed; and having with eight hundred men invested the town of Inverness, he was quickly joined by the Earl of Sutherland, and the late worthy Lord President, then Mr Duncan Forbes of Culloden; by which eminent service at so critical a conjuncture, a great body of highlanders were hindered from continuing their march to Perth, and the counties of Bamff, Nairn, Murray, and part of the shire of Inverness protected from all levies of men and impositions of money. The Brigadier however did not long survive, to reap the fruits of his singular zeal for the government, otherwise in all probability he might have risen to the highest ranks in the British army. He was member in the Scots Parliament for the shire of Elgin, when the Union took place, and was one of the forty-five members deputed from them to sit in the first Parliament of Great-Britain. In the second Parliament in 1708, he was chosen for the Shire of Inverness; in the third, fourth and fifth Parliaments for the shire of Elgin; and at the time of his decease, was Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Bamff and Inverness. He was succeeded by his brother Sir James Grant, who in the sixth and seventh Parliaments of Great-Britain, served for the shire of Inverness. He was succeeded by his son Sir Lodovic, who is the present head of the family, who espoused the Lady Margaret Ogilvy, daughter to the right honourable the Earl of Finlater and Seafield, and was very active in suppressing the rebellion of 1745, and is at present member for the county of Elgin.



firmly established on the pillars of application and integrity. He was indefatigable in the management of business; but at the same time that he spared no pains, he would use no craft. He had so high an idea of the dignity of his profession, that he held it equally criminal to neglect any honest means of coming at justice, or to make use of any arts to elude it. It might have been expected, that circumstances which brought him early into full business, should either have promoted him quickly to the first offices in the law, or at least have enabled him to make a large estate; but they did neither. His temper was naturally calm and sedate; he hated bustle and intrigue; and besides, Sir James Stuart was Lord-Advocate all the time he was at the bar; and Sir Hugh Dalrymple, son to the famous Viscount Stair, Lord President, while he was on the bench; and their merit and services too great for him to entertain so much as a thought of supplanting either. In respect to fortune, though he was modest and frugal, and had a large practice, yet he was far from being avaricious. His private charities were very considerable, and grew in the same proportion with his profits. He was besides very scrupulous in many points; he would not suffer a just cause to be lost through a client's want of money. He was such an enemy to oppression, that he never denied his assistance to such as laboured under it; and with respect to clergymen of all professions, his conscience obliged him to serve them without a fee. He saw their wrongs required assistance, and he knew their circumstances would not admit of expence. His additions therefore to his paternal estate were much inferior to what might have been expected, and a large accession of character, was the principal produce of that activity and diligence, by which he was distinguished at the bar. This was so clear and beyond exception, that her late Majesty Queen Anne, unexpectedly, as well as without application, created him in 1705 a Baronet, her sense of his services being sufficiently expressed in the preamble to his patent. About a year after, her Majesty was pleased to appoint him one of the Judges, or, as they are stiled in Scotland, one of the Senators of the College of Justice [B]. His just title to this preferment was known to every body but himself, yet his high notions of the virtues and abilities requisite in that station made him

[B] *One of the senators of the College of Justice.* Our intention in this note, is to give as clear and succinct an account of this supreme Court of Justice in North-Britain, and the Judges who sit therein, as the nature of this article requires, and the bounds prescribed will allow. Anciently, causes were heard in the last resort, by a committee of Parliament composed of an uncertain number, who were stiled Lords of Session; afterwards this power devolved to the council, but Anno Dom. 1537, King James the Fifth, instituted a College of Justice, after the model of the Parliament of Paris, which was composed of a president and fourteen ordinary members, but the Chancellor might preside there if he pleased, and then the president sat with the rest. This supreme court has been since commonly called the Court of Session, the members instead of Senators of the College of Justice, are stiled, after their predecessors, Lords of Council and Session, and their President, Lord President; nine Lords make a quorum, but the King by the original erection might name three or four Peers of Parliament, who are stiled extraordinary Lords of Session, but they make no part of the quorum, are not bound to attend, receive no salary; but when they are present, sit and hear causes, and vote with the other Lords. By an act passed in the tenth of the late King, the crown departed from this prerogative, and after the demise of the extraordinary Lords then living, their places were not to be filled up. The jurisdiction and privileges of this court, were secured by the articles of Union, subject to an appeal from their decisions to the House of Peers. The Lords of Session hold their office for life, or *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. On a vacancy in the College of Justice, the King is to present a person duly qualified, that is one who has served five years as Advocate or Clerk of Session, or ten years as a writer to the Signet. Upon this, he is allowed to sit with the Lord-ordinary while causes are heard before him, and he reports two or three points to the Lords in the Inner house; he must also report a cause upon a hearing in their presence in the Inner-house, and give his opinion on every point. If the Lords are satisfied, they admit him to the office upon his taking the oaths. But if the Lords are of opinion that the person so named is not duly qualified, they are to transmit an account of the whole matter to his Majesty; and if under his sign manual, the King shall signify that it is his pleasure the person shall notwithstanding be received, they admit and receive him accordingly; but if the King nominates another person, they are to proceed to examine him as before. One of the Lords sits in the

outer Parliament-house, to hear all causes in the order they are set down in the books of inrollment. If the parties submit to his decision, his decree is final, if not it is interlocutory, and either of the parties may appeal to the Lords who sit together in the Inner-house, and who upon hearing the cause, affirm, reverse, or alter the decree made in the Outer-house. Each Lord sits in his turn a week at a time in the Outer-house, and is during that week stiled the Lord Ordinary; if the causes cannot be finished in the week, the same Lord continues to sit from nine to ten in the Outer-house every day, till the causes begun in his week are ended. The Lord President and all the other Lords, sit in the Inner house every day in the week, except Sunday and Monday, during the time of Sessions, which for the winter begin the first of November, and end the last of February, with an intermission not exceeding ten days in time of Christmas; and begin the first of June, and end the last of July for the summer sessions. As to the extent of the jurisdiction of the court, all causes civil, that are not peculiar to other courts, may be brought before them in the first instance, provided the sum in question be above twelve pounds sterling, and causes commented in other courts, may in certain cases be removed to and reviewed in the court of session; and in some cases, the Lords may review upon fresh matter arising even their own decrees. This court is both of law and equity, and may, where the Lords see just cause, exercise the same powers in a great measure that are exercised in England by the court of Chancery. Besides this mixt jurisdiction, which they stile *Officium ordinarium*, this court hath also an extraordinary coercive power, which they call *Officium nobile*, which is exerted occasionally and discretionally. An instance will explain this to every reader's capacity. When it was resolved to levy the malt tax effectually, all the brewers in Edinburgh took a sudden resolution in one day to desist from the exercise of their trade; upon this the Court of Session interposed, and made an order, that every brewer should give security to continue his business, to prevent any inconvenience happening to the public, on pain of imprisonment. This had its effect, and the Lords received the thanks of the government. This shews clearly how great a trust is reposed in a Lord of Session; what extensive abilities, and what great attention are requisite to the due discharge of the office; and therefore we need not at all wonder, that men of exact probity are sometimes scrupulous of taking so great a burthen upon their shoulders.

[C] *That*



him endeavour to decline it, and he accepted it at last with great reluctance. He was from this time stiled Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, and the same good qualities that recommended him to this employment were very conspicuous in the discharge of it. He thought himself accountable to God and man for his conduct in that high office; and his deep sense of his duty, at the same time that it kept him strictly to it, encouraged and supported him in the performance. The pleadings in Scotland are carried on chiefly in writing, which renders them sometimes very prolix, so as to take up much of a Judge's time, and to exercise alike his parts and his patience in going through and making himself master of them. In this the diligence and the dexterity of Lord Cullen were equally conspicuous, he went through every thing that came into his hands carefully, and sifted it thoroughly, so that the Lawyers at the bar never found themselves too strong for the bench, but on the contrary, were told many things by his Lordship, which either had escaped their notice, or which the interest of their client had engaged them to conceal. As his attention to the pleadings guided him to the real merits of the cause, so when he was once master of these, his second care was dispatch. He knew that in judicature the next fault to denying was delaying justice, by which families are always injured, and too often ruined; whenever therefore he had provided against being mistaken, he was desirous of bringing the matter to a short decision; and as he was very solicitous about the former, so the parties themselves helped him not a little as to the latter. Whenever he sat as Lord Ordinary, the paper of Causes was remarkably full; for his reputation being equally established for knowledge and integrity, there were none who had a good opinion of their own pretensions but were desirous of bringing them before him, and not many who did not sit down satisfied with his decision. This prevailed more especially, after it was found that few of his sentences were reversed, and when they were, it was commonly owing to himself; for if upon mature reflection, or upon new reasons offered at the rehearing, he saw any just ground for altering his judgment, he made no scruple of declaring it, being persuaded that it was more manly as well as more just to follow truth than to support opinion; and his conduct in this respect had a right effect, for instead of lessening it raised his reputation. His experience, though it quickened his penetration, did not lessen his diligence in the least. How certain soever he might be of the truth of his own sentiments, he took great care to have all the assistance that was to be received from books, and never failed to fortify his arguments and to support his reasonings by the best authorities. His colleagues were so well aware and so much approved of this, that they very seldom decided any knotty case that came before them in his absence, but rather chose to adjourn it. We shall hear, said they, not only our brother Cullen's own opinion, but that of all the great Lawyers upon this point. His labours in this respect, though he proposed no other end in them than the promoting of justice, were attended with universal applause, and procured him a character, to which he had the fairest title, of being one of the ablest and deepest Lawyers of his time. He would not however, with all this great stock of knowledge, experience, and probity, trust himself in matters of blood, or venture to decide in criminal cases on the lives of his fellow-creatures, which was the reason, that, though often solicited, he could never be prevailed upon to accept of a seat in the Justiciary Court; for though in this part of the island, the same Judges hear civil and criminal causes in virtue of different commissions, yet it is otherwise in North-Britain, where criminal causes are heard in a different court by a certain number of Lords, selected for that purpose out of the body of the Judges, and who have an additional salary for that purpose. He was so true a lover of learning, and was so much addicted to his studies, that notwithstanding the multiplicity of his business while at the bar, and his great attention to his charge when a Judge, he nevertheless found time to write various treatises on very different and important subjects. Some political, which were remarkably well timed, and highly serviceable to the government; others of a more extensive nature, such as his essays on Law, Religion, and Education, which were dedicated to his present Majesty when Prince of Wales, by whose command his then Secretary, Mr Molyneux, wrote him a letter of thanks, in which were many gracious expressions, as well in relation to the piece as to it's author. He composed, besides these, many discourses on literary subjects, for the exercise of his own thoughts, and for the better discovery of truth, which went no farther than his own closet, and from a principle of modesty were not communicated even to his most intimate friends. He had a very high opinion of Lord Viscount Stair's Institution of the Law Scotland, and often importuned that noble person's son, the Lord President Dalrymple, to publish a new edition of this valuable work, which that great man declined, and pressed the same task upon him, towards which however he made no farther advances, than some notes in his own copy of the book, and a few occasional collections. This design has been since executed by a gentleman who married one of Lord Cullen's daughters, in a manner that does honour to himself and to his country [C]. In his private character he

was

[C] *That does honour to himself and to his country.* The Viscount of Stair's Institute of the Law of Scotland was published in 1693, and was received as it deserved with general approbation. But since that time, the law has undergone many alterations, and re-

ceived great improvements, and therefore another system of a like kind was very much wanted. This great work was undertaken by Andrew M'Douall, Esq; a gentleman perfectly acquainted with the principles of the Scotch law, and who had practised many years at the

the



was as amiable as respectable in his public. There were certain circumstances that determined him to part with an estate that was left him by his father; and it being foreseen that he would employ the produce of it and the money he had acquired by his profession in a new purchase, there were many decayed families who solicited him to take their lands upon his own terms, relying entirely on that equity which they conceived to be the rule of his actions. It appeared that their opinion of him was perfectly well grounded; for being at length prevailed upon to lay out his money on the estate of an unfortunate family, who had a debt upon it of more than it was worth, he first put their affairs into order, and by classing the different demands, and compromising a variety of claims, secured some thousand pounds to the heirs without prejudice to any, and of which they had never been possessed but from his interposition and vigilance on their behalf; so far was he from making any advantage either of their necessities, or his own skill in his profession. A circumstance justly mentioned to his honour, and which is an equal proof of his candour, generosity, and compassion. His piety was sincere and unaffected, and his love for the Church of Scotland was shewn, in his recommending moderation and charity to the clergy as well as laity, and engaging the former to insist upon moral duties as the clearest and most convincing proof of mens acting from religious principles, and his practice through his whole life was the strongest argument of his being thoroughly persuaded of those truths, which from his love to mankind he laboured to inculcate. He was charitable without ostentation, disinterested in his friendships, and beneficent to all who had any thing to do with him. He was not only strictly just, but so free from any species of avarice, that his lady, who was a woman of great prudence and discretion, finding him more intent on the business committed to him by others than on his own, took the care of placing out his money upon herself; and to prevent his postponing, as he was apt to do, such kind of affairs when securities offered, she caused the circumstances of them to be stated in the form of cases, and so procured his opinion upon his own concerns as if they had been those of a client. These little circumstances are mentioned as more expressive of his temper, than actions of another kind could be; because in matters of importance, men either act from habit, or from motives that the world cannot penetrate; but in things of a trivial nature are less upon their guard, shew their true disposition, and stand confessed for what they are. He passed a long life in ease and honour. His sincerity and steady attachment to his principles recommended him to all parties, even to those who differed from him most; and his charity and moderation converted this respect into affection, so that not many of his rank had more friends, and perhaps none could boast of having fewer enemies. His death was as calm and placid as his life. His last illness continued but three days, without any violent or painful symptoms; notwithstanding which, the learned Physicians who attended him clearly discerned and timely admonished him that his dissolution was at hand. He received this message not only calmly but cheerfully. He declared that he had followed the dictates of his conscience, and that he was not afraid of death. He took a tender farewell of his children and friends, recommended to them earnestly a steady and constant attachment to the faith and duty of Christians, and assured them that true religion was the only thing that could bring a man peace at the last. He expired soon after, quietly and without any agony, March 16, 1726, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. He left behind him three sons and five daughters; his eldest son, Archibald Grant, Esq; served in his father's life-time for the shire of Aberdeen, and becoming by his demise Sir Archibald Grant, Baronet, served again for the same county in 1727; his second son, William Grant, Esq; followed his father's profession, was for several years Lord-Advocate for Scotland, and is at present one of the Lords of Session, by the title of Lord Preston Grange; Mr Francis Grant, the third son, is a Merchant; three of the daughters are married to gentlemen of fortune, and the two youngest are still unmarried. Mr Alexander Nisbet gives us the following account of the arms born by this honourable person, in his System of Heraldry. Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, Bart. one of the Senators of the College of Justice, carries Gules, three antique crowns, Or, as descended from Grant of That-Ilk, within a border, ermine, in quality of a Judge, supported with two Angels proper: crest, a book expanded. Motto, on an escroll above, *Suum cuique*, and on a compartment below, *Jehovah-jireh*, as by a special warrant under his Majesty's hand, the 17th day of May, 1720.

the bar as an advocate, with great reputation; when he undertook this necessary and laborious task, he had no intention of giving it to the public in his life-time, but was at length prevailed upon by William Grant, Esq; then Lord Advocate of Scotland, to alter his intention, and accordingly the first volume was published in 1751, and is dedicated to his Grace the Duke of Argyll, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Justice-General, and one of the extraordinary Lords of Session, but without the author's name, which however could not be long concealed, and is therefore prefixed to the second volume, which was published the year following, and dedicated to the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord High-Chancellor of Great-Britain; the third and last volume was published in 1753, and is dedicated to William Grant, Esq; his Majesty's Advocate for Scotland, to

whose friendly advice, it is therein said, if the public shall be profited by this work, they are indebted for the publication of it in the life-time of the author. The title of this work at large, runs thus:

An Institute of the Laws of Scotland in Civil Rights; with Observations upon the Agreement or Diversity between them and the Laws of England, in four books, after the general method of the Viscount of Stair's Institutions. With an Appendix, Table of Contents, and two Indexes

This great performance, so much wanted in and so very useful to the whole united kingdom, has been so generally well received, and found to be so accurately and so judiciously performed, that the learned author has been very deservedly promoted to be one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

*From Memoirs supplied by the Family.*



GRANVILLE (a), or GREENVIL [DENIS] Dean of Durham in the last century, was a younger son of the loyal and valiant Sir Bevil Granville, of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, Kt. [A] and brother to John the first Earl of Bath of that family. He was born in the year 1639 (b), and, after a suitable education, admitted, September 22, 1657. a Fellow-commoner of Exeter-college in Oxford (c). On the 28th of September 1660. he was created Master of Arts (d); and, soon after, marrying Anne youngest daughter of Dr John Cosin Bishop of Durham (e), he was collated by his Lordship, September 16, 1662. to the Archdeaconry of Durham; and to the first Prebend in the cathedral church of Durham, which he exchanged for the second, April 16, 1668 (f). He had also, of his gift, the Rectories of Easington (g), and Elwick, in the fore-said diocese (h); and in the room of the latter, the great living of Sedgfield, one of the most considerable country-parishes in England (i). But he took a very regular and exemplary care of them, in the due discharge of all ministerial functions, as appears by the directions he gave to his Curates, printed among his works (k). On the 20th of December 1670, he was created, at Oxford, Doctor in Divinity; being then Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, as he had been for several years before (l). And, December the 14th 1684, was installed Dean of Durham, in the room of Dr John Sudbury, deceased (m). Thus possessed of these great preferments, he might have long enjoy'd them with much profit and honour to himself and friends; and have continued to be an ornament to his function, and a general benefit to the world. But some absurd notions he had entertained, of the unlimited extent of the Prerogative, together with his strict adherence to the doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance [B], involved him into inextricable difficulties (n). For, possessed with the indispenfability of their obligation, upon the Prince of Orange's coming to rescue this nation from the dangerous attempts made upon our Religion and Liberties, the Dean opposed the measures taken for our common safety, to the utmost of his power: by preaching, delivering charges to the clergy, sending up an Address to King James, and subscribing a sum of money for his service (o). And, when all his endeavours proved ineffectual, he was so entangled with the absurd doctrines just now mentioned, that, rather than submit to King William, he chose to lose his great preferments, and go into a voluntary exile [C]. For, quitting Durham

(a) So he writ his name, and sometimes *Green-ville*. See his Works.

(A) As appears by the date, round a print of him, prefix'd to his works.

(c) Wood, Ath. ed. 1721. Vol. II. col. 959.

(d) Idem Fasti, col. 131.

(e) See above, the article COSIN [JOHN].

(f) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, Durham, &c. by Brown Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 160, 264, 265.

(g) The Rectory of Easington is annex'd to the Archdeaconry of Durham.

(h) Wood, Ath. ubi supra.

(i) See his works.

(k) P. 45, &c.

(l) Wood, Fasti, ut supra, col. 185.

the

(m) Willis, ubi supra, p. 256.

(n) See his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 14, 15.

(o) See his works, as mentioned below.

[A] Was a younger son of the loyal and valiant Sir Bevil Granville, of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, Kt.] See an account of this family, under the article *Green-ville* (Sir Richard).

[B] But some absurd notions he had entertained, of the unlimited extent of the Prerogative, together with his strict adherence to the doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, involved him, &c.] These notions and doctrines he most strenuously avowed, not only in his conduct and actions, but also in his several writings. Thus, in the Preface to his Farewel visitation speech (1), he declares, that he 'never wanted resolution, all along to oppose the Subjects incroaching on the Prerogative of their King, as heartily as he had withstood the Dutch their invading of the Land.' And, in his Letter to his brother the Earl of Bath (2), he lays it down, as 'the Essential Duties of subjection and allegiance to the Sovereign, That Subjects are upon no consideration whatsoever, neither of religion, liberty, nor life, to resist, or desert, their lawfull Sovereigne, though hee were no better than such an one as St Paul lived under, when he writ the Epistle to the Romans, not only a heathen, but a cruell persecutour, a Nero, a Caligula, or a Dioclesian.—Moreover (3), that we ought not, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up arms against a lawful King, nor assist, aid, or abet those who doe, no not so much as to wish ill to the Lord's Anointed in the very bottome of our hearts.—And to be as faithfull to a Roman-Catholic, as a Protestant, Prince, and as true to him in adversity, as in prosperity (4).' According to these mistaken principles was his practice. For he not only adhered to K. James II. in every instance, 'even in the most unintelligible of all his acts of mercy, (to use his own words) namely, the including the Fanatics in his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience (5); But also, 'having done, as he says himself (6) all that lay in his power, in all his capacities, by his most vigorous endeavours, towards the support of the Crowne and the Church of England; and seeing himselfe absolutely incapable to act further for his Majestie as he had done, and to discharge his conscience,—he resolved to preserve his Innocency by flight, since he could not doe it by sitting still and staying in Durham (if he should escape the jaile

which he had little reason to hope) after an honest loyal activity:—And therefore bethought himselfe of flying away secretly to the King [James II.] to owne his cause, when he could not otherwise serve him.'

[C] He chose to lose his great preferments, and go into a voluntary exile.] As there does not appear in his conduct and actions, (as far as recorded) any sufficient cause for this his sudden and private departure, we must endeavour, if possible, to find out a satisfactory reason for it, in those several pieces he published afterwards in France, during his exile. In one place (7), he calls it his 'Escape:' and says, he was 'driven from his station by the impetuosity of that dreadful storm, which fell on and overthrew our Church and State.'—He 'maintained his poste (as he goes on to relate) notwithstanding mighty discouragements, till it was not possible for him any longer to strive against that torrent, which had hurried all matters, in the Nation, into great disorder and confusion. When I saw, adds he, there was no possible means left for me, but to sink, by endeavouring to oppose what was irresistible; or swimme down the stream (which no argument nor example of the age could, I thank God, prevaile with me to do) I was under a necessity to turne aside, and withdraw my selfe, beholding matters a while at a distance, rather than in my own station and place of acting; since I carried about with me an unalterable loyall heart, which would not suffer me to runn (as most did) with the multitude; and on the other side wanted both strength of mine own, and the assistance of others, effectually to oppose that unruly and many-headed monster. But did not resolve to leave the kingdom,——till I had a powerfull example, which a dutifull subject ought to be proud to follow, and a Precedent which may set me above the censures of any person in the three kingdoms. When my Sovereigne was forc'd from his own pallace, nay driven out of the Realme, it was time for those who were firmly resolv'd to adhere to, and suffer with Him, to yeild to that force and necessity, which a mighty Potentate, by complying with, proclaim'd to be invincible. Having then the honour to be one of that number (and glorying that I am so) it would have been a preposterous course

(7) Letter to the Bishop of Durham, p. 1.

(1) P. 1.

(2) P. 2.

(3) Sermons, p. 27.

(4) Preface to those Sermons, P. 3.

(5) Farewel Visitation speech, p. 16.

(6) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 9.



(p) Till about the year 1693. See his print.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 479. and British Compendium, Part II. of Vol. I. ed. 1735. p. 213, &c.

(r) Observations, at the end of his Directions to his Curates, p. 52.

the 11th of December 1688, he arrived, the 19th of March following, at Honfleur in France [D]. His residence for some time was at Rouen in Normandy (p), and then at Corbeil in the isle of France, from whence the Granville-family originally sprang (q). In February 1689-90, he took a hazardous journey into England, whereby he got a small supply of money, to subsist a while abroad; though with much trouble and danger, occasioned by an impertinent post-master, who discovered him at Canterbury (r). His brother the Earl of Bath endeavoured for some time to secure his revenues (s); but as no considerations whatever could induce him to swear allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, he was at length deprived of all his preferments February 1, 1690-91 (t). He not only refused to swear himself, but likewise did all that lay in his power to deter, or rather to terrify, others from taking the oaths to their Majesties [E]. Having no prospect,

(s) P.S. to his letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 26, 27.

(t) J. Le Neve's Fasti, ed. 1716. p. 351.

'course for me (who never play'd my game so as to save my stake) to have stay'd at home, or in England, when I was no longer capable to serve Him, in those offices wherein I was plac'd; and while I had no other prospect, but that of a prison, without doing what was impossible for me to do, I mean bow down to Baal, or in plain English, submit to an Usurper.'

(8) Ibid. p. 14.

—Elsewhere, he says (8), 'that he did not run away, ——— when he saw the Wolfe coming, but after he saw him come, and with open mouth ready to devoure, and had Himselfe in some sort tasted his Fierceness (9).'

(9) Letter to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 14.

[D] For quitting Durham, &c.] The particular account of his adventures, in this escape, may not be unacceptable to the reader in his own words; which is thus. —On the 11th of Dec. at midnight, by the helpe of two faithfull servants, which I did dare trust, I got my horses prepared, and was conducted by one of them that night to Hexham, where I procured an honest guide to Carlisle the nearest of the King's garrisons, and the most considerable place which then held out for the King. —I had no sooner got to Carlisle (where I was very kindly received by Mr Howard the governor, &c.) but the very day after, being Saturday, the post brought in the dismall newes, of the defeat of some of his Majesties troopes at Reading, and others deserting in such sort, that hee was forced to withdraw out of the Kingdome, together with some intimations to the Governour, that it was to no purpose for him to hold out the place, but that hee being a Roman Catholick, it would be most prudent, and not displeasing to his Majesty, for him to retire, and leave the government to the old governour, Sir Christopher Musgrave, — [which he immediately did]. This direfull catastrophe, which did both astonish and afflict mee, to see our Sovereigne, —treated with so much brutality, betrayed by those hee thought his best freinds, deserted by his nearest relations, forbidden his own palace, and forced out of his kingdome, did immediately, without much consideration incline mee to leave it also, to manefest my just indignation against rebellion and treachery: —and I did resolve accordingly to hasten into France to share with my Sovereigne in his misfortunes. In order whereunto (after I had visited the Bishop of Carlisle at Rose-castle, —and deposited with his Lordship some solemn assurances of living and dying in the right Church-of-England-Religion) I departed from Carlisle Dec. the 19 towards Scotland, with a single servant, a Scotch man, whom I had newly entertained, to conduct me to Edinburgh, hoping at Leith, or some other seaport on that coast to procure shipping for France. But resting a day or two at Allifon Banke, on the borders, to confer with an honest loyall Gentleman, who had ingaged there to meet mee, I fell into the hands of the rabble, who then with fury ragged up and downe, on the firing of the beacons thereabouts very rashly and indiscreetly, by some credulous and temporising Justices, who gave credit to the false and malicious reports, of the landing of Irish Papists, burning of towns, and massacring of people wherever they came. These villaines headed by one Palmer a notorious rogue and murderer, who had but lately escaped the gallows, seized on mee for a Popish Preist and Jesuite on Dec. 21 about eleven at night, and pulled me out of my bed, rifling my pockets, and my chamber, carrying away my horses, (two geldings worth 40l.) and my portman-

tue, and mounting mee on a little jade not worth 40 s. Thus disgracefully conducting mee to a poor ale-house on the English side, three miles off, where they search'd my portmantue, and plunder'd mee of a bag of money, and some small pieces of plate, with other things; leaving mee afterwards in the hands of the watch, and a Constable to lead mee away on foot, in a severe cold frosty night, with a heavy riding coate, and great bootes (ill accoutrements for walking) to march to Carlisle, to bee examined before one Capt. Bub, and other officers then in the garnison, and by whom they did hope to have been rewarded (as they afterwards declared) for their good service to the country in securing (as they stiled mee) a fugitive and dangerous person. But being well known in the city, and travelling with the Governour Sir Christopher Musgrave's passe, they missed of their expectation and received a rebuke, while I had my horses, and the greatest part of my money restored mee, and was set at liberty, either to stay or depart the towne. —Tho' I was now, a second time, at liberty to goe where I pleased, and promised a passe if I would goe home to Durham, I did thinke it most prudent, to continue a while in that city, to remove the suspicion of my intended flight out of England, and accordingly lived unconcernedly there for 14 or 15 dayes, constantly attending God's publick service, and preaching in the cathedrall on Christmas-day, whereby I convinced people, I hope, that I was no Popish preist nor Jesuite. After this the countrey being more quiet, and no watches kept, —I left Carlisle, and ventured back towards Durham as far as Hexam, but with noe intention to goe home, designing, after I had shifted off a guide, and some servants who were sent with letters to mee, to strike out of the roade by Berwick towards Scotland; which I did, without any other considerable impediment, and on the 26th of Jan. arrived safe at Edinburgh; endeavouring, as soon as I could, to get admittance into the castle, and wait on the Duke of Gordon; to whom I communicated my designe of going to the King, and by whom I was informed of a vessel then in the roade ready to depart for France. Which opportunity I made use of, and was, after many tempests and a tedious voyage by reason of contrary winds, at last safely landed at Honfleur, on the 10th day of March N. S. the very day after his Majesties (10) departure from Brest for Ireland; which missing of the King was a great disappointment and mortification to mee. —He observes afterwards, that after having rested a whole week in that place, he departed on the 25th for Rouen; where he was very civilly entertained for some years by Mr Thomas Hacket, an English merchant (11).

(10) He meant K. James II.

[E] But likewise did all that lay in his power to deter, or rather to terrify, others from taking the oaths to their Majesties. — Namely, by representing the Revolution as a Rebellion and Uurpation. 'Yea such a Rebellion and Uurpation (says he) that no good Christian could (hee was satisfied in his conscience) joyne in the first, or uphold the latter; and consequently that no body could receive the communion, without injury to his soule, in the use of those prayers, which pray'd for the maintaining of both; since hee that received the blessed Supper of the Lord, in the office of any Church, set his seale to all the corruptions that were crept into that Church, and did, sin in a higher manner, profane God's sacred name, by using that holy ordinance to so impious an end (as to beg

(11) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 9—12.



pect, after the late King James's defeat in Ireland, of recovering his benefices; he repaired to the abdicated monarch's Court at St Germain: where though he had reason to expect an uncommonly kind reception, yet, because he was a Protestant, he was soon obliged to retire, not only from Court [F], but also from the town of St Germain (u). 'Tis said, that upon the death of Dr Lamplugh, he had the empty title of Archbishop of York, conferred upon him by King James (w): though others deny it, for *many very strong reasons* which they do not mention (x). In 1695, he came *incognito* to England, where he found no encouragement to make any stay (y). Having, for some years, enjoyed but an indifferent state of health (z), he died at his lodgings in Paris [G] April the 8th 1703, aged 64; and was buried at the lower end of the church-yard of the Holy Innocents, in that city (a). While he resided in England, he published a few small pieces [H], as he did a collection of Tracts, after his exile in France [I]. We shall reflect, in the note, upon some unreasonable Doctrines [K], which he earnestly inculcates in that collection. His nephew George Granville, Lord Lansdown, draws his character to great advantage,

(u) A View of the Court of St Germain, from the year 1690 to 1695, Lond. 1695, 4to, p. 5.

(w) Wood, ubi supra.

(x) See his article in the General Dictionary.

(y) Wood, ut supra.

(z) See his Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 12.

(a) See his article in the General Dictionary; and Br. Willis, ubi supra, p. 256.

'beg of God, by virtue of his Saviour's body and blood, the destruction of his lawful Prince) than hee that barely swears allegiance to an Usurper. Which yet, by the way, [adds he] whoever does, (let him understand) doth, in a manner, abjure his lawful Sovereign.' And this he lays down as a case of conscience, that he then ventured publickly to decide. — A few lines after, 'hee makes no doubt, but that the Churches in England must become empty, and the Altars thin; — for people can never heartily pray for their lawfull Prince, so long as they can concile themselves to the Devotions, which are solemnly in God's house, even at the very Communion-table, and in reception of the holy mysteries, offered up to heaven for the prosperity of his enemies, and depose. Whereunto all say Amen, in the very act of communicating — Which, to be done by people that pretend to retain in their hearts love for their banisht King, he conceived no better than a mere gally-moffry of Religion. And that if this be not halting betwixt God and Baal, he knew not what was (12).' — In all which strong expressions, his design was, to raise doubts and scruples in the consciences of most persons that had taken the oaths to King James, and deter them from swearing allegiance to King William; or, at least, to keep them from Church, and the Communion.

[F] Because he was a Protestant, he was soon obliged to retire from Court.] The author of *A View of the Court of St Germain*, informs us of this particular (13), in the following words. 'The first considerable step they [the Protestant party at that court] made, was to desire a Chappel from King James, for the exercise of their worship according to the Church of England, and propos'd Dr Granville, as a fit person to be their Chaplain; they urged the great encouragement, such a Toleration would give to his adherents in England, and what satisfaction it would be to such Protestants as followed him: but tho' common policy, and his circumstances, made every body believe that this request would be easily granted, yet it was positively denied, and Dr Granville obliged not only to retire from Court, but also from the town of St Germain, to avoid the daily insults of the Priests, and the dreaded consequences of the jealousies with which they possess't King James's Court against him.'

[G] He died at his lodgings in Paris.] He was taken ill of a fever at Corbeil the 2d of April 1703; came to his lodgings at Paris upon the *fosse* St Victor, on the 4th; and died there the 8th at six in the morning (14).

[H] While he resided in England, he published a few small pieces.] Namely, two Sermons, 1. 'The compleat Conformist: or, seasonable Advice concerning strict Conformity, and frequent celebration of the holy Communion.' Preached Jan. 7, 1682, in the Cathedral Church of Durham. Lond. 1684. 4to. 2. 'Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of Durham, upon the revival of the ancient laudable practice of that and some other cathedrals, in having Sermons on Wednesdays and Fridays during Advent and Lent.' Preached Dec. 2, 1685. Lond. 1686. 4to. 3. He also published, 'Counsel and Directions divine and moral: In plain and familiar Letters of

'Advice to a young Gentleman his nephew, soon after his admission into a College in Oxon' Lond. 1685, 8vo. That nephew of his, was, Thomas a younger son of Sir Thomas Higgon's Knt. by Bridget his second wife, sister of Dean Granville; and a Student in Magdalen-College, Oxon (15).

[I] As he did a Collection of Tracts, after his exile in France.] They were printed at Rouen, partly in 1689, and partly in 1691, 4to under this title, 'The resigned, and resolved Christian; and faithfull, and undaunted Loyalist: In two plaine farewell sermons, and a loyal farewell-visitation-speech Both delivered amidst the lamentable confusions occasioned by the late Foreign Invasion and Home-Defection of his Majesties subjects in England. Whereunto are added certaine Letters to his Relations and Friends in England, shewing the reasons and manner of his withdrawing out of the kingdom. 1. A letter to his brother the Earl of Bath. 2. A letter to his Bishop the Bishop of Durham. 3. A letter to his brethren the Prebendaries. 4. A letter to the Clergy of his Archdeaconry. 5. A letter to his Curates at Ealing-ton and Sedgfield.' With Directions to them, &c. This Book is very incorrect, as being compos'd by a Printer who did not understand English; and is now grown very scarce. At the beginning, there is a curious print of the Doctor, engraved by the famous Edelinck.

[K] We shall reflect — upon some unreasonable Doctrines, which he earnestly inculcates in that collection.] Such is, in particular, his over-strain'd notion of unlimited Obedience to Princes. For he lays it down as a plain and positive Duty, That 'subjects are bound to obey lawfull Princes whatever be their Opinion or Practices, — and that no Power upon earth could absolve him from his sworn Obedience (16). In consequence of which, he professes an immoveable adherence to the cause and interest of the Father of his country, [as he called the King] and an innate abhorrence of disputing, contesting, or rudely capitulating with his Prince, even then when he commanded things very contrary to his own sentiments, which he did judge not only *inexpedient*, but *prejudiciall* to the flourishing condition of our Church (17). Nay, he further declares, that 'no feares, or jealousies of Religion, Liberties, or Lawes, did ever tempt him (he blessed God) to any undue courses of Resistance, Opposition, or so much as unseemly capitulation, with God's Vicegerent to preserve them. Tho' he loved them all for well and dearly, that he could be contented to die for them in any place, or manner, unlesse it were with a sword in his hand lifted up against his Prince (18). — In one place, he speaks in the harshest terms of the Dutch. Our incens'd God, says he, may designe to teach us submission and subjection by so severe a method, as to make us, (who have been yet one of the freest and most happy Nations of Europe) Truckle to an upstart Commonwealth, to an Antimonarchical generation, who by their continual shelt'ring, encouraging, and assisting of Traytors, proclame their enmity to the very name of King; and that they would not leave (if they could have their will) one crown'd head in Christendom (19).'

(15) Wood Ath. ut supra.

(12) Observations on the Directions to his Curates, p. 55, 56.

(13) P. 5. as above.

(14) See General Dictionary, as above.

(16) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 18, 19.

(17) Ibid. p. 15.

(18) Ibid. p. 17.

(19) Visitation speech, p. 23.

[L] The



(b) Letter to a nephew of his, who was going into holy orders.

advantage, in the following words (b); 'Sanctity fate so easy, so unaffected, and so graceful upon him, that in him we beheld the very beauty of holiness. He was as cheerful, as familiar, as condescending in his conversation, as he was strict, regular, and exemplary in his piety; as well-bred and accomplished as a courtier, and as reverend and venerable as an Apostle. He was indeed Apostolical in every thing, for he abandoned all to follow his Lord and Master.' This latter part of his conduct, *The losing all*; which, in some mens opinion, was neither an argument of his wisdom nor prudence, shall be considered in the Note [L]. And from this great Man's example, (to conclude his article), we may learn the great danger and mischief of propagating absurd and unreasonable Doctrines. Since there will always be found some persons or other, that will embrace and stiffly defend them, though never so much to their own, or others, prejudice: all not being equally endowed with the same penetrating genius, or not having a yielding conscience alike.

(20) Preface to his Visitation-speech.

(21) Letter to his Curates, p. 40.

(22) Letter to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 17.

(23) PS. to letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 26.

[L] *The losing all; which, in some mens opinion, was neither an argument of his wisdom nor prudence, shall be considered in the Note.* His conduct in this point, appears, of course, an act not only of deplorable Folly (to use his own words) (20) but also of extreme Madnes; namely, to lose 'some of the best preferments in their kind (21), even the best Deanery, the best Archdeaconry, and one of best livings in England (22). But what extenuates his fault or error, is his solemn declaration, That what he did, he perform'd in the integrity of his heart, and innocency of his hands (23). That he chose to leave and sacrifice all his revenues to the mercy of his censurers, rather

than betray his Conscience; and submit to what he thought an Usurpation (24); his Conscience not permitting him to swallow any new dispensatory oaths, or distinctions (25). And that the doctrine of Non-resistance, which many had always, till of late, been fond of, set forth at large in our Church Homilies, did justify his behaviour (26). Therefore he was fully satisfied, that the following of his master, to whom he had sworn allegiance, even with the loss of his whole revenues; was the most honest, the best, and wisest action of his whole life. And he exulted in it, as a felicity, which did not only wonderfully support, but sometimes almost transported him (27).

(24) Dedication letter to his Curates, p. 40. and to the Vice-Dean, &c. p. 13.

(25) Letter to the Bishop, p. 5.

(26) Letter to the Vice-Dean, p. 15. and to his Curates, p. 37.

(27) Letter to the Earl of Bath, p. 23.

(a) Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Vol. I. col. 311. See his own preface to his observations, &c.

(b) Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 311.

(c) Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, p. 219.

(d) Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 311.

(e) See his Preface to his Observations on the Bills.

GRAUNT [JOHN], a Citizen of London, a person of great sagacity and penetration, and a very sensible and ingenious writer. He was the son of Mr Henry Graunt, who kept the Seven Stars in Birchin Lane, in the Parish of St Michael Cornhill, where he was born April 24, 1620 (a). He was bred up in all the strictness of those times, and when he arrived at a proper age was put apprentice to a Haberdasher of small wares, which trade he afterwards followed though he was free of the Drapers Company (b). He came early into business, and acquired by his candid behaviour, singular integrity, and uncommon moderation, so great a character and so extensive an interest, that though he was but thirty years of age he was able to procure for his friend Dr Petty the chair of Musick Professor in Gresham College; which was then vacant by the resignation of Dr Richard Knight (c). His remarkable abilities, and his no less remarkable probity, recommended him so much to the esteem of his fellow-citizens, that after passing through the ward offices he came to be elected a Common-Council-Man, and as he was of a very mild and friendly disposition, he was often chosen an arbitrator for composing differences amongst neighbours and preventing law-suits; in which, by the strength of his natural good sense, and that distinguishing faculty, which enabled him to discern truth wherever he sought it, and furnished him also with a facility of making it clear to others, he did great service and acquired an universal reputation (d). It is not certain at what time he began to collect and consider the bills of mortality, but it is very clear from his own account of the matter, that he employed several years, and was at great pains and some expence in drawing together his materials, before he had any thoughts of publishing the discoveries he made by the help of those papers, which he very judiciously conceived were capable of giving great lights into many and those very important subjects (e). What he chiefly aimed at in these speculations, was to introduce not only a new manner, but new principles of reasoning; which being established upon matters of fact, might have a more certain basis, and being subjected to the rules of calculation carry with them the light of evidence in respect to matters, as to which the opinion of mankind had hitherto been guided entirely by conjecture. This was a new as well as noble design, and executed with as much spirit as there appeared sagacity in forming it. His observations were first published in the spring of the year 1662, and were preceded by a very modest dedication to John Lord Roberts of Truro then Lord Privy-Seal. They were received as they deserved with equal admiration and applause, and went through five editions in less than fifteen years [A]. The points

[A] *And went through five editions in less than fifteen years.* We should not have troubled the reader with the distinct detail of these five editions in this note, if we did not apprehend that the consideration of their titles, and of some other circumstances, would not a little contribute, to clear the history of this eminent and worthy person. The title therefore of this work, at it's original publication, was, *Natural and Political Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality, &c.* Lond. 1661, 4to. The Dedication to Lord Roberts

is dated January 25. The title of the second edition ran thus, *Natural and Political Observations mentioned in the following Index, and made upon the Bills of Mortality*, by John Graunt, Citizen of London. With reference to the Government, Religion, Trade, Growth, Air, Diseases, and the several Changes of the said City. The Second Edition. To which his Dedication to Sir Robert Moray was prefixed; this was also in quarto, and printed in 1662. The third edition was in 1665, in virtue of an order of the Council of the Royal Society,



points handled in this work were treated in so perspicuous and satisfactory a manner, and had so visible a tendency to establish some of the great truths of Revealed Religion, upon the testimonies of sense and reason, that those who thought freely, and were desirous that men might have their enquiries answered rather than checked, were extremely well pleased. His observations upon Polygamy were judged to be particularly strong and conclusive, and indeed the more what he has advanced on that head is considered, the more the acuteness of his wit, and the solidity of his judgment, must be acknowledged by every ingenious reader (f) [B]. In the conclusion of his work, he has very clearly and concisely pointed

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J. Newton's  
Religious Philosophy, Vol. I. p.  
310.  
Hugb. Future  
State of England,  
p. 249.

ciety, dated June 20 the same year. This was in octavo, and the author is styled in the title page Captain John Graunt, and Fellow of the Royal Society. This was published in the plague year; and, in the Appendix, the author says, that unless the weekly bills rose to above eight thousand four hundred in one week, the mortality would not be greater than in the plague of 1625 (1); but the weekly bill did never rise to that number, though it came very near it; for, September 19, it amounted to eight thousand two hundred ninety seven, and continued to sink gradually ever after (2). The fourth edition was likewise in octavo, and the author is therein styled Major John Graunt. The fifth edition, in octavo likewise, was in 1676, after the author's death, and published by the care of Sir William Petty; and it is from his speaking of this edition as his own (3), that some have rashly concluded the book to be so; but as the reader will see, in a subsequent note, Sir William had no such meaning.

[B] *Must be acknowledged by every ingenious reader.* After having established the matter of fact, that there are actually more males born than females, in a certain proportion, he proceeds thus (4). It may be concluded from hence, that the Christian Religion, prohibiting polygamy, is more agreeable to the law of nature, that is, the law of God, than the Mahometan, and others that allow it; for one man, his having many women, or wives by law, signifies nothing, unless there were many women to one man in nature also.

The obvious objection hereunto is, that one horse, bull, or ram, having each of them many females, do promote increase. To which I answer, that although perhaps there be naturally, even of these species, more males than females, yet artificially, that is, by making geldings, oxen, and weathers, there are fewer. From whence it will follow, that when by experience it is found how many ewes (suppose twenty) one ram will serve, we may know what proportion of male lambs to castrate or geld, viz. nineteen, or thereabouts; for if you emasculate fewer, viz. but ten, you shall, by promiscuous copulation of each of these ten with two females, hinder the increase so far as the admittance of two males will do it; but if you castrate none at all, it is highly probable that every of the twenty males copulating with every of the twenty females, there will be little or no conception in any of them all.

And this I take to be the truest reason why foxes, wolves, and other vermin, animals that are not gelt, increase not faster than sheep; when as so many thousand of these are daily butchered, and very few of the other die otherwise than of themselves.

We have hitherto said, That there are more males than females; we say next, that the one exceed the other by about a thirteenth part. So that, although more men die violent deaths than women, that is, more are slain in wars, killed by mischance, drowned at sea, and die by the hand of justice; moreover, more men go to colonies and travel into foreign parts than women; and lastly, more remain unmarried than of women, as fellows of colleges and apprentices above eighteen; yet the said thirteenth part difference bringeth the business but to such a pass, that every woman may have a husband without the allowance of polygamy.

Moreover, although a man be prolific full forty years, and a woman but five and twenty, which makes the males to be as five hundred and sixty, to three hundred twenty five females, yet the causes above named, and the later marriage of the men, reduce all to an equality.

It appearing that there were fourteen men to thirteen women, and that they die in the same proportion also, yet I have heard Physicians say that they have two wo-

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men patients to one man; which assertion seems very likely, for that women are sick of breedings, &c.

Now from this it should follow, that more women should die than men, if the number of burials answered in proportion to that of sicknesses; but this must be salved, either by alledging that the Physicians cure those sicknesses, so as few more die than if none were sick, or else that men being more intemperate than women, die as much by reason of their vices, as women do by the infirmity of their sex, and consequently more males being born than females, more also die.

In the year 1642 many males went out of London into the wars then beginning, insomuch, as I expected in the succeeding year 1643 to have found the burials of females to have exceeded those of males, but no alteration appeared; forasmuch, as I suppose, trading continuing the same in London, all those who lost their apprentices had others out of the country; and if any left their trades and shops, that others forthwith succeeded them; for if employment for hands remained the same, no doubt but the number of them could not long continue in disproportion.

Another pregnant argument to the same purpose, which hath already been touched on, is, That although in the very year of the plague, the christenings decreased, by the dying and flying of teeming women; yet the very next year after they increased somewhat, but the second after to as full a number as in the second year before the said plague; for I say again, if there be encouragement for an hundred in London, that is, a way how an hundred may live better than in the country, and if there be void housing there to receive them, the evacuating a fourth or third part of them must soon be supplied out of the country; so as the great plague doth not lessen the inhabitants of the city but of the country, who in a short time remove themselves from thence hither, so long, until the city, for want of receipt and encouragement, regurgitates and sends them back.

From the difference between males and females, we see the reason of making eunuchs in those places where polygamy is allowed, the latter being useless as to multiplication without the former, as was said before in case of sheep and other animals, usually gelt in these countries.

By consequence, this practice of castration serves as well to promote increase, as to meliorate the flesh of those beasts that suffer it. For that operation is equally practised upon horses, which are creatures not used for food, as upon those that are.

In Popish countries, where polygamy is forbidden, if a greater number of males oblige themselves to celibacy than the natural overplus or difference between them and females amounts unto, then multiplication is hindered; for if there be eight men to ten women, all of which eight men are married to eight of the ten women, then the other two bear no children, as either admitting no man at all, or else admitting men, as whores, that is, more than one, which commonly procreates no more than if none at all had been used: or else such unlawful copulations beget conceptions, but to frustrate them by procured abortions or secret murders, all which returns to the same reckoning. Now if the same proportion of women oblige themselves to a single life likewise, then such obligation makes no change in this matter of increase.

From what hath been said, appears the reason why the law is, and ought to be, so strict against fornications and adulteries; for if there were universal liberty, the increase of mankind would be but like that of foxes at best.

Now, forasmuch as princes are not only powerful but rich, according to the number of their people (hands being

(1) See Mr Oldenberg's letter to R. Boyle, Esq; Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 613.

(2) See the Bill for the Plague year in our author's book.

(3) An Essay concerning the multiplication of mankind, by Sir W. P. p. 13.

(4) Major Graunt's Observations, fifth edition, p. 65—71.



out the principal heads; which in the course of his observation are investigated, and he farther shews to what great and weighty subjects they may be applied, so as to raise a new and accurate theory of policy, which in the hands of able and judicious statesmen, that is, such as are not only capable of making right deductions, but are also from a just and generous principle of public spirit, inclined to carry them into execution, may turn to very great account, and enable them to render the government they administer powerful, and the people who live under it happy. But he modestly declined prosecuting such enquiries

(g) Observations  
on the Bills of  
Mortality, p. 96.

(g) [C]. It is very probable he might have another reason, which was leaving these things

being the father, as lands are the mother and womb of wealth) it is no wonder why states, by encouraging marriage, and hindering licentiousness, advance their own interest, as well as preserve the laws of God from contempt and violation.

It is a blessing to mankind, that by this overplus of males there is this natural bar to polygamy, for, in such a state, women could not live in that parity and equality of expence with their husbands, as now and here they do.

The reason whereof is not that the husband cannot maintain as splendidly three as one, for he might, having three wives, live himself upon a quarter of his income, that is, in a parity with all three, as well as having but one, live in the same parity at half with her alone: but rather, because that to keep them all quiet with each other and himself, he must keep them all in greater awe and less splendour, which power he having, he will probably use it to keep them all as low as he pleases, and at no more cost than makes for his own pleasure, the poorest subjects (such as this plurality of wives must be) being most easily governed.

We should not have given the reader this long specimen of our author's method of reasoning, had it not been that we have some observations on what he has delivered, that having never been published, may perhaps afford him some instruction, or, at least, entertainment. 'There never was any apprehension more groundless, than that Experimental Philosophy should prove detrimental to Revealed Religion. Experiments are enquiries made by human reason into the works of God; and the knowledge collected from thence, is in reality a kind of Revelation. To suppose therefore that any discoveries of this kind should contradict what has been delivered by inspired writers, is to suppose a repugnance between the words and works of God, which is impossible. Take Mr Graunt's demonstration as to the proportion between males and females, and compare it with the following passage from the Gospel. *And the Pharisees came to Jesus and asked him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? tempting him. And he answered and said unto them, What did Moses command you? And they said, Moses suffered to write a bill of divorcement, and put her away. And Jesus answered and said unto them, For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept. But from the beginning of the creation God made them male and female. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and cleave to his wife; and they twain shall be one flesh, so then they are no more twain but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder* (5). The blessed author of this discourse assumes a law of nature for the ground of his doctrine, Mr Graunt's observations have demonstrated that this law subsists in nature. We may say the same thing with regard to Christ's doctrine of a particular Providence, because, from the same observations it clearly appears, that those events which are vulgarly considered as the most in the power of chance, are governed by certain rules, yet not strictly and invariably, but within the limits properly assigned, so as to prove at once the infinite wisdom and freedom of will in the Divine Being. The ingenious Dr Arbuthnot has pushed this thought of Mr Graunt's to the utmost, and demonstrated a particular Providence to every man who knows that two and two makes four. He has given an accurate table of the number of males and females christened yearly in London from 1629 to 1710, that is, for eighty-two years (6). Upon this he makes these four observations. 1. That at London, in these eighty-two following years, the number of males has exceeded that of females every year. 2. That the

(5) Mark. cap.  
x. 2—9. Matth.  
cap. v. 32, and  
xix. 9.

difference thereof has always lain between two terms not far from one another. So that, 3. There were always more males born than one half of the children amounted to in one year. And 4. That the number of the males never exceeded that of the females so far, that almost all the children should be males. He then computes what the chance is that such a proportion should be preserved eighty-two times together, and that it makes a number of twenty-five figures following each other, the five first of which are 48357, to one, that it should not happen, and consequently this is the odds that this world is governed by Providence and not by chance. Now in case it is so many against one that this should not happen in London eighty two years together, let any one experienced in calculations consider how great a number there will be against one, that the same thing don't happen throughout the whole world, and so often in eighty-two years following, and then let him judge whether it can be believed that chance has any place here: for that this has really happened many ages together, and in all places of the world, may be maintained with great probability, because that, in all times and in all places, the men are exposed to more dangers than the women, and nevertheless there will be found in all countries men for women and women for men, of equal age and condition (7).

[C] *As seeming to be above the reach and out of the rood of a private man.* In this conclusion, our author draws together in a few lines the substance of his whole book, by which he shews what a prodigious structure he has raised upon materials common to the observation of all men, but upon which none had ever attempted to build before; and, not content with this, he points out to his reader, to how many and how different great works these materials may still be applied

(8). 'It may be now asked, says he, To what purpose tends all this laborious bustling and groping? To know, 1. The number of people? 2. How many males and females? 3. How many married and single? 4. How many teeming women? 5. How many of every septenary or decad of years in age? 6. How many fighting men? 7. How much London is, and by what steps it hath, increased? 8. In what time the housing is replenished after a plague? 9. What proportion die of each general and particular casualties? 10. What years are fruitful and mortal, and in what spaces and intervals they follow each other? 11. In what proportion men neglect the orders of the Church, and sects have increased? 12. The disproportion of parishes? 13. Why the burials in London exceed the christenings, when the contrary is visible in the country? To this I might answer in general, by saying, that those who cannot apprehend the reason of these enquiries, are unfit to trouble themselves to ask them. I might answer, by asking, Why so many have spent their times and estates about the art of making gold? which, if it were much known, would only exalt silver into the place which gold now possesseth; and if it were known but to some one person, the same single adeptus could not, nay durst not, enjoy it, out must be either a prisoner to some prince, and slave to some voluptuary, or else skulk obscurely up and down for his privacy and concealment. I might answer, That there is much pleasure in deducing so many abstruse and unexpected inferences out of these poor despised bills of mortality, and in building upon that ground which hath lain waste these eighty years. And there is pleasure in doing something new, though never so little, without pestering the world with voluminous transcriptions. But I answer more seriously, by complaining, that whereas the art of governing, and the true politics,

(7) Nieuwentyt's  
Religious Philo-  
sopher, Vol. I.  
p. 317.

(8) Graunt's  
Observations, p.  
95.

(6) Philosophical  
Transactions, No.  
328, p. 136.



things to the care and industry of a friend, whom he thought every way equal to so great a task. In short, there is nothing plainer, than that our author's observations on the bills of mortality were the elements of the famous Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic (*b*). It is not unknown to us, that some writers have affirmed, he received some assistance from that ingenious person in composing those observations, which possibly may be true (*i*). But, that he was so assisted as not to have been able to proceed without his help, we hold to be a great mistake, and a very unkind reflection upon his memory; which may be proved by many arguments [*D*]. At the time of publishing this work, he

was

tics, is how to preserve the subject in peace and plenty; that men study only that part of it which teacheth how to supplant and over-reach one another, and how, not by fair out running, but by tripping up each other's heels, to win the prize. Now the foundation or elements of this honest harmless policy, is to understand the land, and the hands of the territory to be governed, according to all their intrinsic and accidental differences: as for example; It were good to know the true geometrical content, figure, and situation, of all the lands of a kingdom, especially according to it's most natural, permanent, and conspicuous bounds. It were good to know how much hay an acre of every sort of meadow will bear, how many cattle the same weight of each sort of hay will feed and fatten, what quantity of grain and other commodities the same acre will bear, in one, three, or seven years, communibus annis, unto what use each soil is most proper. All which particulars I call the intrinsic value: for there is also another value merely accidental, or extrinsic, consisting of the causes why a parcel of land lying near a good market may be worth double to another parcel, though both of the same intrinsic goodness, which answers the queries, why lands in the North of England are worth but sixteen years purchase, and those of the West above eight and twenty. It is no less necessary to know how many people there be of each sex, state, age, religion, trade, rank, or degree, &c. by the knowledge whereof, trade and government may be made more certain and regular, for if men knew the people as aforesaid, they might know the consumption they would make, so as trade might not be hoped for where it is impossible. As for instance, I have heard much complaint, that trade is not set in some of the south western and north western parts of Ireland, there being so many excellent harbours for that purpose; whereas, in several of those places, I have also heard, there are few other inhabitants but such as live ex sponte creatis, and are unfit subjects for trade, as neither employing others, nor working themselves. Moreover, if all these things were clearly and truly known, which I have but guessed at, it would appear how small a part of the people work upon necessary labours and callings: viz. how many women and children do just nothing, only learning to spend what others get; how many are mere voluptuaries, and, as it were, mere gamesters by trade; how many live by puzzling poor people with unintelligible notions in Divinity and Philosophy; how many, by persuading credulous, delicate, and litigious persons, that their bodies or estates are out of tune, and in danger; how many by fighting as soldiers, how many by ministries of vice and sin, how many by trades of mere pleasure or ornaments, and how many in ways of lazy attendance, &c. upon others: and, on the other side, how few are employed in raising and working necessary food and covering; and, of the speculative men, how few do study nature and things! The more ingenious not advancing much further than to write and speak wittily about these matters. I conclude, that a clear knowledge of all these particulars, and many more, whereat I have shot but at rovers, is necessary, in order to good, certain, and easy government, and even to balance parties and factions both in Church and State. But whether the knowledge thereof be necessary to many, or fit for others than the sovereign and his ministers, I leave to consideration.

[*D*] Which may be proved by many arguments.] In the attributing these observations on the bills of mortality to Sir William Petty, the authorities of two authors concur, which we have not been accustomed to cite to-

gether. The first is Mr Anthony Wood, who, speaking of Mr Graunt's book, this way. It was done upon certain hints and advice of Sir William Petty. Again, speaking of Sir William Petty's Observations upon the Dublin bills, which were not published till 1683, adds, He had long before assisted, or put into a way, John Graunt, in his writing of his Observations (10). &c. Bishop Burnet is more explicit; he says, there was one Graunt, a Papist, under whose name Sir William Petty published his observations on the bills of mortality (11). Neither of these writers tell us whence they had their informations, nor are they very consistent. If we believe Wood, Sir William Petty assisted Graunt, but if we yield any credit to the prelate, then Graunt did not so much as assist Sir William Petty, any farther than lending his name, and why Sir William should borrow it does not appear. If we consider this fact, there are various circumstances that render it very improbable that Sir William Petty gave Mr Graunt any assistance, and much less that it was his book. In the first place, Mr Graunt was the elder man by about three years, which is of some weight, if we consider that the collecting the materials for this work, reducing them into tables, and putting them together, required a great deal of time, and that all this was done when both were very young men. In the next place, Mr Graunt was a native and citizen of London, had lived there all his life, and therefore had reason, opportunity, and some kind of call, to undertake such a kind of performance, which Dr Petty, for so he was called, being not knighted, till after this book was published, never had. Thirdly, though the fame and credit of Sir William Petty came, in process of time, greatly to surpass that of Graunt, yet this was not the case when the work in question was composed, and therefore no ground for the suggestion, that Dr Petty should take such a liberty with Graunt. Fourthly, this is so much the more unlikely, as Sir William Petty owed his fame to his abilities, and his fortune to his fame; so that he could have no temptation to employ his great abilities, merely to transfer that fame to another man. Lastly, whoever looks into the occurrences of Sir William Petty's life (12), will find, that at the juncture Mr Graunt composed this book, his friend was in the least condition to help him, for he was employed in surveying Ireland, in raising a vast fortune, and in defending that fortune, when raised, against attacks of several kinds, as well in as out of the parliaments of both kingdoms. After shewing the insinuation to be improbable, by argument, we will next shew that the fact is false, from authorities, and these authorities, such as could scarce be expected, will not be denied, and cannot be refuted. In the first place we have Major Graunt's own testimony. In his dedication to Lord Roberts, he says, 'Having (I know not by what accident) engaged my thoughts upon the bills of mortality, and so far succeeded therein, as to have reduced several great confused volumes into a few perspicuous tables, and abridged such observations as naturally flowed from them, into a few succinct paragraphs; without any long series of multiloquious deductions, I have presumed to sacrifice these my small, but first published, papers unto your Lordship, as unto whose benign acceptance of some other of my papers, even the birth of these is due, hoping, if I may without vanity say it, they may be of as much use to persons in your Lordship's place, as they are of little or none to me; which is no more than the fairest diamonds are to the journeyman jeweller that works them, or the poor labourer that first digged them from the earth.' In his dedication to Sir Robert Moray, there is much to the same purpose, in expressions as strong as words could make them. In his preface, he tells us how he

(9) Wood's History of the City of London, Vol. I. col. 341.

(10) Arian Oxon. Vol. II. col. 310.

(11) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(12) See the Life of PETTY [Sir WILLIAM] in this work.

came



was a Captain of the Trained-Bands, which is the reason that we find them generally stiled Captain Graunt's Observations, and became afterwards a Major; which command it is probable he resigned, when he quitted business. His book raised him so high in the esteem of King Charles the second, that he was pleased to recommend him particularly as a fit person to be chosen a member of the Royal Society at its first institution; and the learned and eloquent author of the history of that Society informs us, that in his election it was so far from being a prejudice that he was a shopkeeper of London, that his Majesty gave it in particular charge, if they found any more such tradesmen they should be sure to admit them all (*k*). After he left off business, he was admitted, as a trustee for Sir William Backhouse, into the management of the New River Company (*l*), which, with the unlucky circumstance of his being perverted to Popery, gave occasion to the groundless calumny, spread by more than one author, of his having some hand in the fire of London (*m*), which the reader will find fully refuted at the bottom of the page [*E*]. He continued his appli-

cation

came to take up the design, the manner in which he prosecuted it, the difficulties he met with, the methods he used to overcome them, and the apprehensions he had of submitting to the view of the public what had been the business of his private meditations. After all this, to suppose he was not the author of his book, is to suppose him the greatest liar, and the most disingenuous man, upon earth, though his character was quite the contrary. The next authority is that of the King, who recommended him, as the author of this book, to be elected a member of the Royal Society. Then of the Society itself, who not only elected him, but ordered the treatise in question to be printed as his book by their own printer (*n*). We may add that of the prelate, who reports these facts as the historian of the Society, and of their secretary, in a private letter to Mr Boyle (*o*). Lastly, we have Sir William Petty's own testimony, in at least forty places, that it was Graunt's book, and that it was not his. In 1681, Sir William Petty published his observations on the Dublin bills of mortality, and the very first words of this little piece are entirely sufficient for our purpose (*p*). 'The observations upon the London bills of mortality have been a new light to the world, and the like observations upon those of Dublin, may serve as snuffers, to make the same candle burn clearer. The London observations flowed from bills regularly kept for near one hundred years, but these are squeezed out of six straggling London bills, out of fifteen Dublin bills, and from a note of the families and hearths in each parish in Dublin, which are all digested into the following tables, consisting of three parts, marked A. B. C. being indeed the A. B. C. of public œconomy, and even of that policy which tends to peace and plenty.' We may safely conclude, from what he says of both works, and the different circumstances under which they were composed, that he who made the snuffers did not make the candle. In his five essays in political arithmetic, dedicated to the King, he uses these expressions, *the London bills appear in Graunt's book to have been always since the year 1636 as they now are—As to the number of heads in each family I stick to Graunt's observations—Graunt affirmeth upon observation, that three died in eighty-eight per annum—Graunt has shewn that but one in twenty die per annum of young children under ten years old.—It was proved by Graunt that one fifth part of the people died of the plague.* But because he has sometimes referred to the edition of Graunt's book in 1676 as his own, an opinion grew, that he was either the author of the book, or had much assisted the author; and it is to prevent this opinion from being, upon very uncertain authorities, established with posterity as a fact, that we have most willingly taken so much pains, in justice to the memory of this worthy man, and to the public.

[*E*] At the bottom of the page.] The first time this strange charge appeared, seems to have been in Mr Archdeacon Echard's History (*q*), where it is thus related. 'As to the Papists contributing to this fire, I have been told by an eminent prelate, that Dr Graunt, one of that religion, was strongly suspected, who, having a share in the water house by Islington, contrived, as is believed, to stop up the pipes the night before the fire broke out; so that it was many hours before that any water could be got after the usual manner in the city. After all examinations, there was but one man tried for being the incendiary,

who, confessing the fact, was executed for it. This was Robert Hubert a French Hugonot, of Rohan in Normandy, a person falsely said to be a Papist, but really a sort of a lunatic, who by mere accident was brought into England just before the breaking out of the fire, but not landed 'till two days after, as afterwards appeared by the evidence of Laurence Peterfon, the master of the ship, who had him on board.' Bishop Burnet explains and sets this story (*r*) in a much stronger light. 'The most extraordinary passage, says he, though it is but a presumption, was told me by Dr Lloyd and the Countess of Clarendon. The latter had a great estate in the new river that is brought from Ware to London, which is brought together at Islington, where there is a great room full of pipes that convey it through all the streets of London. The constant order of that matter was to set all the pipes a running on Saturday night, that so the cisterns might be all full by Sunday morning, there being a more than ordinary consumption of water on that day. There was one Graunt, a Papist, under whose name Sir William Petty published his observations on the bills of mortality. He had some time before applied himself to Lloyd, who had great credit with the Countess of Clarendon, and said he could raise that estate considerably if she would make him a trustee for her. His schemes were probable: and he was made one of the board that governed that matter: and by that he had a right to come as oft as he pleased to view their works at Islington. He went thither the Saturday before the fire broke out, and called for the key of the place where the heads of the pipes were, and turned all the cocks that were then open, and stopt the water, and went away, and carried the keys with him. So when the fire broke out next morning, they opened the pipes in the streets to find water, but there was none. And some hours were lost in sending to Islington, where the door was to be broke open, and the cocks turned. And it was long before the water got to London. Graunt indeed denied that he had turned the cocks. But the officer of the works affirmed that he had, according to order, set them all a running, and that no person had got the keys from him besides Graunt, who confessed he had carried away the keys, but pretended he did it without design.' Almost as soon as this prelate's work appeared, it was asserted by a person who made some remarks upon it, that he was credibly informed, Graunt, at the time of the fire, was not in the management of the New River company (*s*). But a very ingenious and inquisitive writer, who to the indefatigable industry of Strype adds the honest impartiality of Stowe, has treated this matter largely and fairly, the reader, without doubt, will peruse his account with pleasure (*t*). In order to inform myself in respect to Bishop Burnet's relation, regarding Dr Lloyd, the Countess of Clarendon, and Mr Graunt, I applied to the governor and company of the New River, who generously ordered Mr Jasper Bull, their clerk, and Mr Henry Mill, their engineer, to let me have such accounts belonging to the company as were proper to be published. Whereupon I had recourse to their minute book, wherein I found, that at a general court of the said company, held at Mr Clifton's in Covent-Garden, (I suppose a tavern, because the company's courts were long before and after kept at such houses) on the 25th of September, anno

(17) History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(18) Remarks upon Burnet, p. 50.

(19) Maitland's History of London, p. 291.

1666

(*k*) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 67.

(*l*) Maitland's History of London, p. 291.

(*m*) Echard's History of England, p. 831. Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 231.

(*n*) See this or other prefixed to Graunt's Observations.

(*o*) Sprat's Hist. of the Royal Society, p. 67. Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 335.

(*p*) Observations upon Dublin Bills, p. 1.

(*q*) History of England, p. 833.



cation to his studies, and made some considerable additions to his observations but two years before his death, which happened on the 18th of April 1674 (u), when he was within a week of fifty-four years of age; on the 22d of the same month his body was interred in the parish church of St Dunstan in Fleetstreet, when some of the most eminent and ingenious persons of that time, and amongst them his old friend Sir William Petty, with tears paid their last devoirs to his memory (o). He is said to have left behind him a discourse upon the advance of excise, and some papers on religion, which have never been published (p). It is highly to his honour, and ought ever to be remembered, that immediately after the publication of his book, Lewis the Fourteenth, or his ministers, provided by a law for the most exact register of births and burials that is any where in Europe (q), and that not only Sir William Petty, but Sir Peter Pett, Mr Daniel King, Dr Davenant, and in a word all that tribe of writers, took his observations for their Accidence; and whatever their merit may be, derived it from him; to whom, as advocates for the dead, it is but just that we restore it.

(u) See his appendix to the fourth edition of his Observations.

(o) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 311.

(p) Idem, ibid.

(q) Happy Future State of England, p. 249.

1666, at which court John Graunt, Esq; was first admitted a member of the said New River company, in the room of Alexander Broom, deceased, in trust for one of the shares belonging to Sir William Backhouse, Knight, who dying in the year 1669, Dame Flower Backhouse (I suppose his relict) became possessed of nine of his shares; and, on the twelfth of November in the same year, she appointed the said Mr Graunt as one of her trustees in the said company: whereby it is manifest, that the above recited relation which the Bishop had of Dr Lloyd and the Countess of Clarendon, has not the least foundation. For by what has been said, it is evident that Mr Graunt was not admitted into the government of the New River company, 'till twenty-three days after the breaking out of the fire of London, and then put in trust by the abovenamed Sir William Backhouse, whose relict, daughter, relation, or namesake, the abovementioned Dame Flower Backhouse, was some time after married to Henry Lord Cornbury, eldest son to the Earl of Clarendon, and who by right of his said lady was first admitted a member of the said company, on the tenth of November, in the year 1670, and afterward as Earl of Clarendon, on the ninth of November 1676, being the first of that family that ever was concerned in the New River company. There are some few points farther, worth remarking; first, it is not very certain that at the time of the fire Mr Graunt

was a Papist, since the additions to his book in 1665 speak him otherwise. The Parliament met on the 18th of September 1666, and on the very day that Mr Graunt was admitted a member of the New River company, they appointed a committee to enquire into the causes of the fire (20). The report made by Sir Robert Brook, chairman of that committee, contains abundance of extraordinary relations, but not one word of the cocks being stopped, or any suspicions of Mr Graunt. Besides, if he had thrust himself into this affair, as the two Bishops suggest, and had been questioned about it, it would have been highly imprudent in him, and much more so in the company, to admit him to their board. It is very plain from hence, that the story was not invented 'till some considerable time after the fire, when Mr Graunt was known to be a Papist; and this accounts for several other mistakes, such as the Countess's saying he was her trustee, which did not happen 'till three years after the fire. For this Dame Flower Backhouse was the daughter and sole heir of William Backhouse, of Swallowfield, in the county of Berks, Esq; first married to Sir William Backhouse, Bart. and after his decease to Henry Lord Cornbury. These shares in the New River company descended to this lady from Sir John Backhouse, Alderman of London, who was concerned with Sir Hugh Middleton in the original undertaking (21).

(20) A true and faithful account of the several informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee, appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the late dreadful burning of the city of London, printed 1667 without the publisher's name.

(21) Dugdale's Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 479. Ashmole's Antiquities of Berkshire, Vol. II. p. 375.

GREAVES [JOHN] an eminent Mathematician and Antiquary, was born in 1602, at Colemore near Alresford in Hampshire; and educated there under his father John Greaves Rector of the place, and a celebrated school-master (a). At the age of fifteen he removed to Baliol College (b) in Oxford, and applying closely to the academical studies commenced A. B. July 6, 1621. Three years after which, standing candidate for a fellowship of Merton College, he was the first of five who were elected. June 25 1628 proceeded A. M. (c). At which time the extraordinary proficiency he had made not only in the languages and critical learning but also in the Mathematicks, brought him into an intimate acquaintance with several of the most eminent scholars (d) in the university, particularly with Mr Peter Turner then senior fellow of his college, and Geometry Professor at Gresham, who resigning this latter place was succeeded therein by our author [A] Feb.

(c) Wood ubi supra & fasti, Vol. I. col. 218, 240. The reason of his deferring this degree so long is not certainly known, perhaps it might be occasioned by some private statute of that College.

(d) As Dr Henry Briggs, Dr John Bainbridge, and others. Smith in vita Joh. Gravii inter vitas illustrium virorum, p. 5. edit. 1707, 4to.

[A] He succeeded Mr Turner at Gresham.] Dr Ward, who (1) intimates his opinion that Mr Turner's friendship was particularly serviceable to our author in this election, gives us the following testimonial, recommending him from Oxford.

Whereas Mr John Greaves, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Merton College in Oxford, hath desired letters testimonial concerning his sufficiency in the Mathematicks: We whose names are under-written, having knowledge of him, some by daily conversation, others by conference with him, or by the report of credible persons and competent judges of his sufficiency in these arts, do testify, that he is a man very sufficiently qualified for the reading of a lecture in that faculty. In witness whereof we have put our hands to these presents.

Nat. Brent, Warden.  
Pet. Turner.  
Will. Boswell.

Being desirous that a worthy scholar may succeed my late learned colleague Mr Henry Briggs in the profession of Geometry, I do most sincerely give this testimony unto Mr John Greaves, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Merton College, that he hath for some years been a frequent and diligent auditor at the public lecture of myself and colleague; and hath by many private conferences given me occasion to take notice of his singular skill in the Mathematicks, especially in the Geometry of Euclid and other antient authors; and that he is well furnished with all those qualities, which our honorable and judicious founder, Sir Henry Savill, doth require in his Professor of that art.

Ita ex animo testor Johannes Bainbridge,  
Med. Doctor, & Astronomiæ Professor Savilianus.

There being no date to either of these papers, Dr Ward tells us, that the profession of Geometry, mentioned in this last, must refer to Gresham College, and not to Oxford;

(a) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 156.

(b) Balliofergus; or a commentary upon the foundation, &c. of Baliol College, Oxford 1660.

(1) Under the Article of GREAVES [JOHN] in his lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 36.



(e) Mr Petty, in his lordship's name, profered him 200 l. per Ann. besides such fortunes as that lord could heap upon him. Life of Dr Pococke prefixed to his Theological Works, p. 4. Lond. 1740. fol.

(f) Smith, ubi supra, p. 7. and Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 157.

(2) He was also remarkably fond of this University, and had but little liking to the City, where the political principles were very different from his own.

(3) In Vita. J. Gravii inter vital quorundam illustrium viror. &c. p. 5.

(4) The first fixes it in 1633. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157, and the other in 1636. Vita Grav. p. 7.

(5) It is printed in our author's Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 446. Published by Dr Birch in two Vols 8vo. 1737. To this Dr Ward where last cited, p. 137. has added another and clearer proof from a Latin letter among the MSS. of Sir Rich. Ellis, Bart. which mentions our author's being at Venice in January 1635. And the words of a letter from himself to Dr Pococke, cited in remark [C], at the end, intimate his having been at Rome in this tour.

(6) This Professor in the preface to his Arabic Lexicon, printed 1654. has these words relating to Mr Greaves, *Auditor quondam meus.*

(7) Our author in a letter wrote after his return from the East to Golius, calls it *vetus amicitia.*

(8) Mr Greaves begun his Elementa Linguae Persicae, at Paris, at Mr Hardy's solicitation. See the preface to that book.

22, 1630, with this he still held his fellowship at Merton. But his ambition prompting him to excel, it was not long before he resolved to travel abroad for further improvement. Upon that plan we find him visiting Leyden, Paris, and Rome in 1635 [B]. During this tour he was invited upon very advantageous terms to live with the Earl of Arundel (e) then in Italy, and to go with his lordship into Greece; but being disappointed in some of his principal views in these travels [C], he formed other designs which determined his choice to return to England. He arrived the year following, and immediately set himself to make all possible preparations for a journey to Egypt [D]. And acquainting Archbishop Laud (to whom he had some time before been recommended by Mr Turner) with his design of visiting the east countries, he was generously encouraged in it by his Grace, from whom he received a general discretionary commission to purchase for him Arabic and other manuscripts, and likewise such coins and medals as he could procure. The Archbishop gave him also a letter of recommendation to Sir Peter Wyche, the English ambassador at Constantinople (f). And in his way to that city he embarked in the river Thames for Leghorn about the beginning of June 1637, being accompanied by his particular friend Mr Pococke, whom he had earnestly solicited to this voyage [E]. After

(9) Ward's Life of our author, p. 137, 138.

a short (10) Smith, ubi supra, p. 7.

Who intimates that the argument made use of, by our author to the magistrates of London, was, that he should have a particular view to the honour and advantage of the city, in this undertaking. Among his instruments (of which what is observed in remark [K], shews he had a large stock) were a brass quadrant of 7 foot radius, an azimuth compass to take the variation of the needle of one foot rad. and a cross staff of ten foot rad. accurately divided into 10,000 parts, which he made use of in measuring the pyramids. Pyram.ogr. p. 96. and in the preface. Observations in his travels, p. 508, and 478. and letter to Mr Hardy, Miscel. Works, p. 44, 45.

(11) In a letter from Constantinople dated Aug. 2, 1638. printed in Gen. Dict. under our author's article.

(12) In the place last cited.

(13) Ath. Ox. ubi supra.

(14) Mr Petty had advised our author to go, by the Archbishop's means, Consul to Aleppo, and procure leave of the grand Signor, to have a consular power at Alexandria, as often as he should go thither. Life of Dr Pococke prefix'd to his Theolog. Works, by Dr Twells, p. 10. Lond. 1740. fol. where the whole letter is printed.

Oxford; where, says he, Mr Greaves never applied for the Geometry professorship. In a matter of so little moment, this remark would have passed without any further examination, was not the whole tenor of Dr Bainbridge's testimonial so strikingly incompatible, as it is, with any supposition of not referring to the Savilian professorship. Indeed, as Mr Turner was then a candidate for this place, and espoused by Archbishop Laud, it is not likely that he should be opposed therein by Mr Greaves, who was not then known to the Archbishop; not friendship so much as common sense must forbid an attempt which could promise no success: but that he should wish for the Oxford rather than the Gresham lecture, can hardly be doubted, when the difference in the value of each is considered (2). It is also as plain as words can make it, that Dr Bainbridge wished the same thing, and gave him this testimonial to make the best use he could of it; and, as it contained a strong attestation of Mr Greaves's merit, the reason of his applying it at Gresham is evident, without the help of Dr Ward's very forced construction. With regard to his further merit in Mathematics, particularly in Astronomy, at this time, Dr Smith assures us (3), that he had then not only read over the writings of Copernicus, Regiomontanus, Purbach, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler, with other celebrated Astronomers of that and the preceding age, but that he had made the ancient Greek, Arabian, and Persian authors in that science familiar to him; having before, as he says, gained an accurate skill in the oriental languages, *accurata linguarum orientalium cognitione prius acquisita*. How these words are to be understood will appear presently.

[B] We find him in Holland, &c. in 1635.] Tho' it is not absolutely certain what year he first went abroad, yet Mr Wood is probably, and Dr Smith is certainly, mistaken in assigning the date of it (4). We have no traces of his being out of England 'till 1635, and that he was at Paris that year, appears from a letter of Monsieur Hardy to him, dated September 1, 1641 (5), where that gentleman mentions his acquaintance with Mr Greaves in that city six years before. Moreover, we find him at Leyden in Holland, attending the lectures of Golius the famous Arabic Professor there (6), and contracting a friendship with him (7), which must have been in this tour, since his passage both to and from the East was performed by sea, and he never went abroad afterwards.

[C] Disappointed in that tour.] Notwithstanding Dr Smith, as we have already observed, tells us, that our author had before this time attained an accurate skill in the Persian language; yet it seems one of the views, wherein he failed in making this tour, was to get further instructions upon that article. Mr Hardy, in the letter already cited, writes thus to him, *Ante annos sex cognovi te studiosissimum linguæ Persicæ. Est in hac civitate Persa Spabani natus, egregie in sua lingua eruditus: si tantisper isthuc proficisci posses, facile expleres ardentem illam cupidinem discendæ linguæ Persicæ, quam in te admirabar* (8). Another design, in which he met also with a disappointment, was the procuring of certain books in ancient learning. Of this he complains in a letter to Dr Pococke, wrote upon the subject of their intended voyage into the East. 'I think, says

he, this course should be taken, to carry good store of printed Greek and Arabic, &c. books to Constantinople and other places, which might be changed for other books. I had thought the Grecians had supplied themselves out of Italy, but, since my being there, I have observed that they could find none to buy. So destitute is Italy of all good books. You can better inform me whether this course may be advantageous or not, though the Maronites in Rome, when I mentioned it to them, did much approve of it (9).'

[D] He made preparations for his journey to Egypt.] His primary design in this journey being to measure the pyramids with all possible exactness, and withal to make such other improvements in Astronomy and Geography, as opportunities offered, by taking the altitudes and distances of the stars, the latitudes of cities, observing eclipses, &c. He furnished himself with instruments of all sorts proper for those purposes. This was done at his own expence, the city of London, to which he applied, refusing to contribute towards the purchase (10). Afterwards, when his money fell short, he was generously supplied by his brothers, who, as he observes (11), *had strained their own occasions, to enable him, in despite of the City, to go on with his designs*. Amongst which, that of purchasing curious books being, as is remarked in the text, a principal one, in this view he bought several books before his departure, in order to exchange them for others in the East, as he had intimated to Dr Pococke in the letter cited in the last remark. Besides the assistance of his brothers, Dr Smith thought he had some help from Archbishop Laud (12), and Mr Wood seems to suggest the same thing, when he tells us, his Grace sent our author to travel into the eastern parts of the world, to obtain books of the languages for him (13).

[E] He had earnestly solicited Mr Pococke's company.] To this purpose he made the following kind and generous offer, in the letter cited in remark [C], where he writes thus to that friend. 'I shall desire your favour in sending up to me, by my brother Thomas, Ulugbeg's Astronomical Tables, of which I purpose to make this use. The next weeke I will shew them to my Lord's Grace, and highly commend your care in procuring of those tables, being the most accurate that ever were extant; then will I discover my intention of having them printed, and dedicated to his Grace. But because I presume that there are many things which in these parts cannot perfectly be understood, I shall therefore acquaint my Lord with my desires of taking a journey into those countries, for the more emendate edition of them; afterwards by degrees fall downe upon the buisines of the consulship (14); and how honourable a thing it would be, if you were sent out a second time, as Golius in the Low Countries was by the States, after he had bene once there before. If my Lord shall be pleased to resent and compass the buisnesse, I shall like it well; if not, I shall procure three hundred pounds for you and my selfe besides getting a dispensation for the allowances of our places in our absence; and, by God's blessing, in three years dispatch the whole journey. It shall goe hard, but I will too get some citizen in as a benefactor to the



a short stay in Italy [F], he arrived at Constantinople before Michaelmas. Here again the hopes our author had fed himself with, of learning the Arabic tongue more perfectly, were intirely frustrated for want of sufficient masters (g); but he succeeded much better in the business of procuring manuscripts [G], which he pursued with indefatigable diligence, sometimes even at the peril of his life [H]. In the farther search after those useful curiosi-

(g) See his letter to Claud. Hardy, in the Miscellaneous Works, of our author, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 412. Lond. 1737, 8vo. 2 Vols.

the designe; if not, three hundred pounds of mine, whereof I give you the halfe, together with the returne of our stipends, will in a plentyfull manner, if I be not deceived, in Turkey manteine us.'

[F] *He made but a short stay in Italy*]. Dr Smith, who fixes our author's arrival at Constantinople about April 1638, making him to stop in his way thither half a year in Italy; seeing upon that mistake there was time enough for it, supposes him not only to have gone to Rome, but to have made a great part of his collections of the antiquities in and about that city at this time; and this mistake is continued and confirmed, from the same authority, viz. that of our author's

Note Book, by Dr Birch (15), 'which shews, says he, that Mr Greaves not only wrote down the inscriptions, but likewise measured the pillars and other monuments there, and took a draught of them, particularly of Cestus's pyramid and the Pantheon.' It is likewise affirmed, that at this time he viewed the catacombs, and examined all the principal cabinets and museums in that city. That he now became acquainted with Lucas Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library, Athanasius Kircher, and Gaspar Bertius, a celebrated Astronomer, who informed him that he had found, by repeated observations, with a large instrument of Clavius, the altitude of the pole at Rome to be  $41^{\circ} 46'$ . That from Rome he went to Padua, where he was introduced to the acquaintance of Francis Ursini, John Rhodius, and Andrew Moretti, Professors there. That going thence to Florence, he staid there some weeks, after which he returned to Leghorn. So palpable an error did not escape the diligence of Dr Ward (16), who shews, that the time assigned by Dr Smith (17) for our author's stay at Constantinople, viz. from April to September, is contradicted by Mr Greaves himself (18) in a letter to Monsieur Hardy, after he came home, where he has this expression, *primum annum Constantinopoli egi*. As to the visits said to be made by our author at this time to Rome, and the other cities of Italy, Dr Ward apprehends, that was done in his former travels; he even seems to doubt p. 142. our author's visiting Rome at this time, but, in a letter to Dr Pococke, written before they set out, Mr Greaves mentions his design to stop in Italy and go to Rome, in order to discharge some employments left unperfected in his former tour. *Life of Pococke*, p. 15. He also very justly turns the evidence of the note book against the advocate who produces it; remarking, that all the observations in Italy, which are set down in that book with any dates to them, appear to be made after our author's return from the East. The first of these, as he remarks, being dated at Leghorn June 20. others at Florence and Siena in August; and others again at Rome in October following, where he likewise copied several ancient inscriptions. To these proofs it may be added, that our author himself expressly affirms upon another occasion, that he was at Constantinople in 1637 as well as in the subsequent year (19); and that in the year 1639, he went on purpose to Italy to view the other antiquities of the Romans, so especially those of weights and measures; and we find him accordingly measuring several of the most remarkable pillars and monuments at and about Rome, and particularly the Pantheon, at that time (20); suggesting also, that he had not done those things before, for want of proper instruments, of which he was now provided. Upon the whole, since there appears great confusion in Dr Smith's account of the dates of the several removes in this eastern progress, which have not been hitherto well adjusted; it will not be amiss to take this opportunity of settling them as exactly as the data found in our author's writings will allow. First then, in a letter to Monsieur Hardy, dated June 18, 1641, he says (21), it was then four years since he set out upon this journey that after a year's stay at Constantinople, he went thence to Alexandria, where he spent six months. He wrote a letter from Constantinople in December 1637; and in another of August 2, 1638, he writes, that he should that month go for Egypt (22). In his way from Constantinople, he took the altitude of the pole at Rhodes, September 11. and staying there six days, arrived in eight more at Alexandria (23). A remark made in his travels concerning the Jewish passover, shews he was at Alexandria April 9, 1639 (24). In a letter to Dr Pococke, dated June 14, he writes, that he had been two months in passing from Alexandria to Leghorn; and, in another letter, dated March 8. following, he acquaints that friend, that being then provided of a ship, he was ready to embark for England (25). Lastly, He observed the variation of the needle at Leghorn, March 14. (26). By comparing these particulars, and what is mentioned in the present remark concerning his stay at Rome in his passage to the East, it may be collected, that he left England about the beginning of June, 1637. That he arrived at Constantinople the September following. That leaving that city in September the ensuing year, he came to Alexandria about the 22d of the same month 1638, and departing thence about the middle of April 1639, came to Leghorn about the middle of June. That after a stay of about nine months in Italy, he set sail for England, where he landed in the end of May, or beginning of June 1640 (27). The diligence here shewn (which might otherwise be justly censured) will be found of use, not only in removing the perplexities of former accounts, but chiefly as our author's writings will, with the help of this clue, be read with lesser hesitation.

[G] *He succeeded better in procuring manuscripts.* In the letter of August 2, 1638, cited above, he writes thus. 'I presume, in Arabic books, my Lord hath received a remonstrance of my care by those which the companies have sent. It is true, many more very choice ones might be procured, with inquiring and watching after opportunities, if they would give the price. Some few of those which they thought to be overvalued, I have purchased at excessive rates. You may expect to see most of the Greek Mathematicians, translated into Arabic, brought home. Amongst others, I have procured Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the fairest book that I have ever seen, stolen by a Spahy (as I am informed) out of the King's library in the Seraglio. Whereby you see there is a possibility of having also those Greek and Latin authors, (which I mentioned in my former letters to be buried in the Seraglio) (28) if the \*\* were handsomely followed by an Ambassador.' Mr Greaves also, after his return home, tells his friend Monsieur Hardy, that, upon his disappointment in learning the Arabic at Constantinople, he applied himself diligently to search for manuscripts, in which he had succeeded very well. For, says he, besides several Arabic, Persian, and Turkish books, in almost all the sciences, and Lexicons of good note in those three tongues, I bought almost all the ancient Greek Mathematicians, translated into Arabic some ages ago, together with the works chiefly of the most famous modern Astronomers of India and Arabia (29).

[H] *To the danger of his life.* Upon the death of the Patriarch (30), mentioned in the text, his successor (named Bereas) had cited the Dutch Ambassador before the Divan, and charged him with having received from the Church 200,000 crowns, in the time of former dissensions, besides store of manuscripts belonging to the Patriarch; upon which our author observes, that he might have fallen into the same danger himself, if he had not prevented the storm by the mediation of some Greeks of his acquaintance. For, having procured, out of a blind and ignorant monastery, which depended upon the Patriarch, fourteen good manuscripts of the Fathers, he was forced privately to restore the books and lose his money, to avoid a worse inconvenience (31).

(15) In our author's Life, prefixed to the Miscellaneous Works, p. 6.

(16) Ubi supra, in his Lives, &c.

(17) Vit. Grav. p. 10, 11.

(18) See his Miscellaneous Works, Vol. II. p. 442.

(19) See his Observations on his Travels, Vol. II. p. 505, & seq.

(20) Discourse of the Roman foot, p. 207. & seq. in Miscellaneous. Vol. I.

(21) Miscellan. &c. p. 442.

(22) Ibid. p. 437. and Life of Pococke, by Twiss, p. 15.

(23) Philosophie. Experiments and Observations, by W. Derham, p. 300, and Miscellaneous, &c. p. 443. edit. 1726. 8vo.

(24) Miscell. &c. p. 509.

(25) Ward, ubi supra, p. 142.

(26) Derham's Exper. and Obs. ubi supra.

(27) Dr Smith says ætate anni 1640. Vita Grav. p. 14.

(28) He had been assured by some of the Greeks, that the library, which belonged formerly to the Christian Emperors, was still preserved in the Sultan's palace. Smith, Vita J. Gravii, p. 10. where he questions the truth of Mr Greaves's information, charges the Greeks with being much given to lying; and observes that during his stay there, after the utmost diligence and inquiries, he could never discover the least grounds for such a belief.

(29) See Miscell. &c. p. 443.

(30) Of which see a particular account in Dr Pococke's Article.

(31) See his letter of Aug. 2, 1638, ubi supra.



(b) He staid here six days, and made some astronomical observations with a small astrolabe, not daring to use a larger instrument for fear of raising a suspicion in the Turks; from hence he arrived in eight days at Alexandria, Dr Ward by mistake says in six. See our author's letter to Monsr. Hardy, ubi supra, and Ward's Lives, p. 141.

ties he purposed to go to mount Athos in Macedonia, having obtained the assurance of a particular recommendation to the monks there from Cyril Lucar then patriarch of Constantinople; but all the great expectations he had raised from this undertaking [I], being suddenly quashed by the untimely death of that prelate, he took the opportunity which offered soon after [K] of passing in company with the annual Turkish fleet to Alexandria in Egypt, where (having first touched (b) at Rhodes) he arrived before the end of September 1638. This was the boundary of his intended progress, and as the country afforded a large field for his curious and inquisitive genius, so he omitted no opportunity (as has been well observed (i)) of remarking whatever the heavens, earth, or subterraneous parts, offered him, that seemed any ways useful and worthy of observation. But the grand purpose of coming hither being to take an exact and accurate survey of the Pyramids, (of which so much had been said and so little settled by ancient or modern authors at that time) he went twice from Alexandria to Grand Cairo, and thence to the deserts (k) where they stand, so that he amply gratified his curiosity upon that much desired subject [L]. After which having found himself greatly deceived in his expectations of purchasing

(i) By Dr Ward, ubi supra.

(k) Viz. once soon after his arrival, and again just before his departure. See his Observations in Egypt, printed in his Miscellanies, Vol. II. p. 507. & seq.

\* In the gallery over the schools at Oxford, there are two surveys of the monastery, τὸ μοναστήριον, in this mountain, taken in 1726, and presented in person to that University by Dositheus, Archimandrite of that monastery.

(32) In his treatise intitled Les Observations de plusieurs singularités & choses mémorables, trouvées en Grece &c. Liv. 1. c. 35, en Anvers 1555, 8vo. he says they could neither write nor read.

(33) See Dr Pococke's Article.

\* See Greaves's letter last quoted.

(34) Vita J. Greav. p. 11.

(35) His Paleographia Græca, fol. was published that year.

(36) Vide præfat. ad Catalog. Librorum in ista Bibliotheca; a library containing upwards of 400 books, near half of them brought from Mount Athos.

[I] The death of the Patriarch quashed the expectations he had raised from a visit to mount Athos.] Upon this mountain there are several monasteries\*, settled there long before the destruction of the Grecian empire by the Turks; and, having escaped the general ravage at that time, it continued in the possession of the monks, who call it ἅγιον ὄρος, the sacred mountain. Notwithstanding what had been said of the extreme ignorance of the monks, by Father Belon (32), who affirmed that they had indeed some Divinity books; but none of Poetry, History, or Philosophy. Yet it was well known to Archbishop Usher (33), that there were several valuable Greek manuscripts preserved there; and the place being under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, that prelate had promised to give Mr Greaves liberty of entering into all the libraries of that place, in order to collect a catalogue of such books, as either were not printed, or else, by the help of some there, might have been more correctly set out. These, by dispensing with the anathema's which former Patriarchs had laid upon all Greek libraries to preserve the books from the Latins, were designed to be presented by the Patriarch to Archbishop Laud, for the better prosecution of his Grace's honourable designs in the edition of Greek authors\*. Dr Smith had a design afterwards to visit this mountain, but was also prevented (34). However, about the beginning of the present century, Dr John Comnenus, a Physician of Walachia, was there a considerable time, and published a particular description of the monasteries in the vulgar Greek. A Latin translation of this piece by Father Montfaucon was printed at the end of his *Paleographia Græca*, wherein it appears, that the monks then were not so ignorant as Father Belon had represented them to be in his times. For he tells us, some of them were employed in copying books, and others in binding them; and of their libraries, he says, 'there were a great number of ancient manuscripts, full of all wisdom, divine knowledge, and sublime thoughts, books of Divinity, and many in every other science, never yet published, and to many unknown.' The truth of this last remark is attested by Mr Montfaucon, who says he had then [in 1708] (35) never seen one book that was written at Mount Athos. But he did not continue long in that ignorance; for, in 1715, he met with no less than two hundred in the *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* brought from this mount, consisting of various kinds of literature, Divinity, Philosophy, Mathematics, History, and Philology; some of them of a considerable age. He found likewise that many of them had been written there (36). About 26 years ago a parcel of Greek manuscripts were brought from thence into England, and purchased by the Archbishop of Canterbury [Dr Wake], the University of Oxford, Dr Bentley, and Dr Mead; and another parcel some time after was bought by the Archbishop and Dr Mead. A person was also abroad in 1740, upon the same design of purchasing more. Since which, the very learned Physician Dr Askew, about four years ago, brought several curious manuscripts from thence, and other parts of Greece.

[K] He set out soon after.] Before his departure, he gave an instance of his attention to astronomical improvements. Having found that there would be a large visible eclipse of the moon in December following,

he furnished proper persons, with convenient instruments for observing it at Constantinople, Bagdad, Smyrna, and Alexandria; and he gave them instructions also how they should observe it\*. I presume, says he, it will be punctually and carefully done at Bagdad, since the Physician to the King's favourite, a Christian, hath undertaken the business, who hopes to get reputation, by doing it in the sight of the Grand Signior, and of his army. I doubt not, continues he, it will be as carefully observed in England, and could wish, (as by my letters I earnestly desired) that at the same time observations might be made at the Azores (37).

[L] He amply gratified his curiosity upon the Pyramids.] Our author always expresses himself upon this subject, in terms which testify the greatest satisfaction, particularly with respect to the chamber in the inside of the first pyramid\*, where stands as he calls it the monument of Cheops. These proportions of the chamber, and those of the hollow part of the tomb, were taken by him with as much exactness as it was possible to do; which, says he (38), I did so much the more diligently, as judging this to be the fittest place for the fixing of measures for posterity; a thing which hath been much desired by learned men, but the manner how it might be exactly done has been thought of by none. I am of opinion, that, as this pyramid has stood three thousand years almost, and is no whit decayed within, so it may continue many thousand years longer: and therefore, that after-times, measuring these places by me assigned, may hereby not only find out the just dimensions of the English foot, but also the feet of several nations in these times, which in my travels abroad I have taken from the originals, and have compared them at home with the English standard. Had some of the ancient Mathematicians thought of this way, these times would not have been so much perplexed, in discovering the measures of the Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, and other nations. In the same vein he writes to his friend Monsieur Hardy, in Latin, taking notice, that he had taken a more curious survey of the pyramids, than had been then done by any, either ancient or modern, traveller. He proceeds thus, *Interiorem cameram & nonnulla secretiora adyta temporis injuria nondum corrupta, nec unquam, si recte judico, corrumpenda, mensuris Anglicis diligenter mensus sum, adeo exacte ut e viginti mille partibus in quas viginti pedes lineas transversis sive potius diagonis divisi, ne unam quidem vel deesse vel superesse existimem. Quod ideo tanto accuratius præstiti, ut ex ista comparatione omnium gentium mensuræ, quæ hodie sunt aut olim fuerunt, e duraturo aliquo monumento posteris signari possint, quod quidem si à Mathematicis olim præstitum fuisset, selectis aliquibus idoneis locis temporum injuriæ non obnoxiiis, minus hodie incerti essemus in antiquorum mensuris investigandis (39).* These extracts are taken at length for the sake of the following remarks. First, Mr Wood (40) tells us, that while our author was in the largest pyramid, he made a measure of the foot observed by all nations, in one of the rooms, with his name, John Gravius, under it, which, says he, hath been noted by several travellers. But he gives us none of their

\* Dr Halley observes, that a greater service could not be done to the science of Astronomy than by taking the phases of the Moon's Eclipses, at Bagdad, Aleppo, and Alexandria, whereby to determine their longitudes, since in and near those places were made all the observations, whereby the middle motions of the sun and moon are limited, Miscel. Curios. &c. Vol. III. paper 6th edit. 1727.

(37) See his letter from Constantinople, ubi supra.

\* There is no entrance into the other two.

(38) In a note to p. 126 of the *Pyramidographia*, edit. 1737, 8vo.

(39) Miscellaneous Works, ubi supra, p. 444, 445.

(40) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157.



purchasing books [M], he determined to return home. In that design he embarked at Alexandria in the middle of April 1639 for Leghorn, where he arrived in two months ; intending to make the tour of Italy a second time [N], in order to examine more accurately

their names, and the turn of the whole period manifestly betrays a fondness for the marvellous ; more than a just concern for the truth, which becomes still much more doubtful, when we see no mention made of it any where by Mr Greaves, and especially in the places here cited, where (if it was fact) the subject would naturally and almost unavoidably have led him to take some notice of it. But if there be some room to suspect that more is ascribed to our author than was really performed by him, in this particular, we have at least equal reason to think his character has been more injured, by ascribing less merit to his performance than it actually deserves, in another particular, and that of much greater importance. Every body knows the exactness of his measurements have been called in question more than once by subsequent travellers (41). Monsieur Thevenot stands at the head, and is followed by several others, in assigning 682 French feet for the base of each side of the largest pyramid, which, being equal to 728 feet English, exceeds the account given by Mr Greaves, who makes the length of each base to amount only to 693 such feet. So considerable a difference as this, of 35 feet, has been endeavoured to be reconciled from an observation of Mr Vansleb (42), that the north side, or the side from north to south, is longer than that which stretches from east to west. But all other authors agree with Mr Greaves, in asserting the base of the pyramid to be an exact square ; and the length of each side found by him, is greatly confirmed by a curious remark of Sir Isaac Newton, who, from the pyramids of Egypt accurately measured (they are his words) by Mr John Greaves, collects the length of the ancient cubit of Memphis in this manner. ' The side of the first pyramid was 693 English feet. It is very probable, that at first, the measure of it was determined by some round number of Egyptian cubits. Ibn Abd Alhokm, quoted by Mr Greaves (43), tells us, that the measure of each side was 100 royal cubits of the ancient times : but it is probable, that the Egyptians learned from the orgyia of the Greeks, their measure of four cubits of Memphis, and gave it the name of the royal cubit. Thus the side of the pyramid will be 400 simple cubits, or 4 aurora ; and the cubit of Memphis will be equal to  $1\frac{71}{100}$  of the English foot. That the pyramid was built by the cubit of this magnitude, appears from several dimensions of it. The square passage leading into it, of polished marble, was in breadth and height  $3\frac{46}{100}$  of the English foot, that is, two of the abovementioned cubits of Memphis ; and of the same breadth and height were the four other galleries. In the middle of the pyramid was a chamber, most exquisitely formed, of polished marble, containing the monument of the king. The length of this chamber was  $34\frac{3}{100}$  English feet, and the breadth,  $17\frac{1}{100}$  ; that is, it was 20 cubits long, and 10 cubits broad, the cubit being supposed to be  $1\frac{71}{100}$  of the English foot. The difference between this measure and the former, is  $\frac{1}{100}$ , or one eightieth of a foot, that is, about one seventh of an inch ; an error of no importance, if we consider the much greater irregularities observed by Mr Greaves, in the best buildings of the Romans. The roof of this chamber consisted of nine oblong and parallel stones ; the seven middle ones of which were of the same breadth, but the two outermost were less by half in breadth than the rest, and the breadth of them all together was equal to the length of the chamber, or to 20 cubits ; so that the length of the middle stones was two cubits and a half. The marble gallery, which led into this chamber, was 6 feet and 87 of 100 parts of a foot, that is, 4 cubits of the chamber in breadth. In the middle of this gallery was a way of polished marble,  $3\frac{46}{100}$  feet, that is, two cubits broad ; and on both sides the way were two banks, like benches, of polished marble likewise  $1\frac{71}{100}$  feet broad, and  $1\frac{71}{100}$  feet deep, that is, in breadth and depth one cubit. Who will therefore imagine, that so many dimensions, not at all depending upon each other, should correspond by mere chance with the

length of the cubit assigned by us.' He proceeds to shew from other measurements of Mr Greaves, that the division of the cubit into six palms, corresponds in like manner with this length of the cubit, that is, of it's being equal to  $1\frac{71}{100}$  English feet, 400 of which cubits will be easily found by multiplication to be equal to 693 such feet, the side of the first pyramid (as has been said) according to Mr Greaves. Sir Isaac continues to give other specimens of this cubit from other dimensions of our author in several parts of the pyramid, and upon the whole concludes, that in his opinion, the pyramid was built throughout after the measure of the same cubit (44). Dr Shaw, in his Travels into Barbary, &c. p. 414, observing the differences among authors concerning the dimensions of the base of this pyramid, thinks they might be occasioned, partly because none of it's sides are exactly upon a level, and particularly because the west and north sides have been encroached upon by such drifts of sand, as the Etesian winds from time to time have brought with them ; which makes it difficult to find a true horizontal base. This may perhaps furnish us with the reason why our Professor took the length of the base on the north side, by observation, with his cross-staff, and not with a line ; which is one of the objections made to the *Pyramidographia*, by the anonymous author of the Reflections inserted in the second Volume of Greaves's Miscellanies, by Dr Birch. However, it cannot be denied, that his account of the mensuration would have been more satisfactory, if, as that ingenious objector observes, it had been more fully expressed.

[M] *Deceived in the business of buying books.* He complains of this to Dr Pococke (45), assuring him there were very few to be purchased either at Alexandria or Cairo, and those too old and worm eaten. In other respects he expressed much pleasure and satisfaction from his journey ; except that in his first return from Cairo, with some other English and French men, they were robbed by the Arabs, but his loss was not great. He held a constant correspondence with this learned friend (46), who it seems had the same hopes of his meeting with books in Egypt as he had himself, before he left Constantinople. And in another letter from Leghorn to him, having mentioned how agreeably he had spent his time in Italy on that account, he writes thus. ' You expected, I perceive, that I should have found the same advantages in Egypt ; but I can assure you, that for books I saw few, and for learned men, none.' After which, he proceeds in these terms. ' Wherefore I must desire you to supply that defect, by procuring such books as I formerly mentioned, or such others as you shall think most fitting. Those which you name I like well, and I shall desire you to make a further inquiry after the choicest in Persian, as well as in Arabic (47). This is not the first time we find our author expressing his fondness for the Persian language, to which perhaps he was more inclined, as he could not hope to rival Mr Pococke in the Arabic.

[N] *To make the tour of Italy a second time.* After he had passed nine months there, he sent his last mentioned friend word, that he did not repent much of his stay, having had an opportunity of perusing most of the best libraries in Italy, and of being acquainted with their most learned men, having spent most of his time in Florence, Rome, and Naples (48) ; and Dr Smith (49) tells us, that from Leghorn he proceeded to Florence, where he was received with particular marks of esteem by the Great Duke (50). Here he contracted an intimacy with Robert Dudley (51), who was generally stiled in Italy, Duke of Northumberland. This title was conferred upon him by Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, after he had failed of proving the legitimacy of his birth in England (52). Mr Greaves had frequent conversations with him upon learning, and was informed by him, that, after a careful observation performed according to Tycho Brahe's method, he found the elevation of the pole at Florence, to be  $43^{\circ} 46'$ . From Florence, says Dr Smith, Mr Greaves went to Rome, in order to repeat the observations he had

(44) A Dissertation upon the Sacred Cubit, &c. p. 428. & seq. in Mr Greaves's Miscellanies, Vol. II.

† Mr Vansleb, who visited them in 1672, tells us he carried a line proper for the purpose, but could not apply it for this reason. *Present State of Egypt*, p. 85. English edit. 1678, 8vo. This author is of opinion that the pyramids were hewn out of the rock, and only covered with stones, which probably gave occasion to Mr Hooke's conjecture of the same kind in his discourse of Earthquakes, and the opinion is partly confirmed by Dr Shaw.

(45) In a letter quoted by Dr Ward, ubi supra, p. 141, 142.

(46) See his article.

(47) Ward, ubi supra.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Vit. J. Gr. p. 13.

(50) Ferdinand II. He had inscribed a Latin Poem to him written at Alexandria, and probably sent from thence. It is printed in *Miscellan.* Vol. II. p. 533. He had sent it to Constantinople, to be revised by Dr Pococke, informing him that one of his views therein was to procure admission into the Medicean library, which he had found, when he was at Florence before, to be denied to strangers. Pococke's Life, ubi supra.

(51) There is some account of this person in Wood's *Ath. Ox.* Vol. II. col. 126, 127.

(52) In the time of K. James I. with whom on account of his son-in-law the Count Palatine, the Emperor was then at variance,



\* See his Discourse of the Roman foot, p. 207, edit. 1737, 8vo. He copied also several inscriptions at Rome, which with the rest are deposited in the Savilian library.

(l) That was the ship's name. See his letter to Dr Pococke in Ward, p. 142.

(m) See Remark [F].

(n) Smith, ubi supra, p. 9, 10. Among his coins was one of gold of Alexander the Great, highly valued by him. See Observ. on his Travels.

(o) Several of his works were undertaken by the direction of his Grace, as appears by the dedications and other parts of them.

rately into the true state of the ancient Roman weights and measures, now that he was furnished with proper instruments for that purpose made by the best hands \*. And he happened to stay here much longer, than he first thought, in waiting for a ship to his mind, having put on a resolution to make his passage to England by sea. At length embarking in the *Golden Fleece* (l) about the end of March, he came to London before midsummer 1640 (m); with a rich cargo consisting of a curious collection of Arabic, Persian, and Greek MSS, together with a great number of gems, coins, and other valuable antiquities (n). Upon his arrival he found such a situation of public affairs as was very disagreeable to him. His loyalty to the King, and his gratitude to Archbishop Laud, were duties which he esteemed indispensable, and in the ensuing troubles he chose to suffer (as he did to the great detriment of his private affairs) rather than violate them. After a short stay at Gresham College he went to Oxford, and immediately set about digesting his papers, in order to make his travels useful to the world. In the pursuit of this design he was assisted by Archbishop Usher (o). He had received many favours of that learned prelate, and he now gladly embraced the opportunity of making some return by drawing a map of the lesser Asia (p), at the request of his Grace, who was then writing his dissertation of that country which was printed in 1641. Archbishop Laud having the same year presented a second collection \* of medals to the University, Mr Greaves having the care of † the whole, undertook to place them in a proper order, and executed it intirely to the satisfaction of his patron [O]. Amidst such employments as these, he was much pleased with his situation, and being as much displeased with the City, he gave himself little or no concern about his Gresham lecture; and was removed from it November 15, 1643 [P], but he had the day before been chosen Savilian Professor of Astronomy, in the room of Dr Bainbridge (q), having obtained a royal dispensation to continue his fellowship at Merton College. These changes produced no alteration in his first purpose with regard to his papers, and we find he had made a considerable progress in it the following year [Q].

(p) Smith, ubi supra, p. 32.

\* The first collection was presented by him in 1636. See his letter to the University, in Hist. Cancellariat. Gul. Laud. Arch. Cant. edit. 1700, fol.

† Doctissimo. Johanni Gravio numm. phylacii custodiam permittit [Laud] are the words of Mr Wise in the preface, p. 8, to his treatise, intitled. *Nummorum Antiquorum in Scripitis Bodleianis Catalogus*, Oxon. 1750, fol.

(q) The Doctor died Nov. 3, before. Wood Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 34.

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made there before, and to make new ones, and designed to have staid there several months; but the desire of returning to his own country induced him to shorten his stay there, upon which he went to Leghorn, and took ship for England. This last passage is a clear instance of the truth of what is before advanced, concerning the confusion of the Doctor's [Smith] account of this Eastern journey.

[O] Executed it to the satisfaction of his patron.] This appears from the following letter sent by the Archbishop in answer to one from our author, acquainting his Grace with the method he proposed, if it should be approved of. 'Sir, Your kind letter of November 15 came not to my hands 'till the beginning of this week, else you had certainly received my answer, and thanks for your kindness, sooner.

'I see you have taken a great deal of care about the coins I sent to the University. And I hope as you have seen the last I sent, with others, placed in the several cells respectively; so you have also seen their names written into the book \*, that both may be perfect and agree together.

'For the placing of them, I leave that wholly to the University, whose they now are; yet I must needs approve of the way of placing them which you have thought on, nor can there be any objection against it, but that which you have made about the manuscript. Commend my love to Dr Turner and Mr Pococke, and when you have weighed all circumstances, whatsoever you shall pitch upon shall serve and please me. So to God's blessing I leave you,

Tower, Your unfortunate poor friend  
June 13. 1641.

W. Cant. (53).

\* This book he had sent with the first collection; it contains his Grace's method of placing them, and is now in the Bodleian Library inter MSS. Laud. K. 97.

(53) See Curious Discourses by Tho. Hearne, p. 298. Oxon. 1720, 8vo.

(54) Afterwards Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent Mathematician, as well as Physician to K. Ch. II. Miscell. P. 395.

(55) In his Life of Mr Button, ubi supra, p. 153, & seq.

[P] He was ejected from his Gresham lecture,] On account of his long absence, and neglecting to read; and Mr Ralph Button was chosen in his place. This was the beginning of our author's sufferings as a royalist. Notwithstanding the above pretence alledged for ejecting him, he saw too plainly it was a party affair, and calling it a sequestration, fed himself for some time with the hopes of being restored. 'I should be glad to see you' (says he to his friend Dr Scarborough) (54) in my place 'at Gresham College, if I could once get off my sequestration. He that is in the place doth no way deserve it.' The character here given of Mr Button seems to be very just, no evidences of his merit in Geometry are produced by Dr Ward (55), in a case where the honour of his foundation was concerned, which is the more observable, as he suppresses a material circum-

stance in this affair, whereby the honour of the King, as well as of Mr Greaves, is injured. Mr Greaves, says he \*, being removed from his Gresham professorship, on account of his long absence, and the neglect of his lecture, Mr Ralph Button was chosen in his place. But he procured a royal dispensation for continuing his fellowship at Merton College, which otherwise he must have quitted in six months, after he was chosen Savilian Professor according to the statutes of those professorships. By this representation the unwary reader is led into a belief, that this dispensation was had purely in resentment to the Gresham electors, for removing him thence. But a much worthier reason, and that grounded upon a fact undeniably true (56), is given by Mr Wood, viz. because the stipend belonging to his Savilian professorship was extremely lessened during the civil wars. In suppressing Dr Smith's [in vit. Grav. p. 15.] as well as Mr Wood's authority for this circumstance, Dr Ward has given no express authority at all for the dispensation itself, unmindful of the historian's rule against all party or private views. *Ut ne quid falsi dicere audeat, sic ne quid veri non audeat.* Much more excusable is the slip which is made by that gentleman, as also by Dr Birch, in following Mr Wood, when he tells us (*Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157.*) that our author succeeded Dr Bainbridge in Linacre's superiour Physic Lecture, notwithstanding we are twice told in the same work, (*Vol. I. col. 21.* and *Vol. II. col. 669.*) that the Doctor's successor in that lecture, was Dr Edward Greaves our author's brother. But the register of Merton College is decisive, of which the following is an extract. Ad. an. 1643. *In superiorem Linacrianam lectionem vacantem ob mortem —D. Bainbridge, M. D. & Acad. Oxon. Astron. Prof. qui paulo ante e vivis excesserat, electus est Doctor Greaves e collegio Omnium Animarum.* The extract whence this is copied may be seen in Dr Bainbridge's Life, p. 6. note (a), in the same Volume with that of our author by Dr Tho. Smith. However such an oversight in a matter of no great importance, is remarked with all due respect for two gentlemen, to whom we are so much obliged for materials in this memoir.

[Q] The next year he had made a suitable progress in it.] Something of what he had then done is seen in a letter to Archbishop Usher (57), wherein he writes that he should be glad to hear his Grace had received either from the Vatican Library, or that of the Escorial in Spain, a transcript of Ptolemy, or rather Hipparchus *περί ἡμετέρας ἐνιαυσίας*. 'So much the rather,' says he, because in perusing some of my Arabian and Persian MSS. I have found some observations which may conduce to the clearing of that argument,' he proceeds

\* In the life of J. Greaves, p. 143.

(56) See Remark [Y].

(57) Dated Sep. 19, 1644. in Archbishop's Usher's Life by Parr, p. 509, 510. Lond. 1686. fol.



(r) It was printed in French, in Thevenet's *Relations de divers voyages*, and Dr Smith had a design of turning it into Latin, and the Roman foot, with his life. Vit. Gravii, p. 22. This last was published, but neither of the two former.

In 1645, at the instance of some persons of figure and fortune, he drew up a method \* of introducing by degrees the New or Gregorian Stile [R]; and his proposal would probably have been put into execution, being approved by the King and council, had the state of the times permitted it\*. In 1646 he published his *Pyramidographia* (r), or *A Description of the pyramids in Egypt* [S], which was followed the next year by his *Discourse of the Roman*

\* Greaves's Miscellaneous, Vol. II.

foot

proceeds to acquaint his Grace, that he had not then leisure to send him those, which were made by the Indians at Kôbah, and Kandahar, or those others which were made by the Persians before Yezdegerd's time, and by Yezdegerd, and long after him in Almamon's time, as he found them mentioned by Alhashami an Arabian author. But those of the Chateans, and of Nassir Eddin, and of Aly Kôfgy, being, as later, so exacter, than the former, he sent them, as follows. The true solary year according to the Chateans is 365  $\frac{253}{10000}$  days, according to Nassir Eddin 365 days 14' 32" 30<sup>'''</sup>. According to Haly Kôfgy, who observed in the 841st year of the Hegira, almost 200 years after Nassir Eddin, 365 days 14' 33" 32<sup>'''</sup>, whereas Ptolemy, says he, is much more, 365 days 14' 48<sup>'''</sup>. He goes on thus. 'I have finished those lemmata of Archimedes

(58) They were published by Samuel Foster in his *Miscellanies, or Mathematical Luccubrations*, Lond. 1659. fol. See an account of the contents of these lemmata in Mr Maclaurin's Article.

\* Recommended by Erpenius tho' very defective. Vid. *Consilium Erpenii de Stud. Arab. feliciter instituido*. Paris. 1620. 8vo, prope finem.

(59) By reason of the civil wars.

\* This is a period of 1460 years, and took its beginning from the time that Sirius rose heic ally, the first day of the Egyptian month Thoth. This Star being observed to rise six hours later every year, or one day in 4 years, that is, one year in 1460.

(60) He never performed this design of going to Leyden, tho' he had it long in his mind, as appears by a letter to Dr Pococke, cited by Ward, p. 145. from the MS. letters of our author, 42 of which are in the Savilian library.

(58), which the Arabians call *nachawdân*. If I be not deceived such as with well to the Mathematics, will think my pains well bestowed; as indeed it was no small labour to correct the diagrams, and the letters (which were too often perverted in the manuscript), and sometimes to supply what was defective in the demonstration itself. He then informs his Grace, that according to his advice he had made a Persian Lexicon, out of such words as he could meet with in the Evangelists, and in the Psalms, and in two or three Arabian and Persian Nomenclators. So that he had a stock of above 600 words in that language, which he supposed to be as many as were in the Arabic dictionary of Raphaelengius\*. Upon that occasion he expresses a greater desire than ever to go to Leyden, and peruse their oriental manuscripts, procured by the expence of the States, to which long ago he had been prompted by his Grace. But yet, says he, considering my lecture in Oxford (though as yet it cannot be read (59)) it will not be fit for me to go without special leave from our honourable Chancellor, and two or three more of the lords of his Majesty's privy council. I shall therefore desire your Grace to procure this favour for me in writing, with this caution, that my absence for a while may be no prejudice to me at home, especially since my journey is for the improvement of learning, and for the publishing of some of those books, which I long since have finished. He takes notice then, that he should there have an opportunity of printing his Grace's Map, and of perfecting and publishing that discourse of Dr Bainbrigg's concerning the Periodus Sothiaca\*; And I hope, concludes he, your Grace will think of something else, in which I may be serviceable to you, and useful to the commonwealth of letters. Your Grace cannot sufficiently command him, whom by your many favours, you have ever made your Grace's most obliged servant (60).

[R] *A method of introducing the New or Gregorian Stile of the year.* His proposal was to omit the intercalary day of the leap year for forty years. The same method had been proposed to Pope Gregory, and rejected by him, out of ambition, as Mr Greaves observes, to have the honour of doing it at once, and thereby of calling that year 1582 *Annus Gregorianus*; which our author did not doubt might be justly stiled *Annus Confusionis*; as the Ancients called that year in which Julius Cæsar corrected the kalendar by a subtraction of days after the same manner. But we have lately seen this method happily carried into execution without any ill consequence at all; concerning which more will be seen in the article of Dr John Wallis.

[S] *Pyramidographia.* Presently after it came out some animadversions were written upon it, as appears by a very good mathematician, who, among other over-sights, takes notice of a very material one in the measure of the height of the first pyramid; which was given to be 481 feet. This was corrected afterwards by our author, and the true number 499  $\frac{262}{1000}$  feet assigned, in the letter above cited to Sir Charles Scarborough. But this animadverter, who took the pains to make the calculation justly and candidly, observes

that the oversight in the book, was not in the calculation, (as the paper enough shewed) but in the transcription (61). However a late animadverter not being able (as appears) to make the calculation himself, and knowing nothing of what had passed upon it, proves very mathematically the number 481 to be just (62).

The ingenious gentleman first mentioned, likewise observes, that the aspect of the sides of this pyramid, with regard to the four cardinal points, had been passed over too hastily by our author, and the same remark was afterwards made by Dr Hooke (63), who in regard to the inquiry, whether the axis of the earth varies its position, writes thus, that it had been very desirable, if from some monuments or records in antiquity somewhat could have been discovered of certainty and exactness (concerning their position), that by comparing that or them, with accurate observations now made, or to be made, somewhat of certainty of information could have been procured. Upon this account, continues he, I perused Mr Greaves's description of the great pyramid in Egypt, that being fabled to have been built for an astronomical observation, as Mr Greaves also takes notice. I perused his book, I say, hoping I should have found, among many other curious observations he there gives us concerning them, some observations perfectly made, to find whether it stands east, west, north, and south, or whether it varies from that respect of its sides, to any other part, or quarter of the world; as likewise how much and which way they now stand. But to my wonder, he being Astronomical Professor, I do not find that he had any regard at all to the same, but seems to be wholly taken up with one inquiry, which was about the measure or bigness of the whole, and its parts; and the other matters mentioned are only by the bye and accidental. I find indeed that he mentions the south and north sides thereof, but not as if he had taken any notice, whether they were exactly facing the south or north, which he might easily have done. This being probably seen and considered by Mr de Chazelles he, to satisfy the inquiry, took accurate observations in 1694, and found that the four sides were exposed exactly to the four quarters of the world. Now says Mr Fontanelle (64), as this accurate situation was in all probability designedly chosen by those, who raised that mass of stones above three thousand years ago, it follows that during this long space of time, there has been no alteration in the heavens in that respect, or, what amounts to the same, in the poles of the earth, or in the meridians.

After all, our author's words upon this subject clearly shew that he had observed this matter very accurately, for in describing the external face of the pyramid, having as Mr Hooke remarks, mentioned the north side and its east angle, as also the south side, p. 92, and 102, in the gross. He proceeds to the inside, in the description of which he was very accurate in every particular, and not less so in this. For instance, in describing the monument of Cheops, his words are, the position of it is thus: *It stands exactly in the meridian north and south*, and stands as it were equidistant from all sides of the chamber except the east, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the west, p. 132. Thus we see the words are very express, with regard to the exact position of the tomb on the inside, and the exactness expressed there, necessarily implies that the position of the outside was observed with the like accuracy, whence the great astronomical question might have been fully answered thereby. Inasmuch that it may be well asked at this time of day, what could occasion these complaints of our author's culpable negligence in this matter, when at least to an attentive reader there seems to have been no sufficient grounds for them. To account for this conduct, it must be observed that in 1632, Galileo publishing his *Dialogues of the system of the world* relates, that one Signr Cæsar, an Italian, had lately

(61) Miscellan. Works of our author, ubi supra, p. 402.

(62) See Miscellaneous Observations upon authors, &c. Vol. I. p. 120. Lond. 1731. 8vo.

(63) In his Discourse of Earthquakes, printed in his Posthumous Works, p. 355. Lond. 1705. fol.

(64) In the Eloge of Mr de Chazelles in his Histoire de renouvellement de l'Académie royale des Sciences, en 1699. &c. Tom. II. p. 57, 58. Amsterd. 1720.



*foot and Denarius* [T]. By such works as these was our author spreading his own fame, and with it that also of his country in the republic of letters, when several accusations were brought against him [U] in order to deprive him of his preferments. And tho' he weathered

lately observed a constant though slow mutation in the meridians of the earth. This piece of Galilæo being seen by Mr Gellibrand, that gentleman took particular notice of the remark therein, concerning the change of the meridians, in a treatise intitled *A Discourse mathematical on the variation of the magnetic needle*, published in 1635, when he was our author's colleague as Astronomy Professor at Gresham. So extraordinary a phenomenon must needs raise the curiosity of the astronomers, and as Mr Greaves was particularly well skilled in that science, and declares also that one design in this voyage to the East undertaken in 1637, was to make improvements in Astronomy, it must be owned, that his animadvertisers had some room for their censure. Indeed otherwise it might have been imputed to the known peevish temper of Mr Hooke, and to the resentment of the anonymous author first mentioned, as with regard to him is done by Dr Smith, who informs us, in our author's life, p. 13, that Mr Greaves had refused him his interest for procuring a place, which he solicited in vain. However his remarks in general shew him to be a person both of good learning and judgment in these matters. Which was also tacitly at least acknowledged by our author, who upon sight of his objections applied himself with the utmost care to the revival of his book. Yet we do not find him thereby convinced that there was sufficient reason for making any alteration in the particular now under consideration. Mr Hooke has remarked what he supposes another defect in the *Pyramidographia*, which is that the exact latitude of the pyramids is omitted. But he does not tell us what use might be made thereof, and probably Mr Greaves might upon that account not think of it, and the rather as he intirely condemns the opinion that these structures were raised with any view to Astronomy. Indeed what was the first design of their founders is not yet agreed. Nay Dr Shaw justly observes, there is hardly any subject about which both ancient and modern authors have differed more in their accounts than in this of the pyramids. That gentleman, who is the last writer that has given us observations upon them, differs from the common opinion of their being designed for sepulchres of the Egyptian kings, as Mr Greaves thought; and imagines they were rather sacred edifices built for religious worship, and dedicated to the sun, the form of them being emblematical of fire (65). As to which, Mr Greaves also from the same emblematical form infers, that they were intended by the builders to represent some of their gods, p. 86. and that they were used for religious purposes; and particularly supposes the cells, which are cut in the rock on the north and west side of the second pyramid, to be designed for the lodgings of the priests, p. 141, 142. Indeed the Doctor imagines, the square chest of granate marble in the center of the great pyramid, to be intended for keeping the images of their deities, or for the sacred vestments or utensils, or for a cistern to hold holy water, and not for the tomb of Cheops, as our author maintains. However the Doctor allows, that Cheops and other kings might be buried in the precincts of the pyramids, this being no more than what was practised in other temples; and only contends that their principal use and design was to be objects of worship and devotion (66). So that upon the whole he agrees with our author as to their double use, differing only in the nicety, which of the two was principally in the founders intention.

[T] *His discourse of the Roman foot and Denarius.* The distinguished merit of this performance has been felt by all subsequent writers upon the subject. Dr Edw. Bernard, treating *De mensuris & ponderibus Antiquorum*, highly extols it, and says in his MS. lectures (67) it is *Aureus, imo supra aurum omne & metallorum lucem pretiosus, lulentus*. Bp Cumberland in his *Essay towards the recovery of the Jewish measures and weights, comprehending their monies*, observes (68), that our author, in his book of the Roman foot, hath given us the Egyptian derah, or cubit, accurately adjusted to the 1000th part of our English standard, tho' he did not see

indeed what use Mr Greaves intended to make of it. He proceeds to take notice that the Jewish cubit had not been stated by our author, only that in the dedication he intimates it to be investigable by the help of the Roman foot, how he thence could have deduced it, says the Bishop, I know not, but heartily wish that Mr Greaves had lived to finish the work he intended, about the measures and weights of the Ancients. Dr George Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, in his *Inquiry into the state of the ancient measures, &c.* styles him an accurate author, and speaks of the known skill and accuracy of that observer, and taking notice of an intention of Mr Greaves to prosecute the subject of the Dirhems and Deinars of the Arabians, besides what he had done in his discourse of the Roman foot, he concludes thus, 'it is great pity, for many reasons, that the accurate judgment and exquisite learning, with which he was furnished, met with those unhappy times, in which an honest man was not only discouraged, but disabled from the prosecution of such studies (69).' Dr John Arbuthnot (70) reckons Mr Greaves a classical author on the subject of the Roman weights and measures. And Dr Ward frequently mentioned in these notes, in a small piece intitled *De Ase & partibus ejus commentarius* (71), speaks very highly in praise of the Discourse of our author. Lastly, Sir Isaac Newton having referred to Mr Greaves, as especially to be consulted on the Roman and Greek cubits (72), makes the following use of the Egyptian derah as settled by Mr Greaves, which deserves the more attention, since Bishop Cumberland could not see what use Mr Greaves intended to make of it. That incomparable author having found the ancient cubit of Memphis (as is already mentioned) to be  $1 \frac{7 \frac{1}{2}}{1000}$  of the English foot, and seeing the Egyptian cubit used in the time of Mr Greaves to be  $1 \frac{8 \frac{1}{2}}{1000}$ , proceeds thus: 'This cubit approaches nearer to the ancient cubit of Memphis, than to the lesser cubits of the Greeks, Romans, and Arabians, who reigned in Egypt, and therefore it seems to be derived from that of Memphis: but it is greater than that. And what wonder is it, that a measure should be somewhat increased in the space of above 3000 years. The measures of feet and cubits now, far exceed the proportion of human members, and yet Mr Greaves shews, from the Egyptian monuments, that the human stature was the same above 3000 years ago, as it is now. The measures therefore are increased, the reasons of which may be assigned. The instruments which used to be preserved as standards of measures, by contracting rust are increased. Iron beaten by the hammer may insensibly relax in a long space of time. Artificers likewise, in making instruments chose to err in the excess of the materials, and when by filing they attain any measure, which they think sufficient, they stop, knowing that they can soon correct that little excess by filing, if their masters should complain of it, but that they cannot remedy a defect. Let us suppose therefore, that all measures have increased by degrees, especially in the first ages, when less care was taken of them; and the cubit of Memphis about the time of the Roman empire will be a mean between the ancient and the modern cubit, but will approach nearer to the modern. The ancient cubit was  $1 \frac{7 \frac{1}{2}}{1000}$  of the English foot, and the modern is  $1 \frac{8 \frac{1}{2}}{1000}$  of the English foot. The mean therefore between them will be about  $1 \frac{7 \frac{8}}{1000}$  or  $1 \frac{7 \frac{9}}{1000}$  of a foot. Now 10000 of such mean or middle cubits make, as they ought, about 30 Attic stadia (73). To conclude; this peice of our author is dedicated to Mr Selden in the following address, 'To his truly noble and learned friend John Selden, Esq; Burgefs of the University of Oxford, in the honourable House of Commons.' This gentleman was very serviceable to Mr Greaves in the prosecution against him by that house, at whose bar his cause was heard this year, as is seen in the next remark.

[U] *Several accusations were brought against him.* We have already related the beginning of his troubles, occasioned by the unhappy state of the times, in being ejected from his lecture at Gresham, upon succeeding

(65) *Travels and Observations, &c.* p. 411.

(66) *Ibid.* p. 418, 419, 420.

(67) Smith, *Vita J. Gr.* p. 37.

(68) P. 7. *London* 1686, 8vo.

(69) Part i. p. 24, and part ii. p. 45, edit. 1721, 8vo. and part iii. p. 90. and 115.

(70) Tables of ancient coins, weights, and measures, &c. p. 15. *London* 1737, 4to.

(71) Published in Ainsworth's *Monumenta vetustatis Kempiana*, &c.

(72) In a note to p. 1. of his *Dissertation*, &c. ubi supra.

(73) *Ibid.* p. 417, 418.



(2) At this time his chest was broke open by the foldiers, and his papers and MSS. taken away, part of which were left, and the rest recovered by the interest of Mr Selden. Smith, p. 33.

(u) Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, lib. II. p. 42.

weathered this first storm, yet his respite was but short; however he made use of that time in publishing the following peice, *Johannis Bainbrigii Canicularia* [W], to which he added *Demonstratio ortus Syrii heliaci pro parallelo Inferioris Aegypti*, and also *Insigniorum aliquot stellarum longitudes & latitudes ex astronomicis observationibus Ug. Beigi Tamerlanis magni nepotis*. Oxoniae 1648, 8vo. A fresh charge was dressed up against him that year by the parliamentary visitors [X], to which he thought proper to put in no answer, and thereby incurred the loss of his professorship, being ejected (t) the 9th of October; and he was obliged to quit both his fellowship in Merton College, and likewise the university on the 9th of November following (u). The King's death was a great shock to him (w); but as he had the happiness of being endued with an excellent firmness of mind, he bore up against his own injuries with admirable fortitude, and having provided a very worthy person to succeed him [Y] in the professorship, he retired to London, where he married,

(2) The manuscript of Dr Pococke's letter to Dr Harvey is in the Bodleian. Owing to the loss of the original, my friend, Mr. W. H. Jones, has been obliged to write to you, and to answer your question. O Lord God, avert this curse from this nation. See the letter in Pococke's Life, by Twiss, who observes, that the many books and letters in it, plainly shew it to be written in tears.

(74) See Remark [Q].

(75) Sir Nathaniel Brent.

(76) See the MSS. letters of our author to Mr Pococke, ubi supra.

\* Mentioned in remark [X].

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid.

ceeding Dr Bainbridge in the Savilian professorship at Oxford. His executorship to that Doctor, or his widow, soon brought him into fresh troubles, and he was so much involved in law-suits on that account, as to be hindered thereby from going to Leyden a second time as he designed (74); to this effect writing to Dr Pococke, October 28, 1646 'My journey, says he, still holds, tho' retarded by my losses, and by Sir N. (75), who hath put me to play an after-game with the three brothers by giving them the administration. And why; because Mrs Bainbridge died intestate, so that I have saved the estate to very good purpose (76);' how much he suffered by this law-suit further appears in part, from the following attestation, though made on another occasion\*, of his brother Mr Thomas Greaves. 'I Thomas Greaves do likewise testify, and will be ready to depose, that the said Mr John Greaves left Oxford, and lived privately in the country, of purpose to avoid the delivering up of such bonds, and other things of Mrs Bainbridge, deceased, which were in his custody as executor, unto the commissioners at Oxford (77);' these commissioners of the parliament, it seems, sent several charges against him to the committee of the House of Commons, by whom our author however, probably by the interest of Mr Selden, who was one of that committee, was cleared. As appears from a letter to his friend, and fellow-sufferer Mr Pococke, dated March the 25th 1647; 'I thank God I am thus far proceeded in my troubles, that by the committee of Lords and Commons, I am pronounced innocent, to the shame of my accusers if they had any. And now I am attending upon the court of Aldermen, and the committee at Cambrden house for restitution;' and in another letter to the same gentleman, dated May 17, 1648, he expresses himself in these terms. 'I am now going into Kent to my good friend Mr Marham, not far from Rochester, who hath been very importunate, admitting of no excuse, that I must make his house and library, who hath a fair one, mine own. It will be this fortnight e'er I return, and it may be shall afterwards live with him, if I see at my coming to Oxford the same confusion which I hear, and which is likely in probability to continue (78).

[W] *Bainbridge's Canicularia*, &c.] The Canicularia is a treatise concerning the natural year of the Egyptians, so called because it commenced from the heliacal rising of Sirius, or the Dog-star, first discovered according to Proclus, (in his commentaries upon *Timæus*, lib. i.) from the flat top of the great pyramid, or near that place; and from this year was also derived their *Periodus Sothiaca*, called therefore *annus magnus novindæ*, consisting of 1460 sidereal years; in which period their *Tboth vagum & fixam*, came to have the same beginning. Dr Bainbridge had began to make some collections from the Greek and Latin authors, with remarks upon the supposed unhealthiness and unluckiness of the Dog-days; to these many more were added by Mr Greaves, who also gave a demonstration of the heliacal rising of Sirius, for the parallel of Lower Egypt, which was left untouched by the author, notwithstanding the whole piece was built upon that phenomenon; the work was first undertaken by Dr Bainbridge, at the request of Archbishop Usher, and completed also at his instance by Mr Greaves, and he dedicated it to Dr (afterwards Sir George) Ent, and President also of the College of Physicians, with whom (as is here intimated) he commenced an acquaintance at Padua; and this Gentleman gave many

proofs of his sincere friendship both to our author and Dr Pococke in these times, when they stood most in need of it.

[X] *Ejected by the parliamentary visitors.*] The articles exhibited against him were, 1. *That he betrayed the College, in discovering to the King's agents four hundred pounds in the treasury, which thereupon was taken away for the King's use.* 2. *That contrary to his oath he conveyed away a considerable part of the College goods without the consent of the company, and thereby gratified courtiers with them in other houses.* 3. *That he feasted the Queen's confessors, and sent diverse presents to them, among which was a holy throne; and that he was more familiar with them than any true Protestants used to be.* 4. *That he was the occasion of ejecting Sir Nathaniel Brent from his Wardenship, for adhering to the Parliament, and bringing in Dr Harvey (79) into his place.* 5. *That he was the occasion why Mr Edward Corbet and Mr Ralph Button were turned out of their respective offices and chambers in the College, because they abode in the Parliament's quarters.* 6. *That he gave leave to Father Phillips, the Queen's Confessor, and Wyat (80), one of her Chaplains, to come into the College library to study there; and that he put Mr John French, a Fellow, out of his chamber in Merton College, and put them into it, &c.* Our author refused to answer these articles, which occasioned his ejection (81). There is still extant the following attestation of his brother, above-mentioned, relating to this affair. 'I Thomas Greaves do testify, and it will be deposed, that Mr John Greaves, Fellow of Merton College, when the plate of the said College was demanded by the King, kept himself private in his chamber for many days, that he might not be present, nor give his consent; neither did hee go abroad, till hee had heard that the plate was already delivered.' Mr John Greaves, in a note upon this observes, that he had kept his chamber three weeks together at that time, under pretence of taking physic (82). However, it will be hardly doubted, that he tacitly gave his consent thereto; and the article relating to Dr Harvey seems not to be groundless, for that he had a quarrel with Sir N. Brent, appears from what is said in remark [U], and his friendship for Dr Harvey\* is seen in the postscript of a letter above cited to Archbishop Usher, which is dated September 19, 1644, where he writes thus: 'If I may serve Dr Hervey, I shall be most ready, either here or at Leyden to do it.' Sir Nathaniel Brent was ejected in 1645, and Dr Hervey appointed to succeed him, but the former was restored the year following.

[Y] *Having provided a proper person to succeed him.*] Dr Walter Pope informs us, that considering the violent carriage of the Visitors, Mr Greaves saw it would be of no service to him to make any defence; and that finding it was impossible for him to keep his ground †, he made it his business to procure an able and worthy person to succeed him. For which purpose he went to London, and among others advised with Dr Scarborough about it, who had then very great practice and lived magnificently, his table being always accessible to all learned men, and particularly to the distressed Royalists, and above all to scholars ejected out of either of the Universities for adhering to the King's cause. After mature consultation it was agreed upon, by a general consent, that no person was so proper and fit for that employment as Mr Seth Ward. Mr Greaves, who had heard much of Mr

(79) The Physician who discovered the circulation of the blood.

(80) Veat a Frenchman.

(81) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 157.

(82) MS. papers of our author in the Savilian Library.

\* Dr Birch has given a remarkable conference upon a physical subject between our author and this eminent Physician. See a note at the end of *Pyramidog.* in *Miscell.* Vol. I.

† After the decree of the Visitors, he seems to have tried his interest in the Committee, where it hung in suspense for some months. For in a letter to Dr Pococke, dated Aug. 1649, he complains, as of a fresh grievance, that the Committee had voted him out of his Lecture. Life of Dr Pococke, p. 27.



(\*) These he reprinted in 1652. See an account of them in Remark [C C.]

\* This is dedicated to the Rep. of Venice, to whom he addressed a compliment in elegant Latin verse.

(83) He resided at Tame Park in that county, the Seat of Lord Wenman, who had invited him to his house. See his article.

(84) Dr Pope's Life of Seth Ward Bishop of Salisbury, p. 18, 19, 20, 21. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

\* Having taken notice of the embolismus, or Leap year, of the Arabians, and how it differs from the Christian, both which he had marked with a lineola, he concludes thus: *De embolismo Persarum & Gelæo vide sis commentarios nostros in Ulug Begium.*

(85) Ubi supra, p. 30. Yet he thought it was probable they were written.

and living upon his patrimony, went on as before in employing the press. In this resolution he published *Binæ tabulæ geographicæ, una Nassir Eddini Persæ, altera Ulug Beigi Tatarici, commentariis ex Abulfeda aliisque Arabum Geographicis illustratæ*, Lond. 1648. 4to (\*). As also *Elementa Linguae Persicæ*, Lond. 1649 4to, to which he subjoined *Anonymus Persæ de siglis Arabum & Persarum astronomicis*, Lond. 1648, 4to [Z]. At the same time he was engaged in preparing a Turkish dictionary (y). In 1650 came out in 4to his *Epochæ celebriores, astronomicis, historicis, chronologis, Cbalaicorum, Syrogræcorum, Arabum, Persarum, Chorasmiarum usitatae, ex traditione Ulug Beigi, Arabice & Latine, cum commentariis* \* [AA]. As also the same

year

(y) Birch's Life of our author, p. 34. It was in concert with Mr Will, Seaman, author of a Turkish grammar; but this dictionary was never finished. See more of this in Dr Pococke's Article.

Ward, though he had no acquaintance with him, readily agreed, and undertook to find out Mr Ward, and make him the profer. In that design he returned to Oxford, whither Mr Ward knowing nothing of what had been concerted in his behalf, happened to come soon after, either to consult some books in the public library, or to visit his friends and acquaintance, as he frequently used to do (83). Entering the Bear Inn, he luckily meets Mr Greaves coming out, who, finding this was the man he wanted, immediately saluted him expressing his great joy at this fortunate rencounter, after which, taking him aside, he imparted his business in the design of having him for his successor, urging him with great importunity thereto: 'I remember, continues this author, I heard the Bishop say, that among other arguments Mr Greaves told him, if you refuse it, they will give it to some cobbler of their party, who never heard of the name of Euclid, or the mathematicks, and yet will greedily snap at it for the salary's sake.' This unexpected address threw Mr Ward's modesty into some confusion at first. But after a while, returning many thanks for so extraordinary a favour, he objected the difficulty of effecting it, alledging that he had no room to expect he should be suffered to enjoy a public Professor's place quietly in Oxford, when it was notoriously known, that he was turned out of Cambridge for refusing the Covenant; Mr Greaves replied, that he and his friends had considered that obstacle, and found out a way to remove it; and it was effectually removed a little while after by means of Sir John Trevor, who though of the Parliament party, was a great lover of learning, and very obliging to several scholars, who had been turned out of the two Universities; and by his interest Mr Ward obtained the Professor's chair, and kept his seat therein without taking the Covenant or Engagement. Being thus settled in the Professor's chair, he procured for Mr Greaves the full arrears of his salary, amounting to five hundred pounds; for part, if not all the land allotted to pay the Savilian Professors lies in Kent, which county was in the power of the Parliament, who withheld the money (84).

[Z] *Elementa Linguae Persicæ, &c* The first of these pieces is dedicated to Mr Selden, being first drawn up at his request, and approved by him; Dr Smith tells us, [p. 16.] it was written before our author's travels (into the East), and the same is intimated in the dedication, but could not then be printed for want of types. The tract subjoined is addressed to his friend Monsieur Hardy, to whom he gives his motive for publishing it, viz. that though many persons had written of the Sigla of the Jews, which occur every where among the Rabbins, yet no account had been published by any author of those used by the Persians and Arabians, especially in their astronomical tables; that having met at Constantinople with this anonymous Persian writer, who explains that subject with great clearness and accuracy, he thought it not unfit to be joined to his *Elementa Linguae Persicæ*, which he had begun at Paris at the instance of Monsieur Hardy.

[AA] *Epochæ celebriores, &c* These epochæ are of singular service in correcting a vast number of errors in our books of chronology, and for the better understanding of them they are reduced by our author to the Julian period, and the vulgar Dionysian æra of Christ; he has likewise added a praxis of the tables, with proper lemmata and examples. But the commentaries mentioned in the title were not printed with the book, though they are again referred to at the end of it \*. Yet Dr Smith after a very diligent enquiry was never able to find them (85). With re-

gard to the piece annexed *Chorasmiæ, — descriptio ex tabulis Abulfedæ*. In the preface having taken notice how much the tables of Abulfeda had been wished for by the learned, and mentioned Ramusius as the first who cited them, and shewed the use of them; he proceeds in observing, that many passages in them relating to Asia had been corrected by Castaldus an eminent Geographer, who had undertaken the description of that part of the world, and upon whose authority the tables are frequently mentioned by Ortelius in his *Thesaurus Geographicus*. Speaking of the method of these tables he writes, that the first meridian was drawn through the Fortunate Islands by Ptolomy and his followers, the Greeks and Latins, and that the ancient Arabians followed the Greeks in that point: But that Abulfeda, with some others, computed the longitude from the meridian passing the extreme promontory which runs out into the Atlantic Ocean. Hence, continues he, the reason is plain why in some of the astronomical tables, and geographical charts of the Arabians, Alexandria in Egypt is placed in 51° longitude, in others in 61°; the former computing from the shore of the Atlantic Ocean, the latter from the Fortunate Islands. But the Indian Geographers and Astronomers have a quite different method of computing the longitude, drawing the first meridian in the East through Conador; whereas the Greeks and Latins, as also the Persians, Arabians, and others, fix it in the West, which appears from an institution of astronomy wrote by Ali Koshgi, an eminent Persian astronomer. In fixing the climates, Abulfeda takes a very different method from the common one; besides the seven climates of the ancient Greeks, followed herein by the Arabians and Persians as being real, and κατὰ θεσιν, depending on the length of the days, he assigns twenty eight others κατ' ὑπόθεσιν, distinguishing in his tables between *clima verum* and *clima cognitum*; by this latter he means any country or kingdom, which contains several provinces or tracts of land, as Syria, al Brak, and other countries: sometimes *clima cognitum* is part of one true climate, sometimes of two; as Syria is partly in the third, and partly in the fourth climate; sometimes *clima cognitum* contains part of seven climates, as it is reported of China, the longitude of which is said to exceed the latitude. The reason why Abulfeda reckons Arabia, or as he calls it, the peninsula of Arabia, the first climate was, on account of the temple of God, and Mahomet's sepulchre seated there. In proceeding, Mr Greaves explains Abulfeda's method in measuring the distances of places in these maps. He tells us, that he had collated these tables with five MSS. one of which belonged to Erpenius, and was transcribed from a MS. in the library of the Elector of Palatine; another, which was the very MS. from which Erpenius's copy was taken, and removed to the Vatican library; two others, in Mr Edward Pococke's library, and the fifth bought by himself at Constantinople; by the help of these a great number of errors in each of the tables are corrected, but not the least alteration made without the authority of the major part of the MSS. except the case evidently required it. Mr Greaves calls this work *Majoris operis Specimen*, and then taking notice of the several attempts formerly made for preparing an intire edition of that author (86), he says, *Quod itaque à tantis viris susceptum & à doctis hodie fere omnibus efflagitatum tandem, favente Deo optimo maximo, in hoc nunquam satis deploranda patriæ meæ calamitate, in maximo fortunarum naufragio, summaque animi inquietudine consummatum est*. From this passage Dr Smith concludes, that our author had wrote and prepared for the press, what he calls *Versio integra tabularum geographicarum Abulfedæ*, though

(86) Viz. by Erpenius and Schickard. After Mr Greaves the same was attempted by S. Clerk, and W. Guise at Oxford, and as is said by Mr Thevenot in France, and again at Oxford by Mr Gagnier in 1723; but they were all prevented by death or some other accident from executing their design. Smith, p. 31. Renaudot's Pref. to his Accounts of India and China, p. 12, 13, and Gagnier's Pref. ad Abulfed. de vit. &c. Moammed, p. 2.

he



year the following peice. *Chorasmia & Mawaralnabre hoc est regionum extra fluvium Oxum descriptio ex tabulis Abulfeda Ismaelis principis Hamab*, 4to. And another in English intitled *A description of the grand Seignior's Seraglio or Turkish Emperour's court*, 8vo\*. In 1652 he published a piece with this title, *Astronomica quedam ex traditione Shah Cholgi Perse, una cum hypothesis Planetarum: item excerpta quedam ex Alfergani elementis astronomicis, & Ali Kustigii de terræ magnitudine & sphaerarum caelestium a terra distantis cum interpretatione Latina* [BB] 4to. To this he added the *Bina Tabulae geographicæ, &c.* [CC] above mentioned.

\* Our author did not know that this piece of Mr R. Withers had been printed before in Purchas's Pilgrime, part ii. lib. 9. c. 15.

he had neither seen it nor knew where it was. But that Mr Greaves had some years before collated several copies of Abulfeda with that view, appears from a letter to Mr Pococke, dated October 28, 1646, which begins thus, 'I humbly thank you for these happy solutions, and conjectures of your's, concerning my doubts in Abulfeda, most of which I find to agree with Erpenius's copy, and therefore I have since taken so much pains as to compare your's and Erpenius's manuscripts, which have writ the variæ lectiones into your's, with black lead:' and having told the manner in which he had done it, so as not to hurt but improve the manuscript, he proceeds thus, 'I desire you, with your own, to take my Abulfeda, as a small gift, if these times should hinder me from perfecting what I have designed. Though to speak the truth, those maps which shall be made out of Abulfeda, will not be so exact as I did expect, as I have found by comparing some of them with our modern and best charts. In his description of the Red Sea, which was not far from him, he is most grossly mistaken; What may we then think of places remoter? however, there may be good use of the book for the Arabian writers\*. I have also compared Ptolemy's Geography, of Bertius's edition, with a fair Greek manuscript of your friend's, whereby I speak it confidently, two thousand errors may be corrected in the Greek edition; and I now find that to be true, which Holstenius long since told me, that Bertius had done nothing worthy of commendations in that fair and costly edition of Ptolemy; whereas I find Mercator's conjectures often very happily to agree with the manuscript.' In this preface Mr Greaves confounds Abulfeda, the author of the Geography, with another person of the same name, concerning which mistake see Dr Pococke's article.

[BB] *Astronomica quedam ex traditione Shah Cholgi Perse, &c.* In the preface our author gives a short history of the rise and progress of Astronomy among the Arabians, by which we find, that very near 400 years before the publication of this book, Gerardus Cremonensis, a person excellently skilled in the Arabic language, though not so well versed in astronomy, published theories of the planets. His errors, which had been universally received and adopted by the ignorant professors of the Sciences, were refuted first by Regiomontanus (87); whose master, George Purbach (88), an eminent Astronomer, having a little before wrote his book *de Theoriis Planetarum*, had therein facilitated the reading of Ptolemy, and the ancient Astronomers (a). And he is the first, after the restoration of learning in Europe, who wrote a short introduction into the more abstruse parts of the Science. After him there appeared several Elements of the Science, and Commentaries upon Ptolemy; of whom the most eminent are Erasmus Rheinbold, and Michael Mæstlin; this last being frequently recommended by Tycho Brahe. These authors having made use of a great number of barbarous terms, unknown to the Latin language, which had grown into the writings of Astronomers from the publication of the Castilian tables, Mr Greaves thought it would be no unacceptable present to the Republic of Letters to trace these exotic words to their original; in that design he fixed upon this short tract taken from the Commentaries of Mahmud Shah Cholgi. The words here explained are Juzahar, Zenith, Nadir, Buth, with a prodigious variety of others, either taken from the Arabians, or formed in imitation of them (89). And as all

the books of Science, especially Physic and Mathematics, came to Europe out of the Arabian schools, from the time of Al Mammon, by whose direction the Greek writers were first translated into Arabic at Babylon; so by this piece of Shah Cholgi, the reader will find, that the celestial hypotheses of the Persians and Arabians are exactly conformable to those of Ptolemy, and have them succinctly and clearly explained and adapted to the motions of the planets, from the accurate observations of Nassir Eddin in the city of Maraga. Besides, the studious in the Oriental tongues must be pleased to see a book published in the genuine Persian language; since what had been before published in that tongue were full of barbarisms and improprieties (90). This Shah Cholgi flourished in the year 866 of the Hegira, and 1461 of the Christian æra, when he composed his Commentaries, (of which the present tract is a part) dedicated by Nassir Eddin to Illehan Tatar: and though it is not known whether he wrote any thing else, yet Mr Greaves observes, that these alone are sufficient to correct a great many errors in astronomy; and to confute diverse assertions in chronology received upon the authority of Joseph Scaliger; and to explain a variety of things in the Arabian writers, especially the Mathematicians. In the dedication to John Marsham, Esq; (afterwards Sir John Marsham) Mr Greaves remarks, that it was at his solicitations that Mr Marsham was prevailed with to publish his *Diatriba Chronologica*, printed at London, 1649, 4to.

[CC] *Bina tabulae, &c.* Nassir Eddin, the author of the first of these tables, flourished about the 660 year of the Hegira, and was an eminent Persian Mathematician and Astronomer, greatly commended by Gregory Abu'l Faragius. Historians relate, that presenting a book he had wrote to Mostaafem, the last Kalif of Babylon, who treated it with contempt, he was so exasperated, that he went to Holac Chân, prince of the Tartars, and perswaded him to make war upon Mostaafem, whose army was defeated and himself with his four sons slain by Holac Chân after the taking of Babylon. By this event, the empire and name of the Abbassidæ, which had flourished about 500 years in Asia, were entirely extinguished. It is probable, that Nassir Eddin was advanced to great honours by Holac, and had a considerable share in his friendship; and under his patronage formed the Astronomical tables which he stiled the Illehan Tables, from Illehan king of the Tartars [or Tatars], by the assistance of the best mathematicians in the city of Maraga. Mahmud Shah Cholgi prefers these tables to all others, and Mr Greaves remarks, that if they had been known to the Europeans in the preceding ages, those monstrous hypotheses of an eighth heaven, long before introduced by Thebet Ebn Corah, would have been exploded. Mr Greaves therefore extracted this table out of his collection, which he thought would be of great use in illustrating the Geography of the remotest parts of Asia, most of which Nassir Eddin had seen, and travelled over, and given an accurate account of the rest from the writings of the Indians and Arabians\*. Ulug Beig, king of Parthia and India, and grandson of Timurlan the Great, was the author of the other tables. Residing at Samarkand his metropolis, he exercised himself in the study of Mathematics and Astronomy; and having sent from all parts for Astronomers, (the principal of whom were Giyath Eddin Iamshud, and Ali Kustigi, author of a celebrated book in the elements of Arithmetic and Astronomy) and furnished them with instruments, he observed,

(90) Particularly the Pentateuch by Tawush the Jew, and Xavier's Historia Christi & Petri, published by Ludovicus de Dieu, at Leyden in 1639.

\* Mr Greaves mentions several eminent Arabian Geographers besides Abulfeda, and the authors (which are about 30) cited by him. See the Article PRIDEAUX [HUMPHRY]

(a) This was done long before by Ptolemy himself in his old age (not to mention a great number of Arabian and Persian writers after him, as Albattani, Alfergan, Osta Ebn Luka, Nassir Eddin, and Kustigi). For Ptolemy having finished his *Μεγάλη Σύνταξις*, subjoined to it his treatise, *περί υποθέσεων πλανημένων*, of the hypothesis of the planets, with a view either to refresh his own memory, or to assist youth. But this piece continued in obscurity, scarce known to the Greeks, much less to the Latins, till Dr John Bainbridge published it with Proclus's *Sphaera*, at London, 1620, 4to.

\* Mr Renaudot observes, that Abulfeda's geography is of little or no use, in settling the geography of the eastern countries, by reason of the uncertainty, he leaves position of places in amidst a great number of different accounts. But Mr Gagnier remarks, that, by comparing these various accounts with modern observations, the true situation of places would be better adjusted. See the list cited pieces of these two authors.

(87) He was born June 6, 1436, and died July 6, 1476, Gassendi in ejus vita, p. 67, 92. Paris. 1654, 4to.

(88) He was born May 30, 1423, and died April 7, 1461, ibid. in ejus vita, p. 58, 74.

(89) This was afterwards made use of by Dr Wallis in his history of Algebra.



(z) Smith's Obituary in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 25.

(a a) Wood's *Ath. Ox.* col. 58.

mentioned. He had prepared several other works for the press [D D], and was meditating more [E E] at this time. But these and many other valuable pieces, which might have been expected from him, the public has lost by his death, which happened October 8, (z) 1652. His body was interred in the church of St Bennet Sherehog in London (a a). He had made his will the year before, wherein, bequeathing his estate to his wife for her life (b b), he left his cabinet of coins to Sir John Marsham (c c) author of the *Canon Chronicus*, and appointed the eldest of his three younger brothers Dr Nicolas Greaves [F F] his executor, who

(b b) Smith's *Vita Grav.* p. 34.

(c c) See our author's life prefixed to *Miscellanies*, p. 58.

served, in company with them, the phenomena of the heavens with the utmost accuracy, and from thence formed his tables (which are famed over the whole East) in the year 841 of the Hegira, and 1437 of the Christian æra. Among these, according to the custom of Astronomers, is ranked the Geographical Table here published by Mr Greaves; who tells us, that he was informed by some Turkish Astronomers of no mean parts and skill at Constantinople, upon remarking the agreement between the observations of Tycho Brahe and those of Ulug Beig, that the latter, besides his other most exact instruments, had procured a quadrant, the radius of which in length equalled the height of the dome of St Sophia: this account the Turks had from Persians of credit. Mr Greaves leaves the reader to believe as much of this story as he pleases; but observes, that very large instruments were absolutely necessary to take the height of the Pole, so accurately as he had done at Samarkand, (where Ulug Beig reigned, according to Emir Cond, above forty years) for he makes it to be 39°. 37'. 23". from whence we may conclude his great accuracy in the rest of his observations. Notwithstanding this, a manuscript of our author, entitled Chorographical Maps, from the Tables of Nassir Eddin, Abulfeda, and Ulug Beig, coming after his death into the hands of Dr Smith (91), that gentleman did not think proper to print it, by reason he found the maps not so correct as some which had been made in later times. The Commentaries mentioned in the title of *Binæ Tabulæ*, &c. were never printed, and Dr Ward thinks they were never written, from a passage in one of our author's letters to Mr Pococke, where he says, 'The book I send you should have been with you long since, but by reason of my many diversions and law-suits, I have not as yet distributed the copies, nor added the Commentary I intended.' Though there is no date to this letter, yet, by the mention of his law-suits, Dr Ward supposes these two Geographical Tables must be meant, which were first printed at the time he was in these troubles (92).

[D D] Prepared several other works for the press.] Several of these have been since printed. As (1) In the Philosophical Transactions. *The manner of hatching chickens at Cairo.* No 137. *An Account of some experiments for trying the force of great guns made at Woolwich,* March 18, 1651. No 173. *An Account of the latitude of Constantinople and Rhodes.* No 178. Afterwards reprinted in Mr Ray's Collection of Travels, 1693. Fol. (2) *Binarum Tabularum Versio à Georgio Chrysococca ex manuscriptis Persicis græce facta, quarum altera longitudines & latitudines stellarum insignium 25, altera insignium oppidorum, continebat.* These tables were published by Ismael Bullialdus, in an Appendix to his *Astronomia Philolaitica*, which Mr Greaves had collated with his copy, and the latter of them has been reprinted in Dr Hudson's third Volume of Collections, intitled *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores.* Oxon. 1712. 8vo. (3) *Descriptio Peninsulæ Arabiæ ex Abulfeda* (93), *cum descriptione maris Persici & Rubri; Arabice & Latine.* (4) *Ptolemæi Arabia.* These two last were likewise published by Dr Hudson in the same Volume with the *Tabulæ Chrysococce* (94).

The following are not yet printed. (1) *Tabulæ integræ longitudinis & latitudinis stellarum fixarum juxta Ulug Beigi observationes.* Mr Greaves carefully collated five Persian MSS. of these tables, after which he translated them into Latin, and deposited the copy with Archbishop Usher. But this not being known to Mr Thomas Hyde, of Queen's College in Oxford, he made a new version, and published it with the original and a learned Commentary at Oxford, 1665, in 4to. (2) *A geographical account of the mountains in the country near the Arabians, from Abulfeda.* English. (3) Of the Tatars, or inhabitants of Mogol. (95), with

a short description of the chief regions in Persia. (4) *Elementa omnium scientiarum præsertim mathematicarum.* This book, written with his own hand, was given to Dr Dudley Loftis of Ireland, by Dr Nicholas Greaves, our author's brother, and afterwards came into the hands of Dr Thomas Smith (96), by whom it was left among his other manuscripts to Mr Hearne, and is now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. It is a small piece, about the size of an ordinary pamphlet, in 8vo. It was bound by order of Mr Hearne, being before a collection of loose papers which our author carried about in his pocket, by way of *Adversaria*. It consists of 41 heads, which are as follow. *Observations relating to Chronology and Astronomy, particularly an account of the epochæ used by several nations. Ars gnomonica. Ars militaris. Agriculture,* a blank page with only the title. *Ars navigationis. Jurisprudentia. Concerning law. Medicina. Chymica. Curious extracts out of oriental authors, relating chiefly to mathematical subjects, as particularly chronological tables out of Nassir Eddin. An Account of some of the most eminent Philosophers, from Ebn Chalcidau and other Manuscripts. Eclipses of the sun and moon at Oxford, Rome, Marana in the West Indies, Constantinople, and many other places. Collections out of the Geographia Nubiensis; de magnitudine terræ, the opinion of several oriental writers on that subject; Tabulæ astronomiæ Persicæ; de calculo astronomico. Algebra. De philosophia, sive de artibus & scientiis in genere. Grammatica. Rhetorica. Historia. Logica. Physica. Metaphysica. Arithmetica. Geometria. Astronomia. Optica. Astrologia. Trigonometria. Chronological and Astronomical Observations, collected out of oriental and other authors. Tables of the longitude and latitude of places ex Ulug Bego & Keplero. Geographia, a blank page with only the title. Musica, a blank page. Metrica. Geodæsia. Altimetrica. Mechanica, a blank page. Trigonometrical cases. Tables of signs and tangents. De militia Romana. Architectura militaris. Architectura. Pictura, a blank page. Sculptura, a blank page. De Divinatione. Theologia. Philosophia moralis. Chronological and Astronomical Collections. (5) *Quæstiones Abdallæ Ebn Salan Judæi cum Mohammedis responsis, à Johanne Gravio ex Arabica lingua in Latinam traductæ & notis illustratæ.* Dr Ward tells us (97) this is a curious manuscript in Arabic and Latin, then [1740] in the possession of Sir Richard Ellys, Bart. and that it contains certain questions taken out of the Jewish Law by Ebn Salan, and proposed to Mohammed, which being answered by him, this Rabbi is there said to have become one of his principal followers.*

[E E] Was meditating others.] Among these was an account of the magnitude of the earth according to the Arabians, as also their weights and measures; and a description of the Egyptian sepulchres, with an account of their hieroglyphics and other antiquities, of which he had a large quantity of various sorts. There is likewise in the Savilian Musæum a small MS. book containing astronomical, geographical, and other miscellaneous observations made at Constantinople, Rhodes, Alexandria, and other places in the East, chiefly in 1638, and a printed Almanack for 1637 filled with MS. observations in astronomy, and other remarks of various kinds made in Italy after his return from the East in 1639. Several extracts from these have been printed by Dr Ward, and more by Dr Birch in the *Miscellaneous Works*, &c. In the 1st Vol. of which he has given us the *Pyramidographia*, with a great many additions and alterations from a copy corrected by the author, and the discourse of the Roman foot and denarius.

[F F] His brother Dr Nicolas Greaves.] This gentleman was first a Commoner at St Mary's Hall in Oxford, and being chosen Fellow of All Souls College in 1627, became Senior Proctor of the University in 1640. He

(91) *Vita Joh. Grav.* p. 31.

(92) *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 147.

(93) Taken from Teixeira the Spaniard, who borrowed many things from Emir Cond, the Persian. From this edition Mr la Roque made his French translation of the same description of Arabia substituted to D'Arvieux's Journey to Palestine, printed at Paris 1717, 8vo.

(94) To these are to be added *Lemmarum Arabum* mentioned in remark [Q] which were first inserted in an edition of Archimedes's Works in 1675, 4to. by Dr Barrow. In 1706 there came out a piece intitled, *The Origin and Antiquity of our English weights and measures, &c.* By Mr John Greaves, Astronomy Professor at Oxford; and a second edition was published in 1745, 12mo. But this tract was not wrote by our author, as presently appears upon looking into it.

(95) He designed to have printed it, but was prevented by his death.

(96) Dr Smith calls this book *Synopsis & Compendium ἐγκυκλοπαιδείας.* *Vita.* J. G. p. 31.

(97) *Ubi supra*, p. 150.



who by will bequeathed our author's astronomical instruments to the Savilian library at Oxford, where they are repositied (*dd*) together with several of his papers (*ee*). His loss was much lamented by his friends [*GG*], he seems to be a man of great resolution, and the whole tenor of his life shews him a zealous Royalist, and steady in his friendships, tho' as he declares of [*HH*] himself not at all inclined to contention; he was highly esteemed by several learned men abroad, with whom he corresponded, as William Schickard, James Golius, Cladius Hardy, Francis Junius, Peter Scavenius, and Christian Ravius; and at home, besides Archbishop Laud, he had an intimate friendship with Archbishop Usher, Mr Selden, Dr Gerard Langbaine, Dr William Harvey, Sir John Marsham, Dr Edward Pococke, Dr Charles Scarborough, Dr George Ent, and other great men (*ff*).

(*ff*) See his letter, and other parts of his works, passim.

(98) Smith, and Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 669.

(99) This was occasioned by some uneasiness among his parishioners, on account of his bad utterance in the pulpit, owing to an impediment in his speech. Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 556.

(100) These are (1) *Observationes quædam in Persicam Pentateuchi versionem. Bib. Polyglot. Vol. VI. p. 48.* (2) *Annotationes quædam in Persicam interpretationem Evangeliorum, ibid. p. 56.* these last are translated into Latin, by Mr Samuel Clarke.

(101) In 1637 he was appointed Deputy Arabic Professor to Dr Pococke. [See his article.] He printed his speech on this occasion with the following title. *De linguæ Arabicæ utilitate & præstantia. Oratio*

He proceeded, B. D. Nov. 1, 1642, and being created Doctor on the 6th of June the year following, was afterwards preferred to the Deanery of Dromore in Ireland (98). The two other brothers were men of considerable learning. Of these, Thomas the elder was born at Colmore, and having his first education at Charter-House School, was admitted March 27, 1627, scholar of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and taking his degrees in Arts, became fellow of the college in 1636. He proceeded, B. D. in 1641, and had the rectory of Dunsby in Lincolnshire, besides a living near London before the Restoration: after which he was created D. D. in 1661, and became rector of Bennyfield, in Northamptonshire, and in 1666 a Prebendary of Peterborough, but this last was the only preferment he was possessed of at his death, which happened in 1676, at an estate he had purchased at Weldon in Northamptonshire, having retired thither upon his resignation of Bennyfield some time before (99); upon his grave stone in the chancel of Weldon church (where he was interred) is the following inscription: *Thomas Gravivus, S. Th. D. Ecclesiæ Petroburg. Prebend. Vir summæ pietatis & eruditionis; In Philosophicis paucis secundus; In Philologicis peritissimis par; In linguis orientalibus plerisque major, quarum Persicam notis in appendice ad Biblia Polyglotta doctissime illustravit (100). Arabicam publice in Academia Oxon. professus est (101), dignissimus etiam qui & Theologiam in eodem loco profiteretur; Poeta insuper & Orator insignis; atque in Mathematicis profunde doctus. Reipublicæ Literariæ & Ecclesiæ Christianæ flebilis obiit Maij 22, ann. 1676. æt. suæ 65.* Besides the pieces mentioned in the margin, he had once some thoughts of publishing a treatise against Mahometism, as appears from a letter he wrote to his friend Mr Baxter (102), whose zeal and piety he therein greatly commends.

Edward the youngest of the four brothers was born at Croydon in Surrey. Elected Fellow of All Souls College in 1634, proceeded Doctor of Physic July 8,

Oxon. habita Julii 19 1637. Ox. 1639, 4to. See a letter from Abr. Wheelocke Arabic Professor at Cambridge to him, in the life of John Greaves, by Birch, ubi supra. (102) Ibid.

1641, became superiour reader (as observed in remark [*P*]) of Lynacre's lecture in that faculty at Merton College, Nov. 14, 1643, in the room of Dr Bainbridge; and together with Dr Walter Charleton, was appointed travelling physician to King Charles I (103). Upon the decline of his Majesty's affairs, he went to London and practised there, going occasionally in the seasons to Bath, to the library of which Abbey church he was a benefactor (104). Octob. 11, 1657, he was chosen Fellow of the College of Physicians (105), and after the Restoration became Physician in Ordinary to K. Charles II. who created him a Baronet (106). He spoke the Harveyan speech on the 25th of July 1661 (107). He died at his house in Covent-Garden Nov. 11, 1680, and was buried in that parish church (108).

[*GG*] He was much lamented by his friends.] Dr Gerard Langbaine in a letter to Mr Selden, Oct. 22, 1652, writes thus: 'for Mr John Greaves, I was seized of the sad news of his death. I have in him lost a friend, and learning a great support. What he had of his own as author, I hope his brothers or some knowing friend will be careful to preserve. You know he was owner of some Arabic books, which I believe are not to be found in Europe again. Unless you think fit to buy them yourself, I would willingly put in for this University. We shall be able to compass some of them, and I hope in time, by means of Mr Pococke and such of his scholars here as are ingenious and studious, to make use of them. And methinks 'tis a disgrace to our nation that such commodities should pass from hence to France, or Sweden, or the Low Countries (109).'

[*HH*] He declares of himself.] In a letter to Mr Pococke dated March 6, 1650. 'There is no man, says he, desires more to be quiet than myself, and to promote learning and honest purposes. But I know not how it is my fortune to find enemies where I have least deserved, and friends where I could no way have merited (110).'

(*dd*) Catalogus Librorum manu-scriptorum Angli. & Hibern. in unum collect. part. i. p. 302. Oxon. 1697, fol.

(*ee*) A great many of these papers were sold by his executor's widow to a book seller, and lost or dispersed. Smith, p. 34.

(103) Hearne's pref. to Lantacæ's Chron. p. 86. At this time he published *Morbus Epidemicus, or the new disease, Oxon. 1643, 4to.* This was the camp disease, which then raged in that city.

(104) See History and Antiquities of the Abbey church of Bath, p. 200. Lond. 1723, 8vo.

(105) Birch. From that College-register.

(106) See Guillim's Heraldry, p. 210. edit. 1724.

(107) It was printed Londini 1667, 4to. Dr Smith calls it elegantissima oratio.

(108) Wood, ubi supra.

(109) Birch, ibid. p. 50, 51.

(110) Ward, p. 146, from the MS. letters of our author, P

GREENVIL, GRENVIL, GRENEVILL, GREINVIL, GROYNVILLE, GREENFIELD, GRENEFELDT, GRAINVILLE, GRAYNVILLE, GRANEVIL, or, as now commonly written, Granville or Greenville, in Latin Grandisvilla, one of the most ancient and noble families in this island (*a*). It is a point settled on the highest authorities, that this is a branch of the ancient ducal house of Normandy, and enjoyed very high titles before they came over hither with the Conqueror, to whom Richard de Greenville, the founder of this illustrious line, was nearly related (*b*) [*A*]. This Richard de Grenvil attended his brother Robert Fitzhamon,

[*A*] Was nearly related] There is nothing of this kind more certain, or more clearly supported by authorities of history and of record, than that this family came in with William, furnished the Conqueror, and received from him large estates in the county of Devon (1). As to the descent of Richardus de Grana Villa, or Ricardus de Grenvile (2), for thus the name is written in the oldest pieces we have met with from the Norman house, it stands thus. Rollo, the Norman, was invested with the Duchy of Normandy by Charles the Simple, who then wore the Crown of France, from whom, at the same time, he received his daughter Gisela, or, as our historians commonly call her, Giletta, as his consort (3). She was, however, properly speaking, no more than a wife of honour; and whereas the current of historians say, that Rollo had no issue by her, but that after her decease he married a second

wife; the true state of the matter is this, that he never consummated the marriage with the king of France's daughter, who survived him, but by another lady, Popa, daughter to the count de Baieux, whom he had taken many years before in a predatory expedition, he had a son Guillaume Longue-épée, that is, William with the long sword, his successor, and a daughter Girelotta, who espoused the duke of Guyenne, or Aquitaine (4). William succeeded his father, anno dom. 912. He was in all respects one of the most accomplished and virtuous princes of his time, which, however, did not hinder his being most infamously assassinated by the count of Flanders, anno dom. 943 (5). He espoused the daughter of Herbert, count of Vermandois, and by her had Richard, furnished the Hardy, who though he succeeded to the Duchy a child, yet he governed long, and with great reputation.

(*a*) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, p. 62. Risdon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91. Camden. Britan. Tit. Danmonii.

(*b*) Bill. sig. Car. ii. A. 12.

(4) Dud. Hist. Norman. Oder. Vital. Norm. Hist. Ypodig. Neustrie, p. 416. Guelm. Gemiticenf. lib. ii.

(5) Dud. Histor. Norman. Guelm. Gemiticenf. lib. iii. cap. xii. Ypodig. Neustrie.



(c) Powell's Hist. of Cambria, p. 125, 131. Camd. Britan. Tit. Silures, ex Registr. Abbat. de Nethe.

Fitzhamon, earl of Gloucester, in his famous expedition into Wales (c), which makes so shining a figure in the histories of those times (d), and by which he entitled himself to a very honourable reward amongst the rest of the gallant knights, who were embarked in that enterprize (e) [B]. But it does not appear that himself or his descendants ever settled in these

parts.

(d) MS. antiq. intit. The Wynnyng of Glamorgan. Camd. Brit. Tit. Silures. Powell's Hist. of Cambria, p. 124.

(e) Registr. Abbat. de Nethe penes Dom. R. Stradling. Monast. Angl. Tom. i. p. 161. Camd. Brit. Tit. Silures.

reputation. He married first Emma, daughter to Hugh le Grand, count of Paris, and father to Hugh Capet, by whom he had no issue; but by a Danish lady of great quality, whose name was Gunnora, whom he first kept as a concubine, and afterwards married, he had three sons, Richard, who succeeded him; Robert Archbishop of Roan, and Maliger, or, as it is commonly pronounced, Mauger, count of Corboille (6). He had also three daughters, of whom the youngest was Emma, surnamed the Flower of Normandy, married to Ethelred, and Canute, both Kings of England, mother, by the latter, to Harold, surnamed Harefoot; and by the former, of Edward the Confessor, who were also both kings of England (7). This Mauger, earl of Corboille, had a son, whose name was Hamon, who was slain in battle in the reign of his cousin Robert II. duke of Normandy. His son was also called Hamon, surnamed le Dentu, in Latin Dentatus, who married the sister of the emperor Otho, and by her had three sons, Robert, Richard, and Hamon, who all attended the Conqueror in his expedition into England, were present with him at the battle of Hastings (8); and marching with him afterwards into the West, to the siege of Exeter, Richard had bestowed upon him lands of considerable value, particularly the lordships of Biddeford in Devonshire, and of Kilkhampton in Cornwall (9). Thus far all is as clear as in a matter of this antiquity can possibly be expected. But as to what is reported of Hamon Dentatus being lord of Granville, in Normandy, it is, with me at least, of no such easy digestion; that there is such a town in Normandy is, indeed, very certain, but that it belonged to Hamon le Dentu, and that from thence his second son was styled Richard de Granville; I shall readily acknowledge, when it can be proved that there was such a place in those times, or for two or three hundred years after; but till that can be done, I shall look upon this French surname as a piece of affectation, that might have endangered the credit of this genealogy, if it had not been otherwise so well supported both by history and record. If he had really brought the surname of Granville out of Normandy, we should without question, have found his name in the old chronicles, where there is a very long list (10); or in the roll of Battle-Abbey (11), or in that other ancient roll, purporting the names of those who came over with duke William (12); but as we do not find it there, it is much more reasonable to believe, that he assumed that surname in England, more especially if for this any probable account can be given. As to its occurring in the list published by Holinshed (13), it proves little, since it is plainly interpolated, and several names added that were not, or could be, in the roll of Battle-Abbey, and this amongst the rest.

[B] Who were embarked in that enterprize ] The history of the conquest of Glamorgan is a piece of history extremely well preserved by the care of Sir Edward Stradling, as some say, or as others affirm, Sir Edward Maunsel, who collected it from very authentic evidences; and therefore though the language be somewhat obsolete, we presume to give it in the author's words (14). "In the year of our Lord 1091, and in the 4th year of the reign of King William Rufus, one Jestyn, the son of Gungant, being lord of the said lordship of Glamorgan, Rees ap Theodoc Prince of South Wales, that is, of Caermarthyneshire and Caerdiganshire, made war upon him. Whereupon the said Jestyn understanding himself unable to withstand the said Rees, without some aid otherwise, sent one Eneon, a gentleman of his to England, to one Robertus Fitzhamon, a worthy man, and Knight of the Privy Chamber with the said King, to retain him for his succour. The which Robert being desirous to exercise himself in the feats of war, agreed soon with him thereto, for a salary to him granted for the same. Whereupon

the said Robert Fitzhamon retained to his service, for the said journey, twelve knights, and a competent number of soldiers, and went into Wales, and joining there with the power of the said Jestyn, fought with the said Rees ap Tewdor, and killed him, and one Conan his son. After which victory the said Robert Fitzhamon minding to return home again with his company, demanded his salary to him due of the said Jestyn, according to the covenants and promises agreed upon between him and the afore said Eneon, on the behalf of the said Jestyn his master. The which to perform in all points, the said Jestyn denied, and thereupon they fell out, so that it came to be tried by battle. And for so much as the said Eneon saw his master go from divers articles and promises, that he had willed him to conclude with the said Robert Fitzhamon on his behalf, he forsook his master, and took part, he and his friends, with the said Robert Fitzhamon. In the which conflict the said Jestyn, with a great number of his men were slain, whereby the said Robert Fitzhamon won the peaceable possession of the whole lordship of Glamorgan, with the members of the which he gave certain castles and manors in reward of service to the said twelve knights, and to other his gentlemen. (1) William de Londres, alias London. (2) Richardus de Grana Villa, alias Greenfeild. (3) Paganus de Turberville. (4) Robertus de S Quintino, alias S. Quintine. (5) Richardus de Syward. (6) Gilbertus de Humfrevile. (7) Rogerus de Berkrolles. (8) Reginaldus de Sully. (9) Peter le Soore. (10) Johannes le Fleming. (11) Oliverus de S. John, a younger brother of the Lord S. John of Basing. (12) William le Esterling, whose ancestors came out of Dantzic to England with the Danes, and is now by shortness of speech called 'Stradling.' Thus far the old history. In this division the castle and lordship of Neth was given to this Sir Richard, styled from this time Sir Richard de Greneville, and never, as I can from any good authority find, so styled before. In order to account for this we must observe, that in the British times this town was called Nedh, as the river likewise was, upon which it stands, implying muddy, turbid, or disturbed, which is a true description of the water (15). Under the Romans it became so considerable a place, that it is mentioned by Antoninus, who calls it Nidum (16). It is now called Neath, approaching nearly to its old British name. At the time of this conquest, though not what it had been, it was still very considerable, and the village of Lantwit, or St Illtus, which joins to it, shews foundations of many buildings, and the visible remains of several streets (17). Hence it was denominated in the Latin of those times Grandivilla, as we gather from Leland, which is not Great Town, but Old Town, and what corroborates this is, that in the neighbourhood of it there is Nova Villa, or New Town (18). Neath, though it has not recovered its ancient splendor, is, however, a place of note at this day, has a good bridge, a flourishing trade, a good market, and is governed by a Portreeve (19). Now that this is the true state of the matter, and that we need not take a fruitless journey to Normandy to look for Granville, before the little town of that name, that is still standing, was built, which the best French writers say was in 1440 (20), will appear from hence, there was really such a name as this, and at this time, but it belonged to another family, thus Leland, citing Henry Huntingdon, relates the death of the earl of Essex thus (21), 'Gaufredus de Magna Villa; Consul Essexie, à quodam pedite valissus vulneratus est sagitta, unde non longe post obiit.' In another place, speaking of the very same person, he says (22), 'King Stephane's men toke Geffray Grauntville, that had many castles in keping to the use of Mawde Emperes.' Yet the common name of this family was Mandeville; but before surnames were thoroughly

(6) Dud. Gulielm. Gemeticens. Thom. Walsingham.

(7) Wil. Malmesbur. de gest. Reg. Anglorum, lib. ii.

(8) Fragment. Histor. Gulielm. Conquest. Gulielm. Malmesbur. lib. iii. Monast. Anglic. Vol. I. p. 161.

(9) See the Charter to Bydeford, note [C].

(10) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. I. p. 213, 221, —224. Les Chroniques de Normandie.

(11) See the Roll in Stowe's Annals, p. 105.

(12) Cognomina Conquistorum Anglice, &c.

(13) Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 3.

(14) The Winning of Glamorgan communicated to Dr Powell and printed in his Hist. of Cambria.

(15) Baxteri Glossar. Antiquit. Britan. p. 183.

(16) Iter. XII.

(17) Camden. Britan. Tit. Silures.

(18) Spelman's Villare Anglican. Broome's Travels, p. 27.

(19) Martin's Dictionary under the word Neath.

(20) Du Mou-tier, Neustria Pia.

(21) Leland. Collectanea. Vol. I. p. 205. Roger Hoveden, fol. 280, 2.

(22) Lelandi Collectanea, Vol. I. p. 765.



parts. On the contrary, it seems highly probable, that, by the advice of his wife Constance, he gave a great part of the lands which he had purchased with his sword to the founding of a religious house, which remained one of the fairest in Wales to the time of the dissolution (f) [C]. He continued to reside in the west of England, where he had large possessions in the counties of Cornwall and Devon, 'till, according to the turn of military devotion, which prevailed in those times, he took the cross when he was very old, but expired before he could carry into execution his design of going to Jerusalem, in the year 1147 (g). It is not absolutely certain, whether Constance, beforementioned, or Isabel, the second wife of Richard de Greenvil, was the daughter of Walter Gifford, earl of Longueville in Normandy, and of Buckingham in England; but by which ever of those ladies was the daughter of that great peer, who, from a grant of the Conqueror, held no less than forty-eight manors: he had a younger son, Gerard de Greenvil (h), and perhaps another,

(f) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. V. fol. 12.

Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 714. Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 179. Severn's Supplement to Dugdale's Monast. Angl. Vol. I. p. 38. Dugdale's and Speed's Catalogue.

(g) Monast. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 477.

(19) Ex Transcript. Evident. D. Barnard. Granville.

(30) Lib. rub. in Schacar. Devon.

(31) Risdon's Survey of Devon. p. 90, 91.

(32) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 322.

thoroughly settled, we find them often mentioned by the name of Grauntville, over which, in some of Leland's manuscripts, we find Mandeville written (23); but from this circumstance, persons but indifferently acquainted with our antiquities might very easily confound both persons and names. Indeed, Mr Camden in this instance may be supposed to have led others astray, for he mentions Greenfeld as a corruption of Greneville, and also speaks of it as derived from some place in Normandy (24); and yet when he reckons the places in that duchy which gave surnames, he takes no notice of Granville.

[C] *To the time of the dissolution.* The design of Sir Richard de Greneville was to grant to the abbot and convent of Savigny, near Lyons in France, tho' I rather think in Normandy, the means of erecting an abbey here, of a certain order, which subsisted before the Conquest, styled Fratres Grisei, who became not long after white Monks of the Cistercian Order (25). He began to build this abbey, which was on the west side of the river, a little below the town, and dedicated it to the Holy Trinity, in 1129, and the next year placed twelve monks therein, and then completed his intended grant, as the original charter sheweth. In the ancient manuscript, which we have mentioned more than once, these particulars are very concisely recorded, in terms very worthy of notice, as well for the matter they contain, as for the manner of spelling the proper name; which is a clear proof that they had no notion it was of French original (26). 'Sir Richard Grenefeeld before, and to whom the lordship of Neth was given in reward, was lord of the castel and manour of Bydyford in Devonshire, at the time he came into Wales with the said Robert Fitzhamon, and founded an abbaye of white monkes in Neth, and gave the whole lordship to the maintenance of the same, and then returned backe againe to Bydyford; whereas the issue male of his body doth yet remaine, and enjoyeth the same.' Robert Fitzhamon, after the conquest of Glamorganshire, was advanced to the earldom of Gloucester by William Rufus, and dying without issue male, Henry gave his daughter Mabel to Robert, his natural son, who had the earldom of Gloucester in her right, and by her he had William, who succeeded him in the title (27). This countess Mabel, with William earl of Gloucester her son, confirmed to the church of the Holy Trinity and Virgin Mary of Nethe, whatever Richard de Granville and Constance his wife had granted (28), in wood and foil, between the four waters of Nethe, Tawy, Clend and Pulcanan; and the land between Clend and the brook, which runs near the crofs of Constance, the wife of the said Richard de Granville, to the head of the said brook, castle and chapel of Nethe, with the tenths of procuration, and of all persons belonging to the said castle, viz. of French, English, and Welshmen, and half of the fish of Nethe Castle. Likewise Clend Mill, with all the meadow from the mill to New Town ditch, and thence to Nethe water. Also whatever Richard the Constable, viz. Richard de Granvil had in Eise Town. Saving the customs of the Earl i. e. of Gloucester out of the forest, and a knight's fee in Eise, which Richard the Constable held in Devonshire, and Bideford, Killentun, and the town of Litcham. This charter of confirmation is a strong presumptive proof of the affinity between the families, and to this we may add further, that the arms borne

by William earl of Gloucester, in right of his mother, the daughter of Robert Fitzhamon, are the same with those borne by Richard de Greneville, the grandson of Sir Richard, as we find them affixed to a very remarkable charter, with which we shall conclude this note (29). 'Know, &c. That I Richard, son of Richard de Greneville, have granted to all those who hold, or shall hold a burgage in the town of Bydeford, to the east and west of Torith water, all the liberties of Bristol, so far as are in my power, to them, their heirs, and assigns for ever, viz. That each person holding a messuage, garden, and six acres out of my demesnes, shall pay for the same twelve pence. But whosoever shall hold a messuage and garden only, shall pay six-pence on Michaelmas day to me, or my bailiff, at Bydeford. Save only the tax on the land. And if any one fall under the censure of my court, he shall be acquitted for six-pence, if it be the third time. Moreover he grants to the said burgeses common of pasture for their cattle, throughout his whole lordship, on the west side of Torith water, where they had commoning in the time of Richard his father. And whosoever shall dispose of, or sell his burges, shall pay as a relief, twelve pence and no more. Also further grants to the said burgeses suit to his court, on Tuesday every month, where attachments and pleas shall be tried, as by custom belonging to the Lord. And that every one be free of toll in all markets, and fairs, and all dues for stallage throughout all his lands, towns, and waters. And that every one of the said burgeses shall be obliged to come to the court on Tuesday, unless truly proved, that he be beyond the seas, or on a pilgrimage, or employed in buying of goods out of the country. That the burgeses shall have liberty to choose a town Provost out of themselves, who shall receive yearly the fines and tolls of the town, paying yearly to the Lord ten shillings, and the toll of the market on Monday. In consideration of which grant, the burgeses paid four marks, witnesses Sir Richard Coffin, and Sir Richard Spekcott, knights; Peter de Halebyri, Richard Suellard, Walrand Dune, Orbert de Lucy, Richard de Rokemator, and others. To which is appendant a round seal, containing these arms, in an oblong shield, viz. three Organ Rests.' The authority of this charter might be supported from one of our most respectable records (30); and it may not be amiss to observe, that in proportion as this family grew in affluence and honour, this their lordship enjoyed the fruits of it. The old Saxon name, as they commonly do, points out the situation of the town, for anciently it was wrote By-the-Ford, because there the river was fordable, though the tide rises at least two miles higher; but experience shewing this ford to be both precarious and dangerous, several attempts were made to build a bridge, which failed either for want of sufficient skill, or a suitable support (31): at length under the auspice of Sir Theobald Greneville it was undertaken and perfected, and a good land estate settled to keep it in repair. This is in all respects one of the finest and most beautiful bridges in the kingdom, and of inexpressible benefit to the town (32); for which the influence of this family likewise procured a weekly market, and three annual fairs, circumstances that sufficiently account for that high and general respect paid them in all the old collections, relating either to the counties of Cornwall,

or

(b) Stemmat. antiq. prehon. Famil. de Greenvil.

(23) Id. ibid. p. 766.

(24) Remains, Lond. 1605. 4to. p. 95, 96.

(25) Monast. Anglican. Vol. I. p. 719. Lelandi Collectanea, p. 45. Tanner's Notitia Monastica, p. 714.

(26) Winning of Glamorgan, by Sir Edward Stradling.

(27) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, p. 431.

(28) Ex Registro Abbatiae de Nethe.



another, Robert de Greenvil, who settled in that county, and enjoyed plentiful fortunes from the benevolence of their grandfather (i). It is a circumstance very uncommon, that both families should flourish, for upwards of six hundred years, in great affluence and honour, allying themselves to the best houses in the west, and in the middle of England; arriving at those dignities which are the reward of conspicuous merit rather than of favour, such as being intrusted with the custody of their respective counties in quality of Sheriff, or being returned to serve in parliament (k). In the beginning of the thirteenth century, indeed, William de Greenfield, who was of the Devonshire family, was Archbishop of York, and High Chancellor of England, a man distinguished for eloquence, probity, and learning, and in great credit with King Edward I. (l). He was plundered by Pope Clement V. of between nine and ten thousand marks, before he could get his election confirmed (m); and, to his immortal honour, being present in the council of Vienne, he vigorously and steadily opposed the oppression of the knights templars, which had been concerted between the Pope and the French King (n). This generous spirit, together with an indefatigable zeal for the service of the public, without any mixture of self interested views, appeared very conspicuously in many excellent persons of this distinguished line, and at length, for as high an evidence as was ever given of loyalty or patriotism, advanced them to the peerage (o). It is true the elder line is since extinguished, and yet without prejudice to the honour of this illustrious name, which for this reason his late majesty was graciously pleased to raise into a title of honour, in favour of Grace lady Carteret, surviving daughter of John Earl of Bath, whom he created countess of Granville (p); which title derives additional lustre from its present possessor, at this time President of his Majesty's most honourable privy-council (q). The other branch of the family has been likewise in the present reign, raised to the like degree of honour, in the person of the right honourable Hester Greenville countess Temple (r).

or Devon; both, as Fuller (33) expresses it, contending for the honour of having produced a family so fruitful of worthy examples in private life, and which in the most critical seasons, never wanted a member capable of rendering the public service. E

### GREENVILE, or GREENVILL [Sir RICHARD], a gallant officer

a fortunate discoverer, and Vice-Admiral of the English fleet in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He was the son of Sir Roger Greenville, knight, one of the Esquires of the body to King Henry the eighth; by Thomasine, daughter of Thomas Cole, of Shute, Esquire (a); and it is probable was born in the west of England about the year 1540, though according to some writers he was born four years later (b); which, for reasons, we shall submit to the reader's consideration, seems to be a mistake [A]. He had the misfortune to lose his father by a sudden and untimely death while a child (c) [B]. His mother being

[A] *Seems to be a mistake.* We are told that at the demise of old Sir Richard Greenville, his grandson Richard was but five years old; and the death of Sir Richard Greenville is fixed to March the 18th, in the fourth year of Edward the VIth, that is, 1549 (1), which will place the birth of our Sir Richard Greenville in 1544. We shall however see in the next note, that his father, Sir Roger Greenville, died July the 20th, 1545 (2), when, according to this computation, his son might be somewhat more than a year old, so that no exception would arise if he had been his only son; but besides Sir Richard Greenville, Sir Roger had by Thomasine his wife, two younger sons, Sir Charles Greenville, and John Greenville, Esquire; though we are told that both of them died without issue (3). But if the eldest son was only a year and some few months old when his father lost his life, when were the other two sons born? such difficulties as these are common enough in tracing descents in ancient families, and cannot often be so easily removed as in the present case; when if we suppose that he was five years old, not at the time of his grand-father but of his father's death, it will bring all right, and make the whole of Sir Richard Greenville's history very consistent, which otherwise will scarce be found practicable.

[B] *And untimely death while a child.* In the summer of 1545, which was the thirty-seventh of the reign of King Henry VIIIth, that monarch was in person at Portsmouth, in order to see his fleet put to sea, which was immediately to engage that of France, then hovering upon the coast (4). On the twentieth of July he dined on board the Mary Rose, which was one of the fairest, and finest ships in the navy. In the afternoon, after the King was gone ashore, the

wind coming fair they weighed anchor, but through negligence their lower tier of heavy canon being left unbreached, and the ports open, the water entered so fast as the ship heaved when they tacked about that she sunk at once, and though it was a fine clear summer's day, yet Sir George Carew, who commanded her, Sir Roger Greenville, many other persons of distinction, in all to the number of four hundred, were miserably drowned in the port; and though all imaginable pains was taken to assist them, not above forty persons of the whole crew escaped (5). On the eighth of March following, old Sir Richard Greenville made his last will and testament, by which he bequeaths to Dame Maud his wife, who was the second daughter of John Bevil, of Gwarnock in the county of Cornwall, Esq; during the term of seventy years, if she so long live, his mansion and lands called Bucklond, otherwise Bucklond Greynfield, in as ample manner as he had by letters-patents dated the 26th of May, in the thirty-third of Henry VIIIth, and after her decease to Richard Greenville, son of Roger Greenville, his son and heir apparent, deceased, and his heirs male, remainder to Degory Greenville, Esq; his brother, remainder to John Greenville his other brother (6). His other manors, &c. viz. his mansion place in the town of Bedyford, and all the residue of his town and borough of Bedyford, &c. in the county of Devon; his mansion place of Stow, together with all gardens, orchards, and ponds there, with Stow park in the county of Cornwall, his town and borough of Kylkhampton, and his mansion of Woodford in the same county, together with all his other lands, &c. in Devonshire and Cornwall, he leaves to Richard his grandson, and his heirs male; remainder to his brother John Greenfield, Esq; and his heirs male; remainder

(i) Seager's Baronage. Anglican. Monast. Angl. Vol. III. p. 3. Inquisitiones Temp. Henr. III. Edward. I.

(k) Fuller's Worthies, Cornwall, Bucks, Devonshire. Willis's Notit. Parl. Vol. II. p. 65, 85, 87. Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 321.

(l) Roberti de Graystanes, Historia Donelmenfis, cap. xxi. P. 33. E. i. p. 1. Godwin. de Præsulib. Angl. p. 685.

(m) P. 34. E. i. Leland. Collect. Vol. I. p. 326. Godwin. de Præsulibus Angliæ, p. 685.

(33) Worthies of England, Cornwall, p. 210.

(a) From a Genealogical Remembrance of the noble family of Grenevil Earls of Bath.

(b) Collins's Peerage, Vol. VI. p. 77.

(1) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

(2) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 62.

(3) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

(4) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 325. Stowe's Annals, p. 589. Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 969.

(n) Monast. Angl. Vol. II. p. 564. Hiftor. de Templ. ordin. destructione, p. 195. Godwin. de Præsul. Angl. ubi supra.

(o) See the Preamble to the Patent of John, first Earl of Bath.

(p) Pat. r. Georg. I.

(q) June 17, 1751.

(r) October 13, 23 Geo. II.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 589.

(5) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 325. b. Hawkins's Observations in his voyage to the South-Sea, p. 5, 6. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 221.

(6) E. Regist. vocat. COODE, qu. 26. in Cur. Prærogat. Cantuar.



being a widow, married Thomas Arundel, of Leigh, Esq; (d); so that in all probability the education of him and his brothers, was under the inspection of their grandfather Sir Richard Greenville, Knight, an old gentleman of great honour and high reputation, but who ended his days likewise in an unfortunate manner March 15, 1549, leaving the greatest part of his large estate to his grandson Richard (e) [C]. We have no distinct account after this, of the place or manner of his breeding, which, however, we have not the least cause to doubt, was in every respect suitable to his family and fortune, both being as fair as any gentleman could boast in the west of England (f). He was naturally of an active, enterprising, and martial genius, which induced him as soon as he was his own master to procure a licence from Queen Elizabeth, in the eighth year of her reign, to go with several other persons of distinction into the service of the Emperor against the Turks (g). But that not contented with giving high proofs of his courage as a soldier in Hungary, he adventured his person likewise by sea, and had the honour to share the glory of that celebrated victory obtained over the Infidels at Lepanto, by the combined Christian Fleet, under the command of Don John of Austria, as some have reported is improbable. He continued during the rest of that war abroad, and with an high reputation justly springing from his glorious actions he returned to England (h) [D]. His warmth was

(d) Seager's Bar-  
toulage, MS.

(e) E. Registe.  
vocat. COODE,  
qu. 26 in Cur.  
Pitavig. Cantuar.

(f) Carew's Sur-  
vey of Cornwall,  
fol. 118. b.

(g) Camden.  
Annal. p. 122.

(h) Carew's Sur-  
vey of Cornwall,  
fol. 62.

so

remainder to his other brother Degory Greenville, Esq; and his heirs male; remainder to his right heirs. He bequeaths to his daughter Mary, three hundred marks for her portion (she was afterwards married to John Gifford, of Brighdeley, Esq;); to his son-in-law Sir Richard Legh and Margaret his wife, one hundred marks; to his son-in-law Robert Whettal, Esq; and Jane his wife, one hundred marks; to his brother-in-law John Drake, and Anne his wife, his sister, the sum of twenty marks. The rest of his will shews him to be a person of sound judgment, and a great master of oeconomy. His executors were Dame Maud, his wife; his brother-in-law, Edmund Speccot, Esq; John Beauchamp his brother-in-law; John Kellygrew, and John Bevil, Esquires (7). He made a codicil thereto, dated at Stow in Cornwall, the third of January, in the third of Edward VIth; also another the tenth of March, the fourth of Edward VIth; and another the fifteenth of March following, which was but three days before his death, on the eighteenth of March, and Maud his lady survived him but a short time, dying on the twenty-sixth of April, the fourth of Edward VIth (8).

[C] *To his grandson Richard.* We have in a former note given an account of the time of old Sir Richard Greenville's death, here we will say something of the cause of it, the rather because it has escaped the notice of such as have formerly undertaken to display either the fortunes or misfortunes of this ancient family. Amongst those disturbances which were raised by the Commons about inclosures, in the reign of Edward VIth, the county of Cornwall, where the better sort of inhabitants are much inclined to that manner of improving, was not without its share (9); and this it was that proved fatal to Sir Richard, after having escaped the dangers of foreign wars, and done eminent service to his country in the capacity of a civil magistrate. The worthy and well read Antiquary of Cornwall shall deliver the reader this tale (10); since for any thing we know, he is the only author that has preserved it, speaking of Trematon Castle, which was formerly a pleasure house of the Dukes of Cornwall; he proceeds thus, 'At the last Cornish commotion Sir Richard Greenville the elder, did, with his lady and followers, put themselves into this castle, and there for a while endured the rebels siege, encamped in three places against it, who wanting great ordnance could have wrought the besieged small scathe, had his friends or enemies kept faith and promise: but some of those within slipping by night over the walls, with their bodies after their hearts, and those without mingling humble intreatings with rude menaces, he was hereby won to issue forth at a postern gate for parley. The while a part of those rake-hells, not knowing what honesty and far less how much the word of a soldier imported, stepped between him and home, laid hold on his aged unweildy body, and threatened to leave it lifelesse, if the inclosed did not leave their resistance. So prosecuting their first treachery against their Prince, with suitable actions towards his subjects, they seized on the castle, and exercised the uttermost of their barbarous cruelty,

death excepted, on the surprized prisoners. The \* feely gentlewomen, without regard of sex or shame, were stripped from their apparel, to their very smocks, and some of their fingers broken to pluck away their rings, and Sir Richard himself made an exchange from Trematon Castle to that of Launceston, with the gayle to boot.' It was the vexation, hardships, and fatigue, which this aged couple went through from the madness of this insolent rabble, that brought them both soon after to their end.

[D] *He returned to England.* We are informed by Camden, that in the year 1566, several gallant spirits of the young English gentry desired the Queen's leave to go into Hungary, in order to assist the Christians against the Infidels, by whom they were at that time more grievously pressed, and with greater danger and ruin than had ever threatened Christendom before (11). Maximilian the Second was at that time Emperor of Germany; and Solyman the Magnificent, one of the bravest and most fortunate princes of the line of Ottoman, then occupied the Turkish throne. The latter, out of pure ambition, though he was then much weakened by age and infirmities, entered into a war against the former, in which, presuming on the great superiority of his forces, he flattered himself with the hopes of reducing all Hungary, making himself master of Vienna, and ruining entirely the German branch of the House of Austria. These dangerous and destructive designs justly alarmed the European powers in general, and those that were most likely to suffer from the effects of this irruption in particular (12). The Duke of Savoy therefore, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany sent considerable bodies of men at their own expence; Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara, marched in person into Germany, at the head of a small body of chosen troops, with some volunteers of great courage and quality, and many officers of great experience. From Mantua, Genoa, and Lucca, his Imperial Majesty drew considerable sums, in the nature of free gifts; and the Knights of Malta assisted him with men and money too; and out of France, the Grand Prior of the House of Guise went to testify his zeal for the Christian Cause, attended by many young gentlemen of the first families in that kingdom. We need not wonder therefore that Queen Elizabeth should be disposed to permit some of her subjects also to make a campaign or two in the imperial service, upon so extraordinary an occasion. Amongst these young heroes (13), was John Smith, Esq; afterwards Sir John Smith, cousin-german to king Edward VIth, being the son of his mother's sister; Henry Champenown, Philip Butshid, Richard Greenville, William Gorges, Thomas Cotton, Esqrs, and others. These went into Hungary in 1566, and remained there till the ensuing year; when upon the death of Solyman the Magnificent, a negotiation was set on foot between the Emperor Maximilian and Sultan Solyman the Second, which ended in a peace (14). As to our Richard Greenville, it appears from a private family transaction that he actually returned to England in the year 1568 (15); and as he engaged the very same

\* i. e. Silly, for innocent and defenceless.

(11) Knoll's History of the Turks, p. 820, 821.  
Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 122.

(12) Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, par S. A. S. Demetri. Cantimir, lib. iii. c. iv. §. 53.

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 122.

(14) Itenerario di Marco Antonio Pagiffetta, cap. v.

(15) E Collect. Joh. Anstis Ar.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. I. p. 77.

(9) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 345.

(10) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. iii. b. 112.



so far from being exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone, or his appetite to fame satisfied by what he had acquired, that within a very little time after his revisiting his native country, he resolved to embark his person and fortune, in that part of the public service, which demanded the attention of all the stirring spirits of that time, the reduction of Ireland (i). In this he behaved himself so much to the satisfaction of Sir Henry Sidney, who then administered the affairs of that island, that we find him constituted by the Queen, in the eleventh year of her reign, sheriff of Cork, during her royal pleasure (k) [E]. Upon his return to England he was, together with William Mohun, Esq; elected to represent the county of Cornwall, in that parliament which was summoned to meet at Westminster, April 2, 1571 (l); he was also High-Sheriff of the same county in the eighteenth of that reign, though his name is mistaken by Fuller (m), or rather, in all probability, by his printer, and was again elected with Sir William Mohun, to serve as Knight for that shire in the parliament which was summoned to meet at Westminster, November 23, 1584 (n), in which he was a very active member. At what time he received the honour of knighthood is not very clear, for according to a learned Antiquary, he was returned Knight of the Shire by the name of Richard Greenville, Esq; (o), and yet the first time we find him mentioned in the Journals, he is stiled Sir Richard Greenfield (p), for so it seems they wrote his name, and therefore it is probable he was knighted a little before the parliament sat. At this juncture he was very deeply engaged with his friend and kinsman Sir Walter Raleigh, in his project for planting; and was one of the committee in the House of Commons to whom the bill was referred for confirming the patent which Sir Walter had obtained from the Queen for making discoveries, which passed the house in a few days, and then Sir Richard applied himself to the business of the expedition, of which he was to have the command in chief, with the title of General, as was the custom of those times (q). The fleet, or rather squadron, which he commanded consisted but of seven small ships, of which the Tyger was the strongest, and the largest, and of the burthen of about one hundred and twenty ton; the Roebuck, a fly-boat of near the same size; the Lyon, of one hundred tons; the Elizabeth, of fifty tons; the Dorothy, a small bark; and two little pinnaces; there went, however, with this small force several gentlemen of good family and fortune, such as Mr Ralph Lane, afterwards knighted, and a very considerable person; Mr Thomas Cavendish, who afterwards distinguished himself by his voyage round the world; Mr John Arundel, Mr Raymond, Mr Stukley, Mr Bremige, Mr Vincent, and Mr John Clark, with several others (r): they sailed from Plymouth, April 9, 1595, and on the twelfth of May came to an anchor in the bay of Mosquito, in the island of St John de Porto Rico, where they landed, built a fort, and set up a new pinnacle which they launched on the twenty third; and this in spite of the Spaniards; and before the end of the month they took two ships that were tolerable good prizes. On the first of June they anchored before the town of Izabella, on the north side of Hispaniola, where the Spanish governor invited them on shore, promising them a fair and honourable reception, which invitation being accepted, the General landed on the fifth, and was very kindly received, and every thing was managed during the whole interview, with the greatest decency, splendor, and honour imaginable, and mutual presents being exchanged, and all kind of refreshments freely furnished, they sailed on the seventh for the coast of Florida (s) [F]. On the twentieth of June they

(i) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 32.

(k) E Collect. Johan. Antis, Ar.

(l) Willis's Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 12.

(m) Worthies, Cornwall, p. 209.

(n) Willis's Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 12.

(o) Ibid.

(p) D'Ewes's Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, p. 333.

(q) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 251.

(r) History of the planting of Virginia, p. 39.

(s) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 252.

(16) Knolles's History of the Turks, p. 385.

(17) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 505, 506.

year in the reduction of the Irish rebels, it is evident from thence, and from the other facts mentioned in the text, that he could not be present in the battle of Lepanto, which was fought October 7, 1571 (16), and for which rejoicings were made over all Europe, and particularly in this kingdom, in virtue of the Queen's letter to the Bishop of London, for a solemn thanksgiving, dated from Greenwich November 8, 1571, and another letter from the Privy Council, by the Queen's command, to the Lord-Mayor of London for the same purpose (17).

[E] During her royal pleasure. We have elsewhere given an account of the situation of affairs in Ireland at this juncture, when some of the old Irish nobility were framing the rude draught of that formidable rebellion, that afterwards broke out in this kingdom, for the support of which they had already held a kind of council, or parliament, in which it was resolved to demand assistance from the king of Spain, and two Popish-prelates were sent as their agents to solicit this countenance and protection of a foreign power against their natural sovereign. At the same time no pains were spared to excite a spirit of sedition and disloyalty amongst the native Irish of all ranks, which, as Sir Henry Sidney acknowledges, must have produced a general insurrection, if it had not been for the vigilant and prudent behaviour of her Majesty's English officers; amongst whom he particularly mentions Sir Warham St Leger, and Captain

Greenville (18). It was, without doubt, to put it in his power to do more effectual service in this respect, that the Queen honoured the latter with this patent; and it is at the same time no less apparent, that with great expence of money, and with no small hazard of his person, our young hero laboured all he could to merit the notice and favour of his royal mistress. In this glorious course he had not a few competitors, for it was then grown into a custom for such young gentlemen as had large estates to serve the Queen at their own cost; and to entertain young gentlemen whose purses were not so full, and who were either allied to them by blood, or attached by affection, till they had some opportunity of establishing them; from which several families, more especially in the West, derived in process of time both honours and estates, and the public innumerable benefits; amongst which it was none of the least, that those stirring and enterprising spirits which might otherwise have been disposed to have raised disturbances in the State, were diverted to such undertakings as contributed to its support, and enabled the Government to perform great things without levying large sums upon the people, at least in the way of ordinary taxes (19). A policy peculiar to this reign, and which, though it has been admired, will scarce be imitated in any other.

[F] They sailed on the seventh for the coast of Florida. The reader will perceive from the succinct account of this expedition given in the text, that as yet, notwithstanding

(18) Sidney's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 39.

(19) Bohun's Character of Q. Elizabeth.



they fell in with the coast of Florida, where they were to leave a colony of one hundred men, under the direction of Mr Ralph Lane, who was the first Englishman that had the title of Governor in that country, and having taken all the necessary precautions for this purpose, and settled every thing to the satisfaction of those who were to remain behind, Sir Richard Greenville, on the twenty-fifth of August, weighed anchor in the Tyger, and set sail for England (t), extremely well pleased with this new found country, and fully resolved to return thither, as he promised the people, the ensuing year (u). In his passage home he chased a Spanish ship of the burthen of three hundred tons, which he found it impossible to take any other way than by boarding, and this in the judgment of his own people impracticable, as by some untoward accident they had not at that time any boat (w). The General, however, carried away by his eager courage, caused something like a boat to be clapped up with the boards of broken chests, in which he went in person, with as many men as it would hold, and boarded the Spanish ship, which he had no sooner done, than the half wrought vehicle which carried them fell to pieces, and sunk at the ship's side (x). In this vessel thus taken, the General, on the tenth of September, found himself separated from the Tyger, nor did he see her again during the whole voyage, that vessel coming to an anchor at Falmouth on the sixth of October (y); whereas Sir Richard Greenville did not arrive in his prize, at Plymouth, till the eighteenth of the same month, where he was met and welcomed on shore by a great concourse of people, who came to congratulate his good fortune, and by some of his friends and relations, who had a nearer concern in his welfare (z). It is said in the journal of his voyage, that this Spanish prize was richly laden, but without any insinuation of its value, or other circumstance that might be noted of such prodigious worth, as was afterwards, it may be, without any just grounds or truth, not only privately suggested, but publickly affirmed (a) [G]. In a short time after his return, Sir Richard, who had this new colony extremely at heart, engaged himself to make another voyage thither at the proper season, and finding it impracticable to have all things ready so soon as he expected, prevailed upon his cousin Raleigh to send away a ship with provisions, that the promise he had made might be at least virtually performed, which might hinder the colony from being distressed or dispersed (b). Such a vessel was accordingly sent, and within fourteen days after her arrival in Virginia, Sir Richard Greenville himself came thither, with his small squadron of three sail, so punctual he was in the performance of his promise, and so zealous for the preservation of those whom he supposed depended upon it (c). All this care, however, was in vain, for neither the advice ship nor Sir Richard's squadron could see any signs, or hear any news of the colony left the year before; who, at their own request, had been taken on board his squadron by Sir Francis Drake, who touched there in his return from the West-Indies to England, and this but a few days before the advice ship arrived (d). Sir Richard Greenville having no intelligence of this, travelled himself up into the country to make what enquiries he could; and being still thoroughly persuaded

(t) H. Hakluyt's  
Hist. Voyag. Angl.  
p. 83.

(u) Admiranda  
Narrative de com-  
mission de l'explor-  
ation du V. Ver-  
gine, de l'Améri-  
que, de l'Europe.  
Paris, 1590.

(w) Hakluyt's  
Voyages, p. 253.

(x) Oldys's Life  
of Sir W. Ra-  
leigh, p. 28.

(y) Hakluyt's  
Voyages, p. 253.

(z) Oldys's Life  
of Sir W. Ra-  
leigh, p. 28.

(a) Stukeley's  
Petition and In-  
formation.

(b) Hakluyt's  
Voyages, Vol.  
III. p. 265.

(c) Oldys's Life  
of Sir W. Ra-  
leigh, p. 30.

(d) Hakluyt's  
Voyages, Vol.  
III. p. 265.

notwithstanding all their skill in Geography and Navigation, the very best English seamen, by a perverse adherence to custom, followed the old track, and went round by the Westward and Caribbee Islands, in order to reach the coast of Florida, by which they went clearly a thousand leagues out of their due course, and exposed themselves besides to many unnecessary dangers, as well as their men to much more labour and fatigue than the voyage required (20). At first sight this may seem a trivial, or at least no very weighty observation, but whoever considers it closely will find, that it was chiefly owing to this preposterous conduct, that all the attempts made by Sir Walter Raleigh for settling a colony in North America met with no better success. For if the proper track in sailing had been known, these voyages would not have been either so tedious or so full of hazard; supplies might have been speedily and securely sent, and returns much sooner made, so that most of those objections would have been thoroughly removed, which for a time rendered it very doubtful whether the scheme of fixing colonies on the North Coast of America, which has been, and still is, of inexpressible benefit to this nation, should proceed or not. At length Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, in 1602, venturing to make use of his understanding and maritime skill, made a successful voyage without running so far to the South (21); and this old error once corrected, the true, that is, the shortest and safest course was very quickly found, and has been ever since in constant use.

[G] But publickly affirmed.] This passage occurs in that defence which Sir Lewis Stukeley published for himself, when he had incurred universal odium, by betraying Sir Walter Raleigh. He was under a necessity of picking up and printing all the pieces of secret hi-

story that he could possibly collect, to the prejudice of that famous man (22). Amongst other charges one is, that notwithstanding all the obligations he was under, not from duty only but gratitude, yet he had slandered and insulted the memory of his deceased mistress Queen Elizabeth. 'One day, says he, myself upbraiding him with the notorious, extreme injury he did my father, in deceiving him of a great adventure which my said father had in the Tyger, when he went to the West-Indies with my uncle Sir Richard Greenville, which was, by his own confession, worth fifty thousand pounds, which came all to his hands; my father's portion, at the least, being ten thousand pounds, that he might lawfully claim. He answered, that the Queen, however she seemed a great good mistress unto him in the eyes of the world, yet was so unjust and tyrannous unto him, that she laid the envy as well of this as of many other her oppressions upon him, and that she took all the pearl in a cabinet unto herself, without ever giving him so much as one pearl.' This we find referred by the ingenious author of the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, to the prize taken by Sir Richard Greenville in his return (23). But as he judiciously observes, it is very strange that a prize of such great value should not be better known, or that Sir Richard Greenville should never make any complaint of the injustice done to him. After all, it is very likely that this prize might be very rich, and that some cabinet, or other curiosity, might be taken for or presented to the Queen, upon which malice and covetousness might afterwards ground this story, which was never brought to the publick view till the death of Sir Walter Raleigh, as well as Sir Richard Greenville.

(22) The humble  
Petition and  
Information of  
Sir Lewis Stuke-  
ley, Knt. &c.  
1618, 4to.

(23) Oldys's Life  
of Sir Walter  
Raleigh, p. 29.

[H] Which

(20) British Em-  
pire in America,  
Vol. I. p. 352,  
353.

(21) Purchas's  
Pilgrims, Vol.  
IV. p. 1647.



(e) Some say fifty Persons.

(f) British Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 350.

(g) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 265.

(b) Ibid. ad calc.

(i) See the relation in Hakluyt.

(k) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 565.

(l) Oldys's Life of Sir W. Raleigh, p. 39.

(m) Ancestor to the Earls of Banbury.

(n) In some copies written by mistake, Laken.

(o) Afterwards knighted.

(p) Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 222.

(q) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 565.

(r) Stowe, Holinshed, and Speed.

(s) Carew's Survey of Cornwall.

(t) Hist. of Virginia by Col. Beverly, p. 9.

(u) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 253.

(w) Camden. Annal. p. 637. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 62.

suaded of the great advantages that must arise to this kingdom from the possession of such a country, left, after mature deliberation, and with their own consent, fifteen of his men (e), in the island of Roanoak, that at least the title of the Crown and the Proprietor might be preserved (f). He furnished them plentifully with all sorts of provisions for two years; and having thus done all that it was possible for him in such circumstances to do, returned again to England (g). But, as in his outward-bound passage he made several prizes, so in his return home he landed on the Azores, plundered several villages, and picked up afterwards some prizes, so that though the end of this expedition was defeated, yet through his prudence it was so ordered as to bear, in a great measure, its own expence (b). We have not so much as one date in the relation that is still preserved of this voyage, however, it appears clearly from thence, that he must have returned towards the close of the year 1586 (i). The summer next ensuing he spent in providing, under the patent, and at the expence of Sir Walter Raleigh, another squadron for reinforcing the colony at Virginia; but from these occupations he was called by his Sovereign to cares of a higher nature, which regarded the preservation of her person, the support of her government, and the protection of her subjects (k). The Queen had received repeated intelligence of the design of the Spaniards to invade England, and that with the whole force of their monarchy, which obliged her to provide for her defence; and as this was a case of a very extraordinary nature, so she thought it expedient to refer the consideration of the matter and manner to a standing council of war, composed of nine members, of which Sir Richard was one (l), and the other eight were the Lord Grey, who had been lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and was then lord-lieutenant of the county of Bucks; Sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the household, and knight of the Garter (m); Sir Thomas Leighton, governor of the island of Guernsey (n); Sir Walter Raleigh, lieutenant-general in Cornwall; Sir John Norris, lord president of Munster; Sir Richard Bingham, once president of Connaught; Sir Roger Williams, an excellent officer; and Ralph Lane, Esq; late governor of Virginia (o). These wise and experienced persons came to a resolution on the points referred to them, and pointed out what to them appeared the clearest method of providing against any danger from the enemy, whatever method they might take, wherever they might bend their force, or what attempts soever might be made to favour them by the malecontents in England, which disposition of theirs has been generally approved (p) [H]. In order to the due execution of measures concerted in this council (q), most of its members were, as the danger approached nearer, sent where it was thought they might contribute most to Her Majesty's service (r); and upon the same principle Sir Richard Greenville received the Queen's commands not to leave the county of Cornwall (s), which put it out of his power to make a third voyage to Virginia (t); and very possibly this might have an untoward influence upon the expedition, which it is certain proved unsuccessful, the ships returning without ever visiting the coast of Florida (u). This command was in all probability the reason that we find no particular account of his behaviour on that memorable occasion, as otherwise, from the activity of his temper, and constant desire to signalize his courage, more especially against the enemies of his country, might have been expected. In the year 1591, the Queen's ministry being informed that the rich fleet, which had remained in the Indies all the year before, through the dread of falling into the hands of Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher, must of necessity return home; it was resolved that a strong squadron should be sent to intercept them at the Western Islands (w). This fleet consisted of seven sail of Her Majesty's ships, viz. the Defiance, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, in which was the Admiral Lord Thomas Howard, son to the Duke of Norfolk; the Revenge, Sir Richard Greenville, Vice-Admiral; the Nonpareil, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Sir Edward Denny; the Bonaventure, of six hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, under Captain Cross;

[H] Which disposition of theirs has been generally approved] The decision of this famous council of war is dated November 27, 1587, and has been published with Sir William Monson's remarks thereupon, which are very pertinent and solid (24). The only reason for making this note, is to put the reader in mind of the great wisdom of the administration in that reign, shewn in referring every thing to the consideration of proper judges, and expecting from them a report of the measures fit to be taken, and the reasons upon which they were grounded. This was the principal cause why almost every political step during that long reign was attended, in whole or in part, with the consequences that were expected from it; and such was the virtue of those times, that when an officer was appointed, as the case once was, with Sir Henry Palmer, for the command of an expedition, for which he conceived himself not the best qualified, he judged it no discredit to acknowledge this, and to de-

fire to be excused. It seems the gentleman before-mentioned had an established character for his courage and conduct as a sea-officer, and therefore was assigned to command a squadron in 1583, upon the coast of Spain (25). Upon this he humbly represented to the council, that he had served chiefly in the narrow seas, and doubted of his own capacity for the charge to which he was appointed, and therefore was in duty bound to intreat their Honours to make choice of some other person, who was better acquainted, and had more experience in those seas, that Her Majesty might be the better served, and their Lordships derive more honour from their recommendation. This was well accepted, and did not turn in the least to Sir Henry's prejudice, who commanded Her Majesty's ship the Antelope, in the memorable sea-fight of 1588 (26), and did therein excellent service, as well as in several subsequent expeditions.

(25) Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations, p. 8.

(26) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 173, 195.

[I] Than

(24) Naval Tracts, p. 222.



Cross; the Lyon, of five hundred tons, and two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Captain George Fenner; the Foresight, of three hundred ton, and one hundred and sixty men, Captain Thomas Vavasor; the Crane, of two hundred tons, and one hundred men, Captain Duffield; the bark Raleigh, Captain Thynne; and some small vessels and tenders (x). His Catholic Majesty, who never wanted intelligence, had so early an account of this Squadron, and of their force, that he sent orders into the Indies for the galleons to return very late in the year, and at the same time ordered a prodigious armament in his own ports. These measures were the utmost efforts of that refined policy for which he was so famous; for he judged that the galleons staying so long the English fleet would be obliged to return home for want of provisions; shewing plainly thereby, that he had rather risk his subjects ships and silver in that perilous season, than run the hazard of a naval engagement if that could be prevented; but if this project failed, as it did through the care taken in sending store-ships from London, then his second must take effect, for by this delay he had time enough to provide a fleet of ten times the force of the English, which was to meet and escort the galleons (y). On the last day of August, in the afternoon, Captain Middleton, who had kept the Spanish Armada company three days, the better to discover their force, gave intelligence of it to the English Admiral, who was riding at anchor under the island of Flores, and before his message was well heard the fleet was in sight. The English were in a very indifferent situation, having a great part of their respective crews on shore, some getting ballast, others filling water, and not a few employed in collecting fresh provisions and fruits; the ships also were several of them light for want of ballast, all things in disorder, and, which was the most afflicting circumstance, near half their men disabled by the scurvy and other diseases. The Admiral, however, considering the danger and the disproportion, weighed immediately and put to sea, as the rest of his Squadron did following his example (z). The Revenge weighed last, Sir Richard Greenville staying to recover the men who were on shore, and would otherwise have been lost, having no less than ninety sick on board. The Admiral, and the rest with difficulty, recovered the wind, which Sir Richard Greenville not being able to do, his master and some others advised him to cut his main-sail and cast about, trusting to the sailing of his ship, because the Seville Squadron was already on his weather bow. Sir Richard peremptorily refused to fly from the enemy, telling them, *That he would much rather die than leave such a mark of dishonour on himself, his country, and the Queen's ship*, putting them in hopes that he would pierce through the two squadrons, and force those of Seville to give him way. But the Spanish Admiral, called the St Philip, being in the wind, and bearing down upon him, becalmed the Revenge in such a manner that she could neither make way nor feel her helm, and being in this situation the ships that were under his lee luffed up in order to lay him on board (a). The St Philip boarded first, and presently after four other ships, two on the larboard, and two on the starboard, however, the reception which the Spanish Admiral had from the lower tier of the guns of the Revenge, laden with cross-bar shot, was so little liked that she presently fell off, and the rest continuing longer were no better treated. Some time after the fight began, the George Noble, of London, a small victualler, fell under the lee of the Revenge, and asked Sir Richard Greenville what he would command him, to which, with his usual greatness of mind, he answered, *Save yourself, and leave me to my fate* (b). From the time the fight began, which was about three in the afternoon, to the break of day the next morning, Sir Richard Greenville repulsed the enemy fifteen times, notwithstanding that, they continually shifted their vessels, and boarded with fresh men. He was himself wounded in the beginning of the action, but continued upon deck till about eleven at night, when receiving a shot in the body he was carried down to be dressed, which while his surgeon was doing Sir Richard received a dangerous wound in the head, and the poor man was killed by his side (c). By this time the English began to want powder, all their small arms were broke, forty of their best men, which were but one hundred and three at the beginning, killed, and almost every one of the rest wounded, their masts beat overboard, tackle cut to pieces, and nothing but a hulk left, unable to move one way or other, but as the sea directed, with the enemy in a ring round them (d). In this situation Sir Richard Greenville invited the ship's crew to yield themselves to the mercy of God, rather than of the Spaniards, and not to tarnish the high reputation they had acquired by seeking to preserve their lives for a few hours, or a few days at most, to which the Master-Gunner, and many of the seamen assented, and the former, who was a most resolute man, shewed himself ready to execute the General's orders, which were to split and sink the ship (e). But the Captain and Master, who were of another opinion, interposed, they alledged that there were several gallant men whose wounds were not mortal, and whose lives were not to be thrown away; that they had already done enough to secure their honour; that it was now time to consult their safety, and that as to the loss of Her Majesty's ship it ought not to enter into the question, since she had six foot water in the hold, three shot between wind and water, the leaks made by which were so poorly stopped that they would certainly open with the working of the sea, and the ship sink (f). While the Captain thus argued the case with Sir Richard, who was not at all

(x) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report in Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. part ii. p. 169.

(y) Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(z) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 637.

(a) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report, &c. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(b) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report.

(c) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(d) Sir Walter Raleigh's True Report.

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(f) Sir Walter Raleigh's True Report.



moved by this reasoning, the Master went on board the Spanish Admiral, Don Alphonso Baçan, who immediately offered, finding none of his own fleet inclined to board the Revenge any more for fear of being blown up, that all their lives should be spared, the whole ship's company sent home to England, and no ransom expected but from such as were men in circumstances (g). When the Master brought this news on board the Revenge, most of the men who had sided with Sir Richard and the Master-Gunner drew back, and were easily persuaded to accept those conditions, but the Master-Gunner would have thrown himself upon his sword, if those who were near him had not seized and locked him into his cabin (h). Don Alphonso Baçan, as soon as the ship was in his power sent to remove Sir Richard out of a place that resembled a ship less than a slaughter-house, which when it was mentioned to the General he said, they might do with his body what they pleased, for that he esteemed it not. As they carried him out of the ship he swooned, but coming to himself again, desired the company to pray for him (i). On board the Spanish vessel, into which he was carried, Sir Richard Greenville was very kindly treated, but did not survive beyond the third day, and the last words he spoke were in the Spanish language, and to this effect (k), *Here dye I, Richard Greenville, with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his Country, Queen, Religion, and Honour; my soul willingly departing from this body, leaving behind the lasting fame of having behaved as every valiant soldier is in duty bound to do.* This behaviour gained him love and admiration amongst his enemies, so that his death was sincerely lamented, even amongst those by whom it was inflicted (l). Yet had the Spaniards no great cause to rejoice in their victory, which cost them very dear, for the Admiral of the fly-boats, and the Ascension of Seville sunk by the side of the Revenge, a third vessel returning to the road of St Michael to refit sunk there, and a fourth was voluntarily run on shore by the crew in order to save themselves (m). Besides, in their several attacks, the Spaniards lost at least a thousand men; and if their loss had been less, yet considering there was fifty three sail of ships, most of them larger than this of the Queen's, and in them at least ten thousand soldiers and mariners, the honour could not be very great that accrued from such a conquest (n). But the consequences were still more fatal than the action itself, and the Revenge was more unfortunate to them than ever she proved to us (o) [I]. Thus fell the gallant Sir Richard Greenville in the support of

(g) See the note [K].

(h) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(l) Linschotten's Voyages, ch. xcix.

(m) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 175.

(n) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report.

(o) Hakluyt, Linschotten, Monson.

(27) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. part ii. p. 169.

(28) Linschotten's Voyages, to the East and West Indies, ch. xcix.

[I] *Than ever she proved to us* ] In Sir Walter Raleigh's accurate and elegant account, there is a brief relation of the loss which the Spaniards afterwards sustained by storms (27); but being written not only while the thing was fresh, but before there was any certainty of the truth of the evidence upon which it was founded, we will decline that, and give the reader part of a narrative, by an unexceptionable writer, who was an eye-witness of what he relates, and gives us many circumstances not to be found elsewhere (28). 'The Spanish Navy stayed at the island of Corvo, till the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the end were to the number of one hundred and forty sail of ships, partly coming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to sail to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard and cruel a storm, that those of the islands did affirm, that in man's memory there was never any such seen or heard of before, for it seemed the sea would have swallowed up the islands, the water mounting higher than the cliffs, which are so high, that it amazeth a man to behold them, but the sea reached above them, and living fishes were thrown upon the land. This storm continued not only a day or two with one wind, but seven or eight days continually, the wind turning round about in all places of the compass, at the least twice or thrice during that time, and all alike, with a continual storm and tempest, most terrible to behold, even to us that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea; so that only on the coasts and cliffs of the island of Tercera, there were above twelve ships cast away, and not only upon the one side, but round about it in every corner, whereby nothing else was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting, and telling here is a ship broken in pieces against the cliffs, and there another, and all the men drowned; so that for the space of twenty days after the storm, they did nothing else but fish for dead men, that continually came driving on the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Revenge, that was cast away upon a cliffe near to the island of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred pieces, and sunk to

the ground, having in her seventy men, Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captive Englishmen, whereof but one was saved, that got up upon the cliffs alive, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought us the news, desiring to be shriven, and thereupon presently died. The Revenge had in her divers fair brass pieces, that were all sunk in the sea, which they of the island were in good hope to weigh up again the next summer.——On the other islands the loss was no less than in Tercera, for on the island of St George there were two ships cast away; on the island of Picò two ships; on the island of Gratiofa three ships: and besides those there came every where round about divers pieces of broken ships, and other things fleeting towards the islands, where with the sea was all covered, most pitiful to behold. On the island of St Michael there were four ships cast away; and between Tercera and St Michael three more were sunk, which were seen and heard to cry out, whereof not one man was saved. The rest put into the sea without masts, all torn and rent; so that of the whole fleet and Armado, being one hundred and forty ships in all, there were but thirty-two or thirty-three arrived in Spain and Portugal; yea, and those few with so great misery, pain, and labour, that not two of them arrived there together, but this day one, and to-morrow another, next day the third, and so one after the other, to the number aforesaid. All the rest were cast away upon the islands, and overwhelmed in the sea, whereby may be considered what great loss and hindrance they received at that time; for by many mens judgments it was esteemed to be much more than was lost by their army that came for England; and it may well be thought and presumed, that it was no other but a just plague purposely sent by God upon the Spaniards, and that it might truly be said, the taking of the Revenge, was justly revenged upon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the Power of God, as some of them openly said in the isle of Tercera; that they believed verily God would consume them, and that he took part with the Lutherans and Hereticks, saying further, that



of his country's cause, and in defence of the English Flag; for which, in the opinion of most, his memory merits immortal praise: yet others consider him as a martyr to his own obstinacy, and one who sacrificed the Queen's ship and subjects to that fantastic appearance of honour which so often misleads heroes (p) [K]. But, however, that question

(p) Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 174.

that so soon as they had thrown the dead body of the Vice-admiral Sir Richard Greenville overboard, they verily thought that as he had a devilish Faith and Religion, and therefore the Devils loved him, so he presently sunk unto the bottom of the sea, and down into Hell, where he raised up all the devils to the revenge of his death, and that they brought so great storms and torments upon the Spaniards, because they only maintained the Catholic and Romish Religion. Such, and the like blasphemies against God they ceased not openly to utter, without being reproved of any man therein, nor for their false opinions, but the most part of them rather said and affirmed, that of truth so it must needs be.

With great reason then might Sir Walter Raleigh say (29), speaking of this loss, 'A few days after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanish and India ships, there arose so great a storm from the west and north west, that all the fleet was dispersed, as well the Indian fleet, which were then come unto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arrival, of which fourteen sail, together with the Revenge, and in her two hundred Spaniards, were cast away upon the isle of St Michael. So it pleased them to honour the burial of that renowned ship the Revenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she achieved in her life-time.' To the same purpose Camden, though in another Language (30). 'Navis edita, sed alvo pluribus locis perforata, paulo post cum c. c. Hispanis, impositis aliisque simul navigiis orta tempestate fluctibus absorpta. Ut non ultio inulta hæc periisse videatur, & de una hac nave victoria multo sanguine Hispanis stetit.' One would imagine that men of such good sense, and authors of so high a reputation, must mean something more than to play with words, or after such a story as this is, attempt to console the reader for the loss of so great a man, by telling us, that the *Revenge* did not perish *unrevenged*. If one might be allowed to reveal their meaning, it must surely have been this, that Sir Richard Greenville did not throw away the Queen's ship, any more than his own life, but that forming a true notion of the duty of a man in his station, upon such an occasion, he chose to risk all, rather than sacrifice the glory of the English Flag, as well knowing, that if the worst should happen, and himself and ship should be lost, yet the queen and nation would be no losers, the superior loss of the enemy considered; it would be too assuming to pronounce this reasoning right, but there is nothing more evident, than that if war be allowed to be lawful, this must be rational, and in that sense Sir Richard Greenville's conduct heroic, which will be further considered in the next note, where we shall likewise explain the probable causes why these great authors did not speak out, and give at the time they wrote to this gallant seaman that tribute of praise which, if ever man did, he in a superlative degree deserved.

[K] Which so often misleads heroes ] Sir William Monson, who was certainly a very able seaman, and a very gallant man, has, notwithstanding, represented this whole affair very much to Sir Richard's disadvantage; and, as it is our duty to conceal nothing from the reader, we will give him Sir William's whole account in his own words (31). 'The Earl of Cumberland, who then lay upon the coast of Spain, had intelligence of the Spaniards putting out to sea, and gave notice thereof to the Lord Thomas, the very night before they arrived at Flores, where my Lord lay. The day after this intelligence, the Spanish fleet was discovered by my Lord Thomas, whom he knew by their number and greatness to be the ships of which he had warning, and by that means escaped the danger Sir Richard Greenville, his Vice-Admiral, rashly ran into. Upon view of the Spaniards, which were fifty-five sail, the Lord Thomas, warily, and like a discreet general, weighed anchor, and made

signs to the rest of his fleet to do the like, with a purpose to get the wind of them; but Sir Richard Greenville being a stubborn man, and imagining this fleet to come from the Indies, and not to be the armada of which they were informed, would by no means be persuaded by his master or company to cut his cable to follow his Admiral; nay, so headstrong and rash he was, that he offered violence to those that advised him so to do. But the old saying, that a wilful man is the cause of his own woe, could not be more truly verified than in him: for when the armada approached, and he beheld the greatness of their ships, he began to see and repent of his folly; and when it was too late would have freed himself of them, but in vain; for he was left a prey to the enemy, every ship striving to be the first should board him. This wilful rashness of Sir Richard made the Spaniards triumph as much as if they had obtained a signal victory, it being the first ship that ever they took of her Majesty's, and commended to them by some English fugitives to be the very best she had. But their joy continued not long; for they enjoyed her but five days before she was cast away, with many Spaniards in her, upon the Tercera islands. Commonly one misfortune is accompanied with another: for the Indian fleet, which my Lord had waited for the whole summer, the day after this mishap fell into the company of this Spanish armada, who, if they had staid but one day longer, or the Indian fleet had come home but one day sooner, we had possessed both them and many millions of treasure which the sea afterwards devoured: for, from the time they met with the armada, and before they could recover home, nigh an hundred of them suffered shipwreck, besides the Ascension of Seville, and the double fly boat, that were sunk by the side of the *Revenge*. All which was occasioned by their wintering in the Indies, and the late disemboguing from thence: for the worm which that country is subject to weakens and consumes their ships. Notwithstanding this cross and perverse fortune which happened by means of Sir Richard Greenville, the Lord Thomas would not be dismayed or discouraged, but kept the sea as long as he had victuals, and by such ships as himself and the rest of the fleet took, defrayed the better part of the charge of the whole action.' To the justice of these remarks there are some very obvious and unanswerable objections. Sir William Monson was a party in this matter, being Captain under the Earl of Cumberland in her Majesty's ship the *Garland*, which, with a squadron, cruised on the coast of Spain, and pretended to no other service but the sending intelligence to Lord Thomas Howard (32). Sir William was no eye-witness, and therefore might be mistaken as to facts; and lastly, he was a creature of the Howard family, which might induce him to credit whatever might exalt the character of Lord Thomas (33). If we may credit Sir Walter Raleigh, who wrote his narrative likewise by way of apology for Lord Thomas Howard, this intelligence, instead of arriving a day, did not arrive an hour before the Spanish fleet. It is allowed both by Sir Walter and Mr Camden, that Sir Richard Greenville did not stay out of obstinacy, but because many of the men were on shore, and if he weighed anchor last, it was his duty as Vice-Admiral. His offering violence to those who would have cut the cable, is a mistake for his refusing to let them cut the main-sail; but there is a wide difference between cutting a cable to get to sea on the approach of a superior enemy, and tacking in fight of them in order to fly: Sir Walter Raleigh does indeed say, that *this would have been the better course, and might have been justified in so great an impossibility of prevailing*. Yet this was but Sir Walter's opinion; nay perhaps he only gave it as his opinion. Sir Richard Greenville thought otherwise; and so cautious was Sir Walter Raleigh, that to prevent the least suspicion of his reflecting upon our hero, he adds immediately to what he would have taken

(32) Ibid. p. 179.

(33) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report, in Hack-luyt.

(29) See his True Report before cited, in Hack-luyt's Collection.

(30) Annal. Eliz. p. 638.

(31) Naval Tracts, p. 178.



(q) Grot. Annal.  
lib. i.

(r) Genealogical  
Remembrance of  
the Family of  
Greenville.

(s) E Stemmate  
R. Greenville.

(t) Collins's Sup-  
plement to the  
Peerage, Vol. I.  
p. 80.

tion may be decided, or whether it be decided at all, certain it is, that by his contemporaries he was loudly applauded, and that the fame of this action did not a little contribute to that high respect with which the English were every where treated abroad, and which produced them real advantages at home (q). This great and gallant person espoused Mary, eldest daughter and coheir, to Sir John St Leger, of Aumery in the county of Devon, Knight, by Katherine his wife, daughter to George Lord Abergavenny, and was son and heir of Sir George St Leger, Knight, son and heir of Sir James St Leger, by Anne his wife, eldest daughter and coheir to Thomas Earl of Ormond, lineally descended from James Earl of Ormond and Eleanor his wife, daughter of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward I. (r). Also the aforesaid James St Leger, was the son and heir of Sir Thomas St Leger, by Anne his wife, sister to King Edward IV. So that the descendants of this Sir Richard Greenville by Mary his wife beforementioned, were very nobly allied, having issue by her three sons, Bernard, John, and Roger, but the two last died without issue (s). Also five daughters, Mary married to Arthur Tremain, of Collacombe, Esq; Catherine to Justinian Abbot, Esq; Ursula, who died unmarried; Bridget, married to John Weeks, Prebendary of Bristol; and Rebecca, who died unmarried (t).

taken for his opinion, this qualifying expression, *Notwithstanding; out of the greatness of his mind he could not be persuaded.* Yet he frames a handsome apology for Lord Thomas Howard, every way worthy of him, and not unworthy of Sir Walter Raleigh. 'For the rest of her Majesty's ships, says he, that entered not so far into the fight as the Revenge, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but six in all, whereof two, but small ships, the Revenge, engaged past recovery. The island of Flores was on the one side; fifty-three sail of the Spanish, divided into squadrons, on the other; all as full filled with as many soldiers as they could contain. Almost the one half of our men sick, and not able to serve, the ships grown foul, unromaged, and scarcely able to bear any sail for want of ballast, having been six months at sea before. If all the rest had entered, all had been lost, for the very hugeness of the Spanish fleet, if no other violence had been offered, would have crushed them before them into shivers. Of which the dishonour and loss to the Queen had been far greater than the spoil or harm that the enemy could any way have received. Notwithstanding it is very true that the Lord Thomas would have entered between the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend, and the master of his own ship offered to leap into the sea, rather than to conduct that her Majesty's ship and the rest to be a prey to the enemy, where there was no hope nor possibility either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a general, to commit himself and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or likelihood of prevailing, thereby to diminish the strength of her Majesty's navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemy. The Foresight of the Queen's, commanded by M. Thomas Vavasor, performed a very great fight, and stayed two hours as near the Revenge as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight 'till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, and with great difficulty cleared himself. The rest gave divers volleys of shot, and entered as far as the place permitted, and their own necessities, to keep the weather gage of the enemy until they were parted by night.' This, upon Sir Walter's authority, and indeed he could not have a better, Mr Camden has inserted in his Annals (34), where it will remain a sufficient justification for that noble person's not continuing the fight, without impeaching the character of Sir Richard Greenville, who did. But let us hear the sentiments of a worthy and experienced seaman, the son of an able and gallant Admiral, contemporary with all these great men, as well acquainted with facts, free from all connections, and who writ from a spirit of truth, and zeal for his country's good. Speaking of the obligation that all officers are under, of performing punctually their duty, with whatever peril the performance of it may be attended, he proceeds thus (35). 'In this point, at the Isle of Flores, Sir Richard Greenville got eternal honour and reputation, of great valour as well as of an experimented soldier, choosing rather to sacrifice his life, and to

' pass all danger whatsoever, than to fail in his obligation, by gathering together those which had remained ashore in that place, though with the hazard of his ship and company. For we ought rather to embrace an honourable death, than to live with infamy and dishonour, by failing in duty; and I account that he and his country obtained much credit on that occasion: for one ship, and of the second sort, (rate) of Her Majesty's sustained the force of all the fleet of Spain, and gave them to understand that they are impregnable; for having bought dearly the boarding of her divers and sundry times, and with many jointly, and with a continual fight of fourteen or sixteen hours, at length leaving her without any mast standing, and like a log in the seas, she made, notwithstanding, a most honourable composition of life and liberty for above two hundred and sixty men, as by the pay-book appeareth, which Her Majesty of her free grace commanded in recompence of their service to be given to every one his six months wages. All which may worthily be written in our chronicles in letters of gold, in memory for all posterities, some to beware, and others by their example, in the like occasions, to imitate the true valour of our nation in these Ages.' To understand this passage, and to reconcile it with the other accounts, we must consider that the capitulation was made for all borne upon the ship's books, though of these there remained not above one hundred and fifty, of which ninety were sick in the hold, and the rest wounded almost to a man, so that not many returned home to receive the Queen's bounty, which was chiefly valuable, as it was an apparent mark of her approbation. The same writer takes notice also of Captain Vavasor, who shewed his love to Sir Richard beyond the measure of his duty; but let me not forget another gallant man, Capt. Jacob Whiddon, in the Pilgrim, who got through the Spanish fleet in the night, bore with the Revenge in the morning, and though hunted like a hare amongst many ravenous hounds, yet was so fortunate as to escape (36). These were all tributes of affection to Sir Richard Greenville, flowing from the true spirit of English seamen, and which sufficiently indicate their sense of his behaviour. But if the word of a scholar, a patriot, and a stranger, will add weight, let it be known that the judicious Grotius, observes (37), 'That the Greeks and Romans who of old supported all their glorious actions by naval victories, were at this time equalled in fortitude and in courage by the English.' Our learned countryman, John Evelyn (38), having related this action in few words, cries out, *Than this, What have we more! What can be greater?* indeed, I think nothing that is recorded in any history, in any language. Yet this man is without a monument, and very little pains have been taken to do justice to his memory. May every virtuous reader pay it the just tribute of a tear, and may the British Flag never want, what it lately had (39), an officer of the same name and spirit to support it's glory!

(36) Sir W. Raleigh's True Report, &c.

(37) Annal. de reb. Belgic. lib. i.

(38) Navigation and Commerce, their original, &c. p. 76.

(39) Capt. Thomas Greenville of the Defiance, son to the present countess Temple killed in the service of his country, May 3, 1747.



GREENVILLE [Sir BEVIL] the grandson of the former, in whom united not only the names, and a great part of the fortunes, but the virtues also of two of the most ancient families in the West of England [A]. He was born at the family seat of his father Bernard Greenville, Esq; in the year 1596, being the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth (a). He discovered early marks of a pregnant genius, accompanied with a most sweet and amiable temper, which rendered him universally beloved at Exeter College in Oxford, to which he was sent while yet a boy, for the improvement of his studies, where under the special inspection of Dr John Prideaux, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, he laid the foundation of a solid and rational piety, and at the same time acquired a large stock of useful and general knowledge (b). February 17, 1613, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and soon after left the university, and returned to his own house (c). His principal care was to maintain his own credit, and the dignity of his family, not by an ostentatious magnificence, but by a prudent management of his own estate, a kind of paternal tenderness for his tenants, and a most courteous and respectful behaviour to all the gentlemen round him. To these engaging qualities, he added a strict attention to whatever regarded the public service, and by a multitude of experiments shewed, that it was both practicable and profitable to make use of coal instead of wood in melting of tin; and contrived likewise several methods to hinder the wasting of that metal in the blast, which having brought to perfection at his own private expence, he, from a principle of public spirit, communicated to his countrymen for their common advantage (d). By these manly and laudable means he conciliated to himself the esteem and affection of persons of all ranks, in consequence of which he was returned with John Arundel, of Trerice, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of Cornwall, in that parliament which was called in the eighteenth of James I.; and in the first sessions of which the Lord Chancellor Bacon was censured, and which, after a second sessions was dissolved, February 18, 1621 (e). He was also returned with William Coryton, Esq; Knight for Cornwall, in that parliament called in the twenty-first of the same reign, and which was prorogued May 29, 1624 (f). In the three first parliaments of the succeeding reign he was returned with Richard Scot, Esq; Burgess for Launceston; and with Ambrose Manaton, Esq; to that parliament which was summoned to meet at Westminster on the 13th of April 1640, and dissolved the 5th of May following (g). About this time he received the honour of knighthood; for in that unhappy assembly called the Long-Parliament, summoned to meet November the third, in the same year, we find Alexander Carew, Esq; and Sir Bevil Greenville, Knight, returned for Cornwall (h). He had in the year 1638, raised a troop at his own expence, with which he attended the King in his first northern expedition, by which he gave an early and convincing proof of his loyalty, in (i) which he was never backward upon any occasion, though without making any pretences to court favour. He saw sooner than most the bad designs that were forming, and apprehended very clearly the pernicious consequences which must follow from them. In this situation he conducted himself with equal steadiness and prudence. He adhered to what he took to be his duty to his King and Country, but he would not plunge himself into the depths of party. He did not take the famous Protestation, which many wise and worthy men did, being either awed by the fury of the populace, or deluded by the specious pretences of false patriots; neither do we find his name in the list of Straffordians. His concealing his sentiments was the pure effect of prudence, and not from any doubtfulness, or dread of offending the prevailing party; which manifestly appeared in the honest advice he gave his unfortunate fellow member Sir Alexander Carew, upon that memorable and melancholy occasion of passing the Bill for the attainder of the earl of Strafford in the House of Commons \*. 'Pray, Sir, said this good man, 'when it came to be put to the vote, let it never be said that any member of our 'country should have a hand in this fatal business; and therefore pray ye give your 'vote against the Bill.' To whom Sir Alexander instantly replied, 'If I were sure to 'be the next man that should suffer upon the same scaffold, with the same axe, I 'would give my consent to the passing of it.' When this afterwards fell out, and Sir Alexander

(a) Visitat. de Corn. Devon. c. i. in Col. Arm.

(b) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.

(c) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194.

(d) Lloyd's Memoirs of Loyal Sufferers, p. 469.

(e) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 13.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ibid. p. 25.

(h) Rushworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. I. p. 2.

(i) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 2, 3. Bill sign. an. 13 Car. II.

\* Dugdale's Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 198.

(4) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 131.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. III. fol. 2. Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 131.

(6) Visitat. de Corn. Devon. c. i. in Col. Arm.

(7) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. c. 137.

[A] *In the West of England.* The Bovile's, or the Beville's, were a very ancient family in Cornwall, who came in with the Conqueror (1). The chief of this family was seated at Gwarnock, and Richard Greenville, Esq; the great grand-father of Bernard Greenville, Esq; espoused one of the daughters and co-heiresses of John Beville, Esq; the other being married to Mr Arundel of Trerice; and they had between them lands to the value of four hundred marks a year by these ladies, in the reign of Henry VIIIth, as we are more than once told by our learned Antiquary Leland (2). Bernard Greenville, Esq; married Elizabeth, daughter and co-heiress of Phillip Beville, Esq; of Brynne, third son to John Beville, and niece and heiress of Sir William Beville of Killigarth (3), whose fortune, pretty well repaired by successive mar-

riages (4), passed most of it by this marriage into the family of the Greenville's. The arms of this very ancient family are, argent, a bull passant, gules; armed and tripped, or (5). By this Lady Mr Greenville had (6) Sir Bevil, of whom we are now speaking; Sir Richard Greenville, of whom in the next article; John Greenville, who was afterwards of Lincoln's Inn; Roger, who was drowned in the service of King Charles I. and one daughter, Gertrude, who became the wife of Christopher Harris, Esq; son and heir of Sir Christopher Harris, Knight. Before we close this note it may be proper to add, that if we may trust some ancient writers, the father of this Gentleman was knighted as well as himself, and is often remembered by the name of Sir Bernard Greenville (7).

(1) Carew's Survey of Cornwall, fol. 64. b.

(2) Itinerary, Vol. III. fol. 2.

(3) Visitat. de Corn. Devon. c. i. in Col. Arm.



Alexander actually lost his head upon the same scaffold, and by the same axe, it made a great impression upon the minds of men, and many inferences have been drawn from it. We will venture to mention one that has not been drawn, and it is this; Sir Alexander Carew, who seemed so determined, altered his opinion afterwards, and suffered by those whom he now served; whereas Sir Bevil Greenville persisted steadily in his sentiments, without expressing any unnecessary vehemence, for he thought it to no purpose to make such a display of his principles as might possibly hinder his being able to act up to them (*k*). He therefore left London as soon as he could do it with safety, and retiring into his own country, employed himself in opening the eyes of other honest gentlemen, to see that their welfare and happiness depended on the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State; for the support of which therefore, he advised them, whenever it should become necessary, to venture their lives and fortunes, as they could have no security for either, if the Constitution was destroyed (*l*). The Parliament, at the breaking out of the war, were almost every where the strongest; and by the help of their committees seemed to be in full possession of the West, where they had Devonshire entirely, and the better part of Cornwall, through the industry of Sir Alexander Carew, and Sir Richard Buller (*m*). The marquis of Hertford, whom the King had appointed his General in the West, was able to do little in those parts, and what his friends did was in so calm and legal a way, that their enemies did not suspect them of any military talents. Sir Nicholas Slanning, indeed, was possessed of Pendennis Castle, and he was known to be an inflexible royalist, yet their strength was thought so despicable, that the Earl of Bedford would not give himself the trouble of pursuing Sir Ralph Hopton with an hundred and fifty horse, when they retired into Cornwall (*n*). In this state of things Sir Bevil Greenville declared himself, and without hesitation joined Sir Ralph with his friends, and conducted them to Truro, where they began to form into a considerable body. The leaders of the parliament party, upon this, called in their friends from Devonshire, and assembling at Launceston, that they might the better deal with their opponents when they had them in their power, preferred an indictment at the quarter sessions against certain persons who had appeared in arms in breach of the king's peace, and against his crown and dignity (*o*). Here Sir Bevil's good sense and wise management were clearly discovered. When it was least expected he appeared with Sir Ralph Hopton, who taking notice of the presentment, produced to the gentlemen of the grand-jury the king's commission to the Marquis of Hertford, and his lordship's commission to himself, assuring them that he came only to protect them from the imposition of taxes, and other illegal oppressions. The grand-jury voted an address of thanks to the King for his royal care of them, presented Sir Alexander Carew, and Sir Richard Buller, for a riot or rout at Launceston, and directed the sheriff to raise the Posse Comitatus to disperse them, and their adherents (*p*). This was the foundation of all that was afterwards done in support of the King in that part of his dominions. This happened in the summer of 1642, and gave for the present a new turn to affairs, but it quickly appeared, that in order to support themselves, some other kind of force was necessary than that which could be raised by the sheriff. As this could only be done by the interest, and at the expence of men of rank and fortune, Sir Bevil Greenville, who, as the noble historian says, was the most beloved man in that country (*q*), Sir Nicholas Slanning, John Arundel, and John Trevanion, Esquires, raised each of them a regiment, and with these forces they not only maintained themselves, and made themselves masters of Saltash, in which there was a garrison of two hundred Scots, and forced the earl of Stamford to retired to Tavistock, whether they were followed by part of the small Cornish army, in which Sir Bevil Greenville was with his regiment, and so very close pushed that they were at length glad to conclude a cessation of arms between the counties of Devon and Cornwall, for a limited time, and this upon very reasonable terms, and without any prejudice to the principles of either party (*r*). The Parliament shewing a great dislike to all treaties of this kind, major-general Chudleigh, who was one of the activest persons in their service, brought as considerable a body of troops as he could well collect into the neighbourhood of Launceston, the night before the cessation was to determine, of which Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenville having intelligence, they came into the town to encourage their friends, though they had but a very small force; the next day as soon as it was light the Parliamentarians attacked the place, or rather the avenues to it, which were long and gallantly defended 'till such time as the King's forces, collected from different parts of the county, arrived, which was late in the evening, and then the enemy retired (*s*). The earl of Stamford, whom the Parliament relied upon for maintaining their quarrel in these parts, assembled in the month of May, an army of between six and seven thousand horse and foot, with which he marched into the Hundred of Stratton, which lies in the north corner of Cornwall, and the only part of the County well affected to the Parliament, and from thence detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred horse to surprize Bodmin, where the sheriff and some of the principal gentlemen in the county were assembled (*t*). Sir Ralph Hopton and Sir Bevil Greenville being informed of this, though they were much inferior in strength, and knew the enemy had such a contempt for them, that one part of Sir George Chudleigh's instructions

(*k*) Rushworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. I. p. 244. 248.

(*l*) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 469. May's History of the Parliament of England, lib. ii. cap. vi. p. 121.

(*m*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 128.

(*n*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 64.

(*o*) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 129.

(*p*) May's History of the Parliament of England, lib. ii. cap. 6. Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 75. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 129.

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 45. May's History of the Parliament. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 131.

(*r*) Sir William Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 186. May's History of the Parliament, lib. ii. p. 112. Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 137.

(*s*) Memorable Occurrences in 1643.

(*t*) Lord Clarendon's History, Vol. III. p. 268.



structions was, to prevent their retreat to Pendennis, that they might have no more trouble with them; resolved to leave Launceston, and to march directly to fight the Earl, though they likewise knew that he was intrenched with his forces in a plain on the top of a hill, near Stratton, of very difficult access, with some artillery, plenty of ammunition, and abundance of provisions, which were so scanty with them, that officers and men, who both fared alike, had but a biscuit a day, for two days that preceded the action (u). This happened on the 16th of May 1643, when with two thousand four hundred foot, in four brigades, they marched up the hill, and after twelve hours obstinate resistance, totally defeated them; which was in all respects one of the greatest actions, and one of the clearest victories gained in the course of these unhappy wars (w) [B]. The King, to perpetuate the memory of this victory, in September following, created Sir Ralph Hopton, Baron Hopton of Stratton (x). The Parliament a little before this, had resolved to send Sir William Waller, their most successful General, to crush all opposers in the West; and upon the news of this defeat he was hastened with all necessary supplies, and directed his march to Bath. On the other hand, the King sent the marquis of Hertford, with Prince Maurice, the earl of Carnarvon, and other persons of distinction, with seventeen hundred horse, and a thousand foot, to join the Cornish troops, who advancing likewise on their side, the junction was quickly made at Chard in Somersetshire, on the borders of Devon (y). The Cornish forces amounted to three thousand foot, and eight hundred

(u) M. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 269.

(v) H. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 269. (w) H. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 269. (x) Dapier's Barons, Vol. II. p. 409. (y) May's History of the Parliament, lib. m. c. in. p. 58. Rushworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 271.

(x) Dapier's Barons, Vol. II. p. 409. (y) May's History of the Parliament, lib. m. c. in. p. 58. Rushworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 271.

(y) Rushworth, May, Dugdale.

[B] In the course of these unhappy wars. The whole of this action is very clearly and concisely related by the noble historian (8): 'About five in the morning, says he, they, that is, the royal army disposed themselves to make the attack, having stood under arms all night. The first brigade was commanded by the Lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, who undertook to assault the camp on the south side: next them, on the left-hand, Sir John Berkeley and Sir Bevil Greenville, were to force their way: Sir Nicholas Slanning and Colonel Trevanion, were to assault the north side, and on the left-hand, Colonel Thomas Basset, who was Major-General of their foot, and Colonel William Godolphin, were to advance with their party, each party having two pieces of cannon, to dispose as they found necessary: Colonel John Digby commanding the horse and dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a sandy common, which had a way to the camp, to take any advantage he could of the enemy if they charged, otherwise to be firm as a reserve. In this manner the fight begun, the King's forces pressing with their utmost vigour those four ways up the hill, and the enemy's as obstinately defending their ground. The fight continued with very doubtful success till towards three of the clock in the afternoon, when word was brought to the chief officers of the Cornish, that their ammunition was spent to less than four barrels of powder, which, concealing the defect from the soldiers, they resolved could be only supplied with courage, and therefore by messengers to one another they agreed to advance, with their full bodies, without making any more shot till they reached the top of the hill, and so might be upon even ground with the enemy; wherein the officers courage and resolution was so well seconded by the soldier, that they began to get ground in all places, and the enemy in wonder of the men, who out faced their shot with their swords to quit their post. Major-General Chudleigh, who ordered the battle, failed in no part of a soldier, and when he saw his men recoil from less numbers, and the enemy in all places gaining the hill upon him, himself advanced with a good stand of pikes upon that party which was led by Sir John Berkeley and Sir Bevil Greenville, and charged them so smartly, that he put them into disorder, Sir Bevil Greenville in the shock being borne to the ground, but quickly relieved by his companion, they so reinforced the charge, that having killed most of the assailants and dispersed the rest, they took the major-general prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much courage as a man could do. Then the enemy gave ground apace, inasmuch as the four parties growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the hill, between three and four of the clock they all met together upon plain ground, at the top of the hill, where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the other's success, and all acknowledging the won-

derful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the enemy's cannon, they turned them upon the camp, and advanced together to perfect the victory. But the enemy no sooner understood the loss of their major-general, but their hearts failed them, and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof they wholly depended, some of them threw down their arms, and others fled, dispersing themselves, and every man shifting for himself: the conquerors, as soon as they had gained the camp and dispersed the enemy, and after public prayers upon the place, and a solemn thanksgiving to Almighty God for their deliverance and victory, sent a small party of horse to pursue the enemy for a mile or two, not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole body of horse, lest Sir George should return from Bodmin with his strong body of horse and dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the victory they had obtained upon the place, which in substance as well as circumstance, was as signal a one as hath happened to either party, since the unhappy distraction; for on the king's party were not lost in all above four score men, whereof few were officers, and none above the degree of a captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten men died afterwards of their wounds. On the parliament side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken prisoners, with their major-general, and above thirty other officers. They took likewise all their baggage and tents, all their cannon, being thirteen pieces of excellent brass ordnance and a brass mortar-piece, all their ammunition, being seventy barrels of powder, and all other sorts of ammunition proportionable, and a very great magazine of biscuit, and other excellent provisions of victuals, which was as seasonable a blessing as the victory, to those who for three or four days before had suffered great want of food as well as sleep, and were equally tired with duty and hunger.' In the accounts published by the Parliament, the defeat is ascribed to the treachery of their major-general, who is said to have changed sides in the action, and to have charged those he quitted (9). But this seems to be clearly confuted by his remaining prisoner some time after the action, which is not reconcileable to his quitting the rebels, and even charging after he had quitted them. It is however true, that both himself and his father, stung by these imputations, quitted the Parliament's service and reconciled themselves to the King, which was considered as an unpardonable crime in them (10); notwithstanding the Earl of Stamford, when he surrendered Exeter to Prince Maurice, stipulated amongst other things, that his highness should procure his Majesty's free pardon to his lordship and all his adherents (11); which is a demonstration, that even in his lordship's opinion, a pardon was a very good thing when it could be obtained.

[C] And

(8) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 269.

(9) Rushworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 272. May's History of the Parliament, p. 58, 59.

(10) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 473.

(11) Rushworth's Collections, part iii. Vol. II. p. 273.



dred horse and dragoons; but if they had not been commanded by men of admirable temper, and wonderful virtues, this coalition had been fatal; for though the troops of the Marquis were far inferior to them in number and in discipline, yet they were so furnished with Generals of every denomination, that these great men who had done so much and hazarded their all in the King's cause, found themselves reduced to the rank of private colonels, which they bore, notwithstanding, not only with patience, but without murmuring; which appeared so extraordinary in the eyes of the Marquis and Prince Maurice, that they took every opportunity of shewing them such respect, as in some measure made amends for their loss of command (z). Taunton, Bridgewater, and Dunster-Castle were immediately reduced, and the army afterwards continued their march towards Wells, from whence they dislodged the Parliament forces, who retired to Mendip-Hills. Even there they were attacked, and very roughly handled, by Prince Maurice, Sir John Berkeley, and Sir Ralph Hopton, who had conceived a very contemptible opinion of the Parliament horse, and though they had the advantage of them here, found them much better troops than they expected (a). As for Sir William Waller, he continued at Bath amassing arms, ammunition, provision, and receiving continual supplies from London, and amongst other troops, Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse with breast and back pieces. But for all this he kept his position, and though the Marquis and Prince advanced to Froome, and from thence to Brentford, yet he only suffered some horse and dragoons to skirmish. At length the royalists advanced to Marsfield, five miles beyond Bath, that they might draw the enemy from the advantageous post in which they were, which they very probably might have done if they had acted with more temper (b). But the unreasonable contempt they had of the enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, together with the streights they endured for want of provisions, and their want of ammunition, which was spent as much in the daily hedge skirmishes, and upon their guards being so near, as could have been in battle, would not admit of patience; for Sir William Waller, who was not to suffer that body to join with the King, no sooner drew out his whole army to Lansdowne, which looked towards Marsfield, but they suffered themselves to be engaged upon great disadvantage. It was upon the 5th of July 1643 (c), when Sir William Waller, as soon as it was light, possessed himself of that hill, and after he had, upon the brow of the hill over the high-way, raised breast-works with faggots and earth, and planted cannon there, he sent a strong party of horse towards Marsfield, which quickly alarmed the other army, and was shortly driven back to their body. As great a mind as the King's forces had to cope with the enemy when they had drawn into battalia; and found the enemy fixed on the top of the hill, they resolved not to attack them upon so great disadvantage, and so retired again towards their old quarters; which Sir William Waller perceiving, sent his whole body of horse and dragoons down the hill to charge the rear and flank of the King's forces, which they did thoroughly; the regiment of cuirassiers so amazing the horse they charged that they totally routed them, and standing firm and unshaken themselves, gave so great terror to the King's horse, who had never before turned from an enemy, that no example of their officers, who did their parts with invincible courage, could make them charge with the same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after Sir Nicholas Slanning with three hundred musqueteers had fallen upon, and beaten their reserve of dragoons, Prince Maurice and the earl of Carnarvon rallying their horse, and winging them with the Cornish musqueteers, charged the enemies horse again and totally routed them, and in the same manner received two bodies more, and routed and chased them to the hill, where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the hill there were breast-works, on which were pretty bodies of small shot, and some cannon. On either flank grew a pretty thick wood towards the declining of the hill, in which strong parties of musqueteers were placed. At the rear was a very fair plain, where the reserves of horse and foot stood ranged, yet the Cornish foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, that they might have leave to fetch those cannon. In the end, order was given to attempt the hill with horse and foot. Two strong parties of musqueteers were sent into the woods, which flanked the enemy; and the horse and other musqueteers up the road-way, which were charged by the enemy's horse and routed; then Sir Bevil Greenville advanced with a party of horse on his right-hand, that ground being best for them, and his musqueteers on the left, himself leading up his pikes in the middle, and in the face of their cannon and small shot from the breast-works, gained the brow of the hill, having sustained two full charges of the enemy's horse; but in the third charge his horse failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the head with a pole-axe, with which he fell, and many of his officers about him [C]. Notwithstanding, the musqueteers fired so fast

(z) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 270.

(a) Rushworth, May, Ludlow.

(b) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 282.

(c) Rushworth, Heath, May, Dugdale, Mercurius Belgicus.

[C] *And many of his officers about him.* It is said, that when his body was found, his major and captain-lieutenant were lying at his feet, with eight officers more of his corps; there were slain beside, the honourable Mr Leake, son to the Lord Deincourt, after-

wards Earl of Scarsdale, with a pair of the enemy's colours twisted about his arm; Mr Barker, lieutenant-colonel Wall, major Lower, captain James, captain Cholwell, and Mr Bastard (12). But notwithstanding this the victory was clear, and was in many respects of

(12) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 470. Heath's Chronicle, p. 46.

very



fast upon the enemy's horse that they quitted their ground; and the two wings who were sent to clear the woods having done their work, and gained those parts of the hill at the same time, beat off their enemy's foot and became possessed of the breast-works, and so made way for their whole body of horse, foot, and cannon to ascend the hill, which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground they had won, the enemy retiring about demy culverin shot, behind a stone wall, upon the same level, and standing in reasonable good order. The King's horse were so broken, that of two thousand which were upon the field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the hill; the enemy were exceedingly scattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the hill, so that exchanging only some shot from their ordnance, they looked one upon another 'till the night interposed. About twelve of the clock, it being very dark, the enemy made a shew of moving towards the ground they had lost, but giving a smart volley of small shot, and finding themselves answered with the like, they made no more noise, which the Prince observing, he sent a common soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could, who brought word that the enemy had left lighted matches in the wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the field, which was true; so that as soon as it was day the King's army found themselves possessed entirely of the field, and the dead, and all other ensigns of victory. Sir William Waller being marched to Bath in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of arms and ten barrels of powder behind him, which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent in that day's service no less than fourscore barrels, and had not a safe proportion left. In this battle, on the King's part, there were more officers and gentlemen of quality slain than common men, and more hurt than slain. But, after all, the victory was clear, and no less clear, that it was purchased by the valour and conduct of the Cornish troops, directed by the orders, and encouraged by the example of their gallant commander Sir Bevil Greenville, who fell like a hero in the field of battle, after having put his enemy to flight (d); and having already received the strongest testimonies of his master's kind and grateful acceptance of his services (e) [D]. His character, as a soldier, would be but ill understood if we should be silent as to his care in rendering men better, as well as braver, from being under his command. Under him the Cornish soldier was taught to pray as well as fight; and his forces were as much distinguished by their piety as their valour. Fervent acts of devotion preceded every attack, solemn thanksgivings commemorated every advantage, even on the field of battle. Their conduct was exactly regular in every respect, for to Sir Bevil Greenville it appeared equally absurd and unjust, that troops raised to protect, should injure property; and rather than avoid hardships by such means, they chose to bear them, as they frequently did, with most exemplary patience (f). He likewise stood very high in the character of a patriot, and took so much pains to preserve the communication and trade between the different parts of the county,

(d) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 284. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 186. May's History of the Parliament, lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 77. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 70. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 323. Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 470. The Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland, p. 93. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 194. Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the 1st, p. 271. Heath's Chronicle, p. 46.

(e) See note [D].

(f) Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 469.

even

very great consequence; for it lessened the credit of Waller, the best esteemed officer in the Parliament's service; it opened a passage for the King's forces, and it prevented the enemy from sending any detachments westward (13). But all these advantages were cancelled by the loss of Sir Bevil Greenville, whose authority and example could not be replaced or repaired. His superior title to command, and his willingness to be commanded by any man for the public service, prevented feuds, and kept every body from murmuring; his constant discourses that they were not fighting either for fame or for fortune, but for the honour of the crown, the security of the subject, and to procure a happy and lasting peace, kept both officers and private men in a right temper of mind, and disposed them to do or suffer any thing that was necessary for attaining those valuable ends; whereas after his death, things gradually changed, narrower notions began to prevail, and this glorious spirit evaporated by degrees (14).

[D] Acceptance of his services.] The following letter is at present in the hands of the right honourable Charles earl of Egremont, his lineal descendant; for lady Jane Greenville, eldest daughter to the earl of Bath, and granddaughter to Sir Bevil, espoused Sir William Levelon Gower; and by him, amongst other children, had Catherine, who espoused Sir Edward Wyndham, and by him became the mother of Sir William Wyndham, father of the earl of Egremont.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and well beloved, wee greet you well. We have seen your letter to Endymion Porter our servant, but your whole conduct of our affairs in the West doth speake your zeale to our service and the public good in so

full a measure, as we rest abundantly satisfied with the testimony thereof. Your labours and your expences we are graciously sensible of, and our royal care hath been to please you in all that wee could. What hath fallen short of our princely purposes and your expectations, wee know you will attribute to the great malignity of the rebellion wee had and have here to wrestle withall. And wee know well, how effectual a diversion of that mischievous strength you have made for us at your own great hazards. Wee assure you we have all tender fence of the hazards you have endured, and the state wherein you stand. Wee shall not faile to procure you what speedy reliefe may be. In the mean space wee send you our most hearty thanks for some encouragement and assurance on the word of a gracious prince, that God enabling us, wee shall so reflect on your faithful services, as you and your's shall have cause to acknowledge our bounty and favour: and so wee bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Oxford, the 24th of March 1642-3.

On the cover in which this letter is inclosed, George Lord Lansdowne has wrote,

'Original letter of King Charles the 1st to Sir Bevil Greenville, written upon farcenet, found in his pocket at the battle of Lansdowne, July 5, 1643. Endorsed with his own hand (i. e. Sir Bevil Greenville's) *Keep this safe.*'

In the hand-writing of Sir William Wyndham, Bart. Given me by George Lord Lansdowne, this 26th day of April 1734. to be preserved in honour of his and my grandfather. W. W.

(13) Clarendon, Heath, Dugdale.

(14) Lloyd's Memoirs. The Civil Wars of Great-Britain and Ireland. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.



even after this unfortunate war began, that the miseries of it were in some measure prevented, or, at least, abated, as long as he lived. He was the better enabled to do this, because no man of his rank, or, indeed, of any rank in the county, understood it's interests in all it's different branches better; and by his correspondence in France, and with the loyal, now noble family of Carteret, in Guernsey, he found means to be well supplied with ammunition; and having prevailed upon the gentlemen of the country to submit to an equal tax, it was so carefully collected, and so honestly expended, that the troops of the county were tolerably maintained, and regularly paid (g). These might pass for endeavours at panegyric, or at least for heightenings of the truth, if we were not able to produce clear authorities from his contemporaries, and which can be said for very few; from writers on both sides, that not only support, but go higher than we have done, for the sake of giving a just idea of so excellent a character to posterity [E]. Sir Bevil espoused

(g) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 275, 284.

(11) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 284.

(16) Memorials, p. 70.

(17) Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the 1st, p. 271.

(18) Ibid. p. 431.

(19) Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 62.

(20) Hobbes's Behemoth, p. 209.

(21) Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles the 1st, p. 271.

[E] *Of so excellent a character to posterity.* In producing the attestations referred to in the text, we will begin with the noble historian's remark on the issue of the battle of Lansdowne. 'That which would have clouded any victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of Sir Bevil Greenville (15). He was indeed an excellent person, whose activity, interest, and reputation, was the foundation of what had been done in Cornwall, and his temper and affection so public, that no accident which happened could make any impressions in him; and his example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter courage, and a gentler disposition, were never married together, to make the most cheerful and innocent conversation.' Whitlocke speaks of him with great respect (16). 'Waller, and his whole army, says he, was fought with by Greenville and Slanning, at Lansdowne, in the west; Greenville did very gallant service, and was slain there.' Sir Philip Warwick, a man of sound judgment, great integrity, and not at all profuse of his praises, speaking of the battle of Lansdowne, says (17), 'In this fight fell that excellent person Sir Bevil Greenville, a man of great integrity, courage, and interest in his country.' This is saying a great deal in few words; but towards the close of his work, having occasion to mention the great services of Sir John Greenville, afterwards earl of Bath, he adds (18), 'The father of this gentleman, though not bred a soldier, yet was so naturally adapted to it, and was so full of humanity, as well as clear courage, that having been well acquainted with him as a member in the Long Parliament, I was heartily sorry when, though so honourably and victoriously, he fell at the rencounter of Lansdowne.' These passages taken together, fully confirm all that is said by Lord Clarendon. We find, indeed, in the Memoirs attributed to a great officer in the parliament's service, something that looks like a contradiction to what is advanced in the text in respect to the victory of Lansdowne (19). 'The two armies, says he, engaged about Lansdowne, where the success was doubtful a good while, but at last our's obtained the victory. The Cornish men, commanded by Sir Bevil Greenville, stood their ground till they came to push of pike, but were then routed, and Sir Bevil killed. The enemy retreated to the Devizes, and our's pursued them.' Another writer, though of very different sentiments, gives nearly the same account (20): 'Again at Lansdowne, says he, between Sir Ralph Hopton, and the Parliamentarians, under Sir William Waller, was fought a fierce battle, where in the victory was not very clear on either side, saving that the Parliamentarians might seem to have the better, because presently after Sir William Waller followed Sir Ralph Hopton to Devizes in Wiltshire, though to his cost, for there he was overthrown.' But to clear up the point as to the victory, we will not quote the noble historian, who has related it largely, but Sir Philip Warwick, who in very few words inserts that parenthesis which ought to stand in both these accounts, shewing sufficiently the unstable condition of sublunary affairs, and how quickly and how strangely a victory may be lost and won, and lost again (21). 'A small accident, says he, did great mischief that day to the lord Hopton's party; for the greatest part of his ammunition took fire, and he himself was much singed and defaced by it: so as, for want of powder, he was forced to march into the town of the Devizes, which Waller coming to understand, he took courage

again, and came to besiege Hopton there; and had not the King soon sent the lords Wilmot and Carnarvon to relieve him, he had not been in a posture to defend himself. But here the King's forces, at Roundwaydown, bravely charging him, gave him an intire defeat.' It is evident from hence, that the valour of Sir Bevil Greenville, and his Cornish foot, put the marquis of Hertford and Sir Ralph Hopton in possession of the ground and of the victory; that the next morning the blowing up of the powder deprived them intirely of these advantages, and obliged them to retire to the Devizes, whither they were followed by Sir William Waller, and the face of affairs was changed again. Sir William Dugdale, one of the concise, but, at the same, one of the correctest writers of the history of these unhappy times (22), states the matter truly in the fewest words possible: 'At Lansdowne, in Somersetshire, says he, the lord Hopton had the better of the rebels, though the valiant Sir Bevil Greenville was there slain.' But in all these writers not a word occurs in the diminution of this great hero's character: mention him who will, friends or enemies, he is ever mentioned with applause. At Oxford, the members of the University, to shew their sense of the kingdom's loss, and their own, did him, and did themselves, the highest honour in their power, by publishing a collection of poems, written to celebrate his memory. What intitled him to so singular a mark of respect, might well intitle him to a place in this work; and as these poems are now scarce to be met with, we will add two from this collection, which were then highly esteemed, and which are very suitable to our purpose; the rather, because though part of them be inscribed on the monument erected on the spot where Sir Bevil Greenville fell, by his illustrious descendant the late lord Lansdowne, the letters are now so obliterated and decayed that they are scarce legible.

(22) A Short View of the late Troubles in England, p. 186.

By Mr William Cartwright.

Not to be wrought by malice, gain, or pride,  
To a compliance with the thriving side;  
Not to take arms for love of change, or spite,  
But only to maintain afflicted right;  
Not to die vainly in pursuit of fame,  
Perverfly seeking after voice and name:  
Is to resolve, fight, die, as martyrs do,  
And thus did he, soldier and martyr too.  
He might, like some reserved men of state,  
Who look not to the cause, but to it's fate,  
Have stood aloof, engaged on neither side,  
Prepared at last to strike in with the tide.  
But well weighed reason told him, that when law  
Either's renounced, or misapplied, by th' awe  
Of false-named patriots, that when the right  
Of king and subject is suppressed by might:  
When all religion either is refused,  
As mere pretence, or merely as that used;  
When thus the fury of ambition swells,  
Who is not active, modestly rebels.  
Whence, in a just esteem to Church and Crown,  
He offer'd all, and nothing thought his own.  
This thrust him into action whole and free,  
Knowing no interest but loyalty;

Not



espoused Grace, daughter to Sir George Smith of Exeter, knight (*b*), by whom he had four sons and three daughters; Elizabeth, who became the wife of Peter Prideaux, Esq; Bridget, who espoused Sir Thomas Higgons, knight; and Jane, who married Colonel Richard Thornhill, and died so late as the year 1739. Of the sons, Richard died young; John will be the subject of a future article; Bernard became the father of George Lord Lansdowne, of whom hereafter; and of Dennis, who was Dean of Durham, and of whom we have already spoken.

(A) VI<sup>et</sup>. de  
Com. Devon. la  
Colleg. Arm.  
Not. c. 1.

Not loving arms as arms, or strife for strife,  
Nor wasteful, nor yet sparing of his life;  
A great exacter of himself, and then,  
By fair commands, no less of other men.  
Courage and judgment had their equal part,  
Counsel was added to a generous heart;  
Affairs were justly timed, nor did he catch  
At an affected fame of quick dispatch;  
Things were prepar'd, debated, and then done,  
Not rashly broke, or vainly overspun;  
False periods no where by design were made,  
As are by those that make the war their trade:  
The building still was suited to the ground,  
Whence every action issued full and round.  
We know who blind their men with specious lies,  
With revelation, and with prophecies,  
Who promise two things to obtain a third;  
And are themselves by the like motives stirr'd.  
By no such engine he his soldiers draws,  
He knew no arts but courage and the cause:  
With these he brought them on as well-trained men,  
And with these two he brought them off again.  
When now th' incensed legions proudly came  
Down like a torrent, without bank or dam:  
When understood success urged on their force,  
That thunder must come down to stop their course,  
Or Greenville must step in; then Greenville stood,  
And with himself oppos'd and check'd the flood:  
Conquest or death was all his thoughts, so fire,  
Either o'ercomes, or doth itself expire;  
His courage work'd like flames, cast heat about;  
Here, there, on this, on that side none gave out;  
Not any pike in that renowned stand,  
But took new force from his inspiring hand:

Soldier encourag'd soldier, man urg'd man,  
And he urg'd all, so much example can;  
Hurt upon hurt, wound upon wound did call,  
He was the butt, the mark, the aim of all:  
His soul flies while retir'd from cell to cell,  
At last flew up from all, and then he fell.  
But the devoted stand, enraged more  
From that his fate, plied hotter than before,  
And proud to fall with him, sworn not to yield,  
Each fought an honoured grave, so gain'd the field.  
Thus he being fallen, his action fought anew,  
And the dead conquered, while the living flew.  
This was not nature's courage, nor that thing  
We valour call, which time and reason bring,  
But a diviner fury, fierce and high,  
Valour transported into extacy,  
Which Angels, looking on us from above,  
Use to convey into the souls they love.

By Dr Lluelin.

And with this constant principle possess'd,  
He did alone expose his single breast  
Against an army's force, and bleeding lay,  
The great restorer of th' declining day.  
Thus slain, thy valiant ancestor did lie,  
When his one bark a navy did defy:  
When now encompassed round, he victor stood,  
And bath'd his pinnace in his conquering blood,  
Till all his purple current dried and spent,  
He fell, and left the waves his monument.  
Where shall the next fam'd Greenville's ashes stand,  
Thy grandfire fills the sea, and thou the land.

E

GREENVILLE [Sir RICHARD], Baronet, brother to Sir Bevil, and General of the Forces of King Charles I, in the West. He was born in the year which commenced the XVIIth century; and after having received the first principles of education in his father's family, was sent for a little time to Exeter College (*a*), where his brother then studied. He derived from nature great faculties, for with lively parts and a quick penetration he had also a very solid judgment; which induced him not only to meditate attentively on all his undertakings, but to review them likewise with the same prudence and patience, and to commit to writing whatever he judged might be of service to him, in the succeeding part of his life (*b*). His temper and genius led him to a military life, to qualify himself for which, he entered very early into the best school in the world; passing in the eighteenth year of his age into the Low-Countries (*c*), where he carried arms amongst the English forces, under the command of that accomplished hero, Horace Lord Vere, of Tilbury; and had the farther advantage of acting under the auspice of the first Captain of that age, Maurice Prince of Orange. He went afterwards into Germany, where he served in the profession of arms, he returned into his native country, about the beginning of the reign of Charles I, upon a prospect of being employed in that war, which was broke out with Spain. He commanded, accordingly, a company of foot in that body of land troops employed in the expedition against Cadiz, under the Lord Vicount Wimbledon (*e*). In this disastrous enterprize he was a diligent observer, and was very far from having any share in that remonstrance made against the Commander in Chief. Captain Greenville was, from the beginning, a lover of discipline, and could not endure to see men raised to command by their experience, run down by such as having a preju-

(a) Wood's Fasti  
Oxon. Vol. I.  
p. 194.

(b) Lloyd's Loyal  
Sufferers, p. 473.

(c) Clarendon's  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
IV. p. 535.

(d) Sir Richard  
Greenville's De-  
fence against all  
aspersions of ma-  
lignant persons.

(e) Frankland's  
Annals, p. 114.  
Rushworth's  
Collections, Vol.  
I. p. 196.

dice



(f) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 231.

(g) Sir Richard Greenville's Defence, &c. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II.

dice to their persons, tortured their capacities to find objections to their conduct [A]. He lost no reputation in this voyage, whatever his superior officers might do, but returning home with the credit of having shewn both valour and skill in the discharge of his trust, he had a company of foot given (f) him in the regiment of his old school-fellow, in the Dutch wars, Sir John Burroughs, when the duke of Buckingham made his disastrous expedition for the support of Rochelle, and landed his forces in the island of Rhée. As it was a scheme of that favourite's, and he flattered himself would contribute to render him respected abroad, and popular at home, he was very careful in the choice of his officers, and took very great pains to give them all the marks of respect and encouragement in his power, to which we may attribute his conferring, as by his commission he had authority to do, the honour of knighthood upon Captain Greenville, Portsmouth, June 20, 1627, a week before they embarked for the isle of Rhée. There too he maintained his credit unimpeached, and by successive deaths came to the command of a regiment with general approbation, and as a soldier that well deserved it (g). He likewise wrote memorials of this expedition, which are still extant, and clearly demonstrate that he was not so very a courtier as not to see the failings of the great, or so much bent upon exposing them as to aggravate every thing to the utmost. His account is more modest, and in no respect whatever inferior to any of the relations of that unlucky attempt that have come to our hands [B]. His prudent behaviour in the course of this

[A] *To find objections to their conduct.* This war with Spain was chiefly of the Duke of Buckingham's procuring, and seems to have proceeded more from his personal distaste to Count Olivarez, than any solid or honourable motive. However, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been prosecuted, because, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it visibly served his own particular purposes, yet, without question, the nation had been grievously injured by the Spaniards; and there were, therefore, sufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power and our alliance with the Dutch gave us, as well as the weakness of the enemy, and their firm persuasion that, whatever we might pretend, we should not actually commit hostilities (1). Sir Edward Cecil, grandson to the great Lord Burleigh, was the person made choice of for this command; an old soldier, it is true, but no seamen, and therefore not at all qualified for the supreme direction of such an undertaking. The Earls of Essex and Denbigh were appointed his vice and rear-admirals; and, that he might be the fitter to command men of such quality, he was created Baron of Putney, and Viscount Wimbledon, and had likewise the military rank given him of Lord Marshal (2). It was thought strange, that though there wanted not many able seamen, such as Sir Robert Mansel, Sir William Monson, and others, yet none of them were intrusted but merely such as were in the Duke's favour, which was both an unreasonable and an impolitic thing. The force employed was very considerable, viz. eighty ships, English and Dutch, and ten good regiments; neither was it improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the King and his ministry. The Spanish Plate fleet was then returning home, with above a million on board, and, if they had gone to Tercera, they must infallibly have been masters of it, and, by the destruction of fifty or sixty galleons, had disabled the maritime power of Spain for at least a century. But the fleet did not sail till October, and then they went upon no settled scheme, but all was left to the discretion of men who in reality were no fit judges of such matters, and besides were, in point of opinion, divided amongst themselves (3). The General sailed from Plymouth the 7th of October, 1625; but when the fleet was got some leagues to sea, their ships were separated by a storm, so that they were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off Cape Vincent. On the 19th of October a council was held, wherein it was resolved to attack Cadiz, which accordingly they did, 'on the 22d of that month.' My Lord Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships, riding under the town, and eight or ten galleys; these he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port Real, whither the Lord Marshal did not think fit to follow them. Then some thousands of soldiers were landed, and the fort of Puntall was taken, after which they proceeded to make some attempts up-

on the town. The soldiers unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to reembark their forces; and then it was concluded to cruize off Cape St Vincent for the Flota. There the men grew sickly; and by the strangest management that ever was heard of, that is, distributing the sick, under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ship, the whole fleet was infected, and that to such a degree, as scarce left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour to themselves: all which was foreseen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England. On their return, a charge (4) was exhibited against the General by the Earl of Essex, and nine other officers of distinction. Lord Wimbledon justified himself, in a long answer (5) to the charge. The reader who shall compare these with Sir William Monson's reflections on this lord's conduct, will discern that he is hardly and unjustly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he should have been acting; the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea-command, and his officers no inclination to obey him. In this vindication it is supposed that Captain Greenville had a share, at least it corresponds with his manner of writing.

[B] *That have come to our hands.* This, like the Spanish war, was chiefly the effects of Buckingham's resentment, ascribed to different causes, into which this is no proper place to enquire; we shall, therefore, justify what is said in the text, by producing a few curious passages from Sir Richard's Journal. The English forces were landed on the island of Rhée on Wednesday the 11th of July, the operations of the next day our author relates in these words: 'July (6) the 12th, Monsieur Soubize went to Rochelle, to procure some aid from them; and Sir William Beecher was likewise sent by my Lord Duke to know their intentions, but they of the town would scarce admit them but by a postern-door, being jealous of the success of our affairs. After four o'clock the same day, we began to unship our soldiers; but by that time we had landed some twelve hundred, or fifteen hundred of our men, with three or four drakes, the enemy, who lay undiscovered of us by the advantage of a bottom, charged us with two hundred horse, and one thousand foot. In their horse-charge they shewed themselves true Frenchmen, desperately valiant, and put our men, being unranked, and scarce stepped on shore, to route, and drowned many of the rear; but at length, by the brave example of the colonels and general, they reassumed their courage, and in gratitude laid above one hundred of their cavalry on the ground. The foot seeing the ill entertainment of their horse, came on very unwillingly, their captains

(4) See the charge delivered by the Earl of Essex and nine other Colonels at the council table, against the Viscount Wimbledon, &c.

(5) See the Answer of the Viscount Wimbledon to the aforesaid Charge.

(6) A true and exact Journal or Diary of the most material Passages happening at or after our landing at the isle of Rhée, anno 1627.

(1) Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 196.

(2) Kennet's Compleat History, Vol. III. p. 12. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 195.

(3) Sir William Monson's Naval Traacts.



this enterprize gained him the favour of that potent nobleman George Duke of Buckingham; and the good graces of so eminent a patron (b) recommended him to a lady, who

(b) Clarendon's  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
IV. p. 535.

waving their hats to them, and were glad to quit us; for, after two or three volleys of shot and stones, finding our pikes too long before, they betook themselves to flight, and left us masters of the field; an honour dearly purchased, it being by the death of many of our bravest commanders. That night we began to land our horse, and make good the place by intrenchment, expecting another charge from the enemy that night; but they left us quietly to enjoy our victory, wherein, if they had been as provident as valiant, we had never prevailed; for if they had first charged us with their foot, to have received our first and hottest volley, and then flanked us with their horse, they had scarce left us any for a second defeat: but it happened otherwise, by a dissention among themselves, arising from this cause. Monsieur Thorax, governor of the island, had promised Baron St Andrew the honour of the first charge, which he after gave in command to his brother; whereat he being discontented, would not charge at all, nor suffer his troops to second the vanguard. Yet we must not attribute our victory, or rather safety, wholly to this cause, but to the special favour of God, who, after our soldiers took themselves for lost, and ran away, gave them courage to resist, and then beat the bravest soldiers of all France, the regiment of Champagne, never before beaten, and to defeat their prime cavalry, consisting all of gentlemen of quality; a thing miraculous for infantry to do. The following passage does not do much honour to the French commander, and is, at the same time, a proof that Buckingham was looked upon as the author of the war. 'July the 30th, there came one from the citadel, pretending he ran away, who professed himself an engineer, and desiring conference with my Lord Duke, he was suspected, his unconfident countenance bewraying him, and being searched by Mr Ashburnham's appointment, there was, as some say, a poisoned dagger found about him, whereupon the torture being threatened to him, he confessed he was sent by the governor to kill him, which he justified to the governor's brothers, and other gentlemen, which came to clear themselves; for which cause my Lord Duke would not agree to have or give any quarter to them. All this while the battery played, but little harm on both sides; and, notwithstanding it was generally concluded by the colonels, and all the council of war, a thing impossible to take the fort but by famishing them, yet in all the time we had been in the town, we went not about to block them up by intrenchments, but took a more preposterous way, in raising batteries; before we made our approaches; a thing very chargeable and needless, for with the infinite company of shot that we made against the sand-hill, we did nothing by the way of breach, but spent more powder and shot than half the revenues of the island was worth, and still the passage was open for those of the towns round about to carry what provision they would into the fort, and give intelligence of the affairs of our army, which the enemy's horse continually did, foraging up and down the country.' He mentions frequently, with great concern, the Duke of Buckingham's indiscreet behaviour, in holding conferences with the enemy, to which he would not either admit any of his principal officers, or report what passed in them, which naturally excited jealousy and discontent. Sir Richard deplores the death of Sir John Burroughs, the loss of whom, says he, was the loss of all our hopes. He observes, that upon some slight hints given at one of those fatal interviews the Duke had with the French officers, he dispatched Mr Ashburnham to Paris, on the 4th of September, who came back on the 17th, without having so much as seen the King, though in other respects treated with as much civility as his youth and rank could demand. This usage had a stronger effect upon Buckingham than all the remonstrances of his best friends, as appears from the latter part of our author's Journal, which is so full of curious and important facts, that the reader cannot but be well pleased to see them. 'September 26, there came a parley from the fort, but my Lord Duke would admit of none, in regard of

the ill usage his cousin Ashburnham received at Paris, and sent them an absolute answer that he would hold no parley with them, unless it were touching the delivery of the fort. Presently after the return of this message, came the Lieutenant-Governor of the fort, Baron Monthault, with a trumpet, to treat of articles of yielding, and withal told my Lord Duke, if they received no succours from the main that night, the morrow following they would render it up; which they were in a manner forced to do, by the mutiny of their soldiers. But our hopes were all defeated, by the coming of fifteen or sixteen boats from the main, which brought them at the least two months provision of victuals and munition, of which they stood in great need. For a fortnight's time before we had not a great shot from the fort, and our soldiers marched to their guards in open view of the fort, the trenches being full of water, without receiving any hurt by their small shot for want of powder. And now, to add to our miseries, our soldiers began to sicken apace, having neither good lodgings but in the trenches, nor meat but which stunk, nor drink but water, all the provision of wine in the island being spent: yet the Rochellers would not be sensible of our wants, but for that small provision they sent they sold it at a triple value of the worth. October 7, there landed seven boats at the little fort. For four or five days nothing was done, our soldiers died apace. On the 13th, there was great preparation for an assault, neither would my Lord Duke be dissuaded but by foul weather, although all the Colonels subscribed it under their hands to be a thing impossible, and also for our present departure, in as much as our army grew so weak, and we had certain intelligence of the landing of four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, the horse being already embarked. Sir Henry Sprye used a soldier-like freedom of speech, in shewing to my Lord the necessity of our departure, and that it would be honourable, having sufficiently shewed our valour and resolution, in remaining so long time in an enemy's country with such an handful of men, and who never dared to meddle with us; and besides, it would be no more dishonourable for us, being so few in number, after four months siege to go away from a place unfeasible, than it was for one of the greatest soldiers in the world, Spinola, to rise from Bergen-op-Zoom with thirty thousand men. But he was answered with a court-like scorn, That he talked as if he had come from an alehouse; and for the rest of the Colonels, who were all of the same opinion, and durst speak their opinions, instead of hearkening unto them, by whom he ought to be governed, he abused them in words, insomuch as many of them swore they would never come forth with a man who durst not return. But my Lord Duke was swayed by some insinuating sycophants, and others, who told him it would be dishonourable to go away, having two months victuals; but at length we were fain to leave our victuals and men behind us too, to run away far more dishonourably. Then foul weather happening, that they could not fall upon the fort, Baron St Serin told my Lord Duke he was very glad of the weather, and told him freely a truth, the experience whereof we dearly bought, That we should lose our men to little purpose. On the 21st, by my Lord Duke's command, about six of the clock, we quitted our trenches, which the enemy presently possessed, pulling down our courts of guard in our redoubts. The next day, contrary to the opinion of the Colonels, having so many men, we fell upon our own trenches, to beat the enemy out, who basely ran away, faster than we could follow. On the 23d there were twenty-five boats landed at the little fort, with a thousand men. The day before my Lord Duke gave St Serin leave to depart for the main. Nothing done for four or five days, our Colonels still importuning my Lord Duke to depart: notwithstanding, on the 27th, my Lord Duke gave order for falling on the fort, which we did, our men being more desperate for fear of starving, and went on bravely, but we quickly found (contrary to the relation of some



(i) Sir William Dugdale's Catalogue of Baronets.

(k) Sir Richard Greenville's Defence, &c.

was considered as one of the best matches in the West. This put him in possession of a good estate in the counties of Cornwall and Devon [C]. He lost his patron soon after, but his credit was so well established, and his character, as an officer, so well known, that he was raised to the degree of a Baronet, by the name of Sir Richard Greenville of Kilkhampton in Cornwall, by letters patents dated April 9, 1630 (i). This flow of prosperity did not, however, continue long; in consequence of his marriage he was unhappily engaged in a suit against Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, which being prosecuted with great earnestness and acrimony on both sides, ended in the compleat ruin of Sir Richard Greenville for the present, by depriving him of his wife, stripping him both of her estate and his own, and confining him to the prison of the Fleet, in the month of May 1632 (k). It is on all hands agreed, that there was something so harsh and so severe in this usage, that the fate of Sir Richard was universally regretted; perhaps, if it be more closely looked into, it will be found not to have been more cruel than it was unjust [D]. In this distress he laboured by every method that either himself, or those concerned

villains who ran away from the fort, that they had not four hundred fighting men) a resistance fit for forty thousand men, and we were scarce four thousand. They killed above a hundred of our men with stones, and they might have done the like by our army, if they had come on without ever shooting small shot: they blew up three mines, but did little hurt with them: in all were lost and slain, four hundred foot and horse: they took some thirty prisoners in traps, which they had made in their trenches. On the 28th, and also the night before, there landed five boats at the Point, yet my Lord Duke would not be persuaded to be gone, but would have returned Sir Henry Sprye, with Sir Henry Peregrine Bertie, to La Flot again, which they refused to do. About three of the clock in the morning, Sir Edward Hawley and Serjeant-Major Brett came, in the name of the council of war, to intreat him to march away, but he would not, being persuaded by a seditious minister, who told him it was dishonourable and inhuman to leave our sick men and provision behind us. About eight of the clock, Sir William Cunningham's horse came to my Lord Duke, and told him they heard great shooting in the main, or rather at the point, and saw the enemy marching to the town. Then my Lord, having talked with Soubize, commanded to march away, which we did, leaving our sick behind us, whose throats were after cut, and inhumanly sent us in a barque, which they thrust from the shoar two or three days after, with great store of provision, as well arms as victuals. We had not marched a musket-shot out of the town, but we saw the enemy at the heels of us, some two hundred horse, and two thousand foot, and we were about three thousand foot, and a hundred horse. We made a stand, to see if they would give us battle, but they would not. On we went to La Lamard, a village, where we made another stand, thinking they would have charged us. Then we marched to Loys bridge, where we were to embark; and before two regiments had passed the bridge, being very narrow, they fell upon our horse in the rear, and put them to route, and they routed the rear inso much that none of our foot could charge, so every one ran away, and the enemy had the execution of five whole regiments, which they put all to the sword, except twenty officers and a hundred common soldiers taken prisoners, and those that were drowned, which were many. The enemy had passed the bridge, but Sir Pierce Crosby, with some pikes, and Sir Thomas Fryar, with muskets, made them retreat, after they had beaten us out of the work, which was made so ill it was not tenable. This Journal agrees very well with a relation published in Rushworth, and seems to justify the censure passed upon this expedition in four articles (7). In the first it was alledged, That the Duke was too slow in his march after his landing, by which the enemy had time to recover from their confusion, and to supply themselves with provisions and necessaries. The second objection was, That great want of skill, diligence, and care, was shewn in carrying on the siege, since otherwise, the succours by which it was frustrated could never have been received. The third fault found, Was neglecting to take the fort in the meadow, which unaccountable omission was in effect the ruin of the whole design. Lastly it was alledged, That the retreat

was not well concerted, the proper precautions being neglected, and was very indifferently executed, by which the army suffered much, and the nation more. The Duke threw the blame upon the Earl of Holland, who was to have brought him a powerful reinforcement, which however he found in Plymouth road at his return. The Earl of Holland again, discharged it all on the commissioners of the navy, the agent-victuallers, and the winds; but the voice of the people, which in truth was no other than the echo of the officers who served, and who at their return spoke what they saw and knew, laid it upon the Duke himself, who, though he wanted experience, thought himself superior to advice, and seldom took any, but what in substance, and in respect to the persons from whom it came, was very acceptable.

[C] *In the counties of Cornwall and Devon.* It is of some consequence to explain who this lady was, because it serves to clear up several points in Sir Richard's personal history, which, as we shall see, is of no small consequence towards settling the credit of one of our best general histories, with regard to such as were unfortunate enough to stand but indifferently in the author's good graces. This is not said with any view to lessen the just reputation of Lord Clarendon's great work, which we have often supported, and always admired, but for the sake of truth, which ought to be dearer to all who meddle with history, than the reputation of any writer whatever. But to return to the point: this lady was Mary, the sole daughter and heiress of Sir John Fitz, of Fitzford, a very worthy gentleman, and the last heir male of a very ancient family (8). She was first married to the honourable Alan Piercy, sixth son to Henry Earl of Northumberland, by whom she had no issue. After his decease, she espoused the honourable Thomas D'Arcy, Esq; son to the Lord Viscount Colchester, who likewise died without issue. By her third husband, who was the honourable Thomas Howard, fourth son to the great Earl of Suffolk, sometime Lord High-Treasurer of England, and brother to Theophilus Earl of Suffolk, and to the Lady Frances Howard, Countess of Essex, and afterwards of Somerset, she had two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary (9).

[D] *That it was unjust.* The Earl of Clarendon has entered more minutely into the personal and private history of this gentleman, than of almost any other of whom he speaks, and it is necessary that the reader should see the whole of it, as it stands in his own words (10). Major Greenville, at the siege of Rhé, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the Duke of Buckingham, who was the General in that invasion; and, after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made colonel of a regiment, with general approbation, and as an officer that well deserved it (11). His credit every day increased with the Duke, who out of the generosity of his nature (as a most generous person he was) resolved to raise his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and sollicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had not yet outlived; and, though she had no great dower by her husband, a younger brother of the Earl of Suffolk, yet she inherited a fair fortune of her own near Plymouth, and was besides very rich in a personal estate, and was looked

(8) Ristdon's Survey of Devonshire, Vol. II. p. 275.

(9) Pedigree of the family.

(10) History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 535, 536.

(11) See before in note [B].

(7) Collections, Vol. I. p. 463—465.



cerned for him, could devise, to obtain justice and redress; but finding all that he and they could do was ineffectual, and thinking it hard to pass the remainder of his days in

looked upon as the richest match of the West. This lady, by the Duke's credit, Sir Richard Greenville (for he was now made a Knight and Baronet) obtained, and was thereby possessed of a plentiful estate, upon the borders of his own country, where his own family had great credit and authority. The war being quickly at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife, which, though ample enough to have supported the expence, a person of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his vanity and ambition, nor so great as he upon common reports had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her fortune, he grew less pleased with his wife, who being a woman of a haughty and imperious nature, and of a wit superior to his, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him, and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these domestic unso- ciable contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her estate, as the sole master of it, without allowing her out of her own any competency for herself, and indulged to himself all those licences in her own house, which to women are most grievous: she found means to withdraw herself from him, and was with all kindness received into that family in which she had been before married, and was always very much respected. Her absence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refused to pay him any more rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole estate, which was all he had to live upon; for it appeared now, that she had, before her marriage with him, settled her intire fortune so absolutely upon the Earl of Suffolk, that the present right was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begot a suit in the Chancery, between Sir Richard Greenville and the then Earl of Suffolk, before the Lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve Sir Richard Greenville in equity, but that in justice he must decree the land to the Earl, which he did. This very sensible mortification transported him so much, that being a man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a personal conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language, as the government and justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished, and the Earl appealed for reparation to the court of Star-Chamber, where Sir Richard was decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him, and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand pounds to the King, who gave the fine likewise to the Earl; so that Sir Richard was committed to the prison of the Fleet, in execution for the whole six thousand pounds, which at that time was thought by all men to be a very severe and rigorous decree, and drew a general compassion towards the unhappy gentleman. After he had endured many years of strict imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late troubles, he made his escape out of the prison, and transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there till the parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the kingdom, and when he heard that many decrees which had been made in that time by the court of Star-Chamber, were repealed, and the persons grieved absolved from those penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned to have his cause heard, for which a committee was appointed, but, before it could be brought to any conclusion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland.

Let us now hear what Sir Richard Greenville himself says of all this matter, in a Vindication printed and published in Holland, which the noble author might, and very probably must, have seen, before he penned his History (12). 'In the year 1628, I married the sister-in-law of the Earl of Suffolk, in whose right I obtained against the Earl a decree in the court of Chancery, for his payment of a great sum of money. He stood out all process of law, in contempt to that decree, whereupon a commission of rebellion was issued forth against him. Then he, finding that his

divers practices, by reason of greatness, could not free him from the law, he got advice and assistance to procure great troubles unto me as an enemy, namely, by authority to command me to come from my house, two hundred miles from London, with a poul- suivant, to appear and attend the Council-Board. After many months diligent attendance, nothing was charged against me: but, in the mean time, some persons were employed to urge me to accept of one thousand pounds from the said Earl, and to acquit him of many thousands which he stood engaged to pay me. That not prevailing, then was his man Francis Taylor sent as a poultrivant to my house in Devon, with a warrant of the court of High Com- mission, to bring my wife unto London, as his pris- oner, upon the opportunity of a difference betwixt her and myself, and, after her arrival in London, the said Earl procured her to come and live with him, in his own house, as she did for a long time. Then the Earl commenced a process of law against me in the Star-Chamber, upon which there passed a sentence against me of eight thousand pounds, his said man Francis Taylor having sworn, That I had said the Earl of Suffolk was a base lord, notwithstanding the contrary was proved by four men present at the time when those words were pretended to be spoken: ne- vertheless his friends in that court would not suffer any deposition to be taken against the Earl, because alledged to be recriminal. By the same sentence was I detained prisoner in the Fleet above sixteen months time, during which I laboured by all means devise- able, but in vain, to obtain justice only. Besides, to add thereunto, in a vacation out of term, beyond precedent, it was contrived with Pye, attorney of the Court of Wards, that my wife's estate was wholly ordered away out of my power, by authority of a lease made unto the Earls of Pembroke and Dorset, to the King's use for eight years, on pretence that she was then a ward to the King, as not having sued forth her livery: which being done, nothing was found prevalent to revoke or remedy that act. And then more to disable their enemy, by many processes at law was I compelled to pay many great debts of my wife's, which were owing by her before ever I saw her, and notwithstanding I could not receive one penny of her estate for any occasion whatsoever. By means of which injustices and pressures was I necessitated to sell away mine own estate, and to impawn my goods, which by it were quite lost. Thus finding neither justice nor law in England for me, but, on the con- trary, that all passed for justice against me, on the 17th of October, 1633, I gave myself liberty, and conveyed myself from England into the Swedes ser- vice in Germany.'

There is nothing clearer than that one of these two relations must be in a great measure mistaken, since they are diametrically opposite; the great point is, to know which is the mistaken case: and in order to satisfy the reader, and to decide a point of such importance by proper authority, we find ourselves obliged to cite the case as it is reported, which will do the business effec- tually, and stands thus (13).

'Inter Theophilum Dom. Suffolk, Quer. & Ri- chardum Greenville, Mil. & Bar. & Mariam Ux. ejus Def. Lord-Keeper, Justice Hutton, Justice Whitlock, 26 Julii, 7 Car. I.

'The defendant, the Lady Greenville, whilst sole, had a decree against the Earl of Suffolk, for six hun- dred pounds per annum, against which decree the Earl prayed to be relieved, in regard there was a verbal agreement between Sir Richard Greenville and the said lady before marriage, that she should have the sole disposal of the said six hundred pounds per annum; that accordingly before the said marriage, she by deed assigned the benefit of that decree to one Cutford, and that afterwards she and Cutford released the same to the said Earl; but not having the said deeds to produce, and alledging that Sir Richard Greenville had got and cancelled the same, which he denied,

(13) Reports of special cases ar- gued and decreed in the court of Chancery, pub- lished by William Nelson, Esq; p. 15.

(12) Sir Richard Greenville's De- fence against all aspersions of ma- lignant persons.



(1) Nelson's  
Chancery Re-  
ports, p. 15.  
Star-Chamber  
Reports.

in a prison, he made his escape out of the Fleet, October 17, 1633 (1). At this time, and by this series of misfortunes, which might be truly stiled inevitable, Sir Richard Greenville

' denied, it was ordered that he and Cutford should be examined upon interrogatories to discover the said deeds, or copies thereof; and accordingly they were examined: but the matter being not cleared by such examination, or what were the contents of such deeds, the court were all of opinion, That there was no sufficient proof to bar Sir Richard Greenville from the benefit of the said decree, for that the arrears of the said six hundred pounds per annum being in it's own nature a *thing in action*, and so to be merely recovered by the process of this court, cannot in law be assigned over to another. So that if the assignment to Cutford had been proved, as it was not, it would have been a void assignment in law, and ought not to be supported in a court of equity, especially where no consideration appears to make it better in equity than it is at law.

' They were all of opinion, That the verbal agreement of Sir Richard Greenville, in consideration of the said marriage, was to subvert both the grounds of law, and the right which was vested in him by the intermarriage; and, therefore, if such agreement is not settled by some legal assurances, to make it binding in law, it is not fit to be maintained in a court of equity, in order to give a feme covert such a power as is now pretended.

' 'Tis true *things in action* are sometimes turned over by a letter of attorney; but if it had been so in this case, yet presently by the intermarriage, the letter of attorney had been revoked and determined, and all covenants, promises, and agreements, made by the husband to his wife before marriage, relating to the disposal of his estate, would be extinguished by the marriage; and, therefore, if Cutford had an effectual letter of attorney executed to him, and the same could be produced, yet he could not in his own name seal such a release to the plaintiff as he had done; the contents whereof appearing only on his single testimony, he ought not to be admitted as a witness, for he was a party interested, and might justly be suspected of partiality, because of former and continued differences between him and Sir Richard Greenville: and, therefore, the court held it dangerous to admit the sufficiency of a deed to be proved by the single oath of such a witness, especially since the construction of deeds was the proper office of the court of Chancery. But the fact relating to the executing such deeds was proved by witnesses: so the bill was dismissed, and Sir Richard Greenville had liberty to prosecute the said decree against the plaintiff.

There are visibly many escapes, some trifling, others very material, in the Earl of Clarendon's relation: he makes him a Baronet before the marriage, whereas the date of his patent shews the contrary (14). He makes the suit between the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Richard Greenville arise from a settlement of Lady Greenville's fortune upon the Earl, and the decree in the Earl's favour: whereas it evidently appears that Sir Richard, in right of his wife, had a claim upon the Earl, which, by collusion with that Lord, his Lady endeavoured to defeat; and it was for this purpose, after Sir Richard was in the Fleet, that the Earl brought his bill, when the Lord-Keeper Coventry was so far from establishing any thing in favour of his Lordship, that, as the reader sees, he did strict justice to Sir Richard under his misfortunes, whose account of the whole affair stands from the report altogether unimpeached. As to the proceeding in the Star-Chamber, Lord Clarendon makes the fine two thousand pounds less than it was, yet admits that the proceeding was very severe, and generally disliked.

But to put this point past dispute, as indeed every thing should be put, that relates to so great and so established an author as the Earl of Clarendon, we will also cite the very case as it stands recorded, that it may be seen we have not taken matters on trust, or on the credit of Sir Richard's own narrative, or become parties in an affair which concerns us no farther than it concerns truth, which ought to be defended at the expence of any history. Thus stands the case (15): ' Hill. 7 Car.

' Attornat. Gener. versus Greenville, Bar. The defendant, upon conference with one Taylor, touching the Earl of Suffolk, did, in the presence of two or three others, maliciously and disgracefully say and affirm, That the said Earl of Suffolk was a base lord, and had dealt basely with him, and that he would make him repent it, and shortly after wished Taylor to tell him so, and afterward told one Brabant what he said to Taylor of the said Earl, That he was a base ignoble lord, and had dealt basely with him, and that he had wished Taylor to tell him so; and for this he was committed to the Fleet, during his Majesty's pleasure, fined four thousand pounds, to make an humble acknowledgment and submission to the said Earl in this court, as this court should direct, and pay him four thousand pounds damages.'

On this occasion the reader, perhaps, will not be displeased if we shew him a very singular and a very striking instance of the bad effects of these kind of judgments in general, and of this in particular, as it will clearly demonstrate the necessity of taking away a court, the power of which was so flagrantly abused. Sir David Foulis, and his eldest son Henry, had with some warmth opposed the commission for compelling men to take the honour of knighthood, and in the course of that opposition had dropped some expressions reflecting upon Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworth, then Lord President of the North, for which they were brought into the Star-Chamber, and when the cause drew to a hearing, that noble peer, then become Lord Deputy of Ireland, writes to Lord Cottington, who was to be one of the judges, in the following words (16):

' This term my cause comes to an hearing with Foulis, I send over this servant purposely to attend it; I must wholly recommend myself to your care of me in this, which I take to concern me as much, and to have therein as much the better, as I ever had in any other cause all the days of my life; so I trust a little help will serve the turn. The bearer hath a short brief of the cause, which on my word you will find truth, for I have examined it myself. You will find that I suffer merely in this for doing the King's service, and that in truth the arrow was shot at him, albeit they contented themselves to call upon me by the way: That the sentencing of this man settles the right of knighting business bravely for the crown, for in your sentence you will certainly declare the undoubted right and prerogative the King hath therein by common-law, statute-law, and the undeniable practice of all times; and therefore I am a suitor by you to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to recommend the cause to the lords, as well in his own right, as in the right of his absent poor servant, and to wish them all to be there. You are like to begin the sentence, and I will be bold to tell you my opinion thereon; you have been pleased sometimes as I sat by you, to ask me my conceit upon the cause then before us, admit me now to do it upon my own cause, for by my troth I will do it as clearly as if it concerned me not. First, I desire you to remember how Greenfield was fined, for calling my Lord of Suffolk only base lord; how a jury gave three thousand pounds damage to my Lord Say for the same words, and then ballance the slander most ignominiously and maliciously put upon me by Sir David and his son, and let not me be less valued than other men, when I conceive that I merit to be regarded more than they: for first, I suffer merely for my zeal in his Majesty's service, never having given him the least personal offence in all my life. Secondly, I was then in the heat of his Majesty's business, which might (by this means taking away my credit) have been destroyed. I was (albeit unworthy) in that place chief governor under his Majesty, his Lieutenant and President of his Council there, which makes this a direct mutiny, and stirring up a sedition against the regal authority, as well as me. Thirdly, It is the most untrue, as well as the most malicious calumny that ever was set upon man, there not being so much as the least shadow for any thing they charge me with, so as the former benefits they have received from the crown,

(16) Lord Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 145, 146. See also p. 189, 202.

(14) Dugdale's  
Authentic Cata-  
logue of Baro-  
nets, p. 101.

(15) Rushworth's Collec-  
tions, part ii.  
Vol. II. in the  
Appendix, p. 43.



Greenville found himself a banished man, and in a manner without hopes of returning again into his own country; for no greater crime, admitting all that is alledged against him, than, in the midst of extreme provocation, letting fall an unguarded word (*n*). We have therefore no cause to wonder, that a judicature which passed such heavy sentences, on such light offences, should be thought such a grievance as no free people could bear; and it was amongst the very few advantages that the ensuing troubles procured to this nation that this intolerable court was taken away (*o*). In this exile Sir Richard prosecuted his endeavours to render himself a compleat matter, in theory and practice, of the art of war; and according to his custom, made large collections on the transactions in which he was embarked, and on the scenes of which he was a spectator; so that we need not wonder he attained, both at home and abroad, the character of a compleat officer, since parts, application, and experience, are the only means by which perfection is attained in any profession (*p*). On the first news of the troubles in the North, and of the King's intention to march with an army against the Scots, Sir Richard Greenville came over at all hazards, offered his service to his Sovereign, which was well received; and at the head of a troop of horse, composed of gentlemen of the best families in the two counties of Cornwall and Devon, and equipped in a manner suitable to their rank, he attended the King in 1639 (*q*). When the Long-Parliament was called, and enquiries began in reference to the heavy and severe censures passed by the Court of Star-Chamber, it is said that Sir Richard Greenville made his complaint, and to any indifferent person it will not seem strange that he did. But while it was under consideration the rebellion broke out in Ireland, and a resolution was immediately taken to employ him there; and in January 1642, he had a commission to raise a troop of horse (*r*), and was appointed major of the earl of Leicester's own regiment, who was at that time appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; he served in that country with great spirit and success. But it is imputed to him, or, at least, to the troops under his command, that they behaved towards the Irish with great cruelty (*s*); yet the truth seems to be, that the great provocations which had been received in the bloody massacres, previous to the war, and the faithless disposition of those people, induced the English officers, or at least afforded a pretence to their soldiers, for acting with a severity repugnant to their nature. This however is certain, that in the most authentic accounts of that bloody war, it appears that Sir Richard Greenville behaved with equal courage and conduct; for not long after his arrival, he marched with two hundred horse and one thousand foot to raise the siege of Athlone (*t*), and to carry supplies to that garrison; both which he effected, but in his return he was encountered by three thousand four hundred foot and six troops of horse, at Raconell, a place of great disadvantage to him. Nevertheless he had the good fortune to defeat the rebels, with the slaughter of two hundred and fifty of their men, and to take General Preston's eldest son, and some other prisoners. But that which rendered this victory the more valuable was an ancient prophecy, That whoever won the battle of Raconell, should gain all Ireland; therefore this victory troubled and discouraged the superstitious Irish exceedingly: in consequence of their fears they began to labour for a peace, or at least for a cessation of arms, which at length they obtained. But before this was brought about, the very motion of it occasioned divisions in the English councils, which contributed very much, if they did not entirely occasion the destruction of the King's affairs (*u*). The Queen's party, as they were called at Oxford, had a bias towards the rebels in Ireland, or as they affected to call them the Catholics,

(n) See the paragraphs from the Earl of Strafford's letter in note [D].

(o) See the preamble to the Statute 16 Car. I. cap. 1. by which that court is abolished.

(p) Lloyd's *Loyal Sufferers*, p. 473.

(q) Lord Lansdowne's *Works*, Vol. II. p. 200.

(r) Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. IV. p. 530.

(s) See the Appendix to the Earl of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 347, 348.

(t) Cox's *History of Ireland*, p. 109.

(u) Clarendon's *Historical View of Affairs in Ireland*, p. 23. Cox's *History of Ireland*, p. 133.

' crown, and the continued courtesies I had upon all  
' occasions afforded them, make them to stand, I dare  
' say, the most inexcusable men you ever sat upon in  
' judgment. Remember how Sir Arthur Savage was  
' sentenced in that cause of the Lord Falkland, yet  
' there was private grudgings between them, that was  
' but only advising to petition his Majesty in a very  
' foul cause, thereby to bring it to justice, and such a  
' ground for it as surely there was a bloody opposition  
' in the business, if they could have light of the right  
' way. This much worse in Sir David's case, no en-  
' deavours to bring any thing into a way of justice, but  
' libellously to take away my good name by open slan-  
' dering me in a way without all form or pretence of  
' justice, no crime at all committed, the rights of the  
' crown only called for, and taken of the subject with  
' good contentment to all but himself, and for the per-  
' son equally considerable, the President there being  
' in effect the same thing the Deputy is here. Much  
' more I could say if I were in the Star-Chamber, to  
' speak in such a cause for my Lord Cottington: but  
' I will conclude with this, that I protest to God, if  
' it were in the person of another, I should in a cause  
' so foul, the proof so clear, fine the father and son,  
' Sir David and Henry Foulis, in two thousand pounds  
' a piece to his Majesty, and in two thousand pounds  
' a piece damages to myself, for their scandal; and  
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' they both to be sent down to York, and there pub-  
' licly at York assizes next, to acknowledge, in the  
' face of the whole country, the right his Majesty hath  
' to that duty of knightings, as also the wrong he hath  
' done me; humbly craving pardon of his Majesty,  
' and expressing his sorrow so to have misrepresented  
' his Majesty's most gracious proceedings even in that  
' course of compounding, where the law would have  
' given him much more, as also for so falsely slander-  
' ing and belying me, without a cause. For Sir Tho-  
' mas Layton, he is a fool, led on by the nose by the  
' the two former, nor was I willing to do him any hurt,  
' and so let him go for a coxcomb as he is, and when  
' he comes home, tell his neighbours it was well for  
' him he had less wit than his fellows.' The judgment  
given in this cause (17), (for the reader will expect to  
know it) went even beyond his lordship's instructions,  
Sir David Foulis was declared incapable of all the of-  
fices and places which he enjoyed, committed to the  
Fleet during the King's pleasure, fined five thousand  
pounds to the King, and three thousand pounds to the  
Lord Wentworth, for the payment of which fines he  
was obliged to sell part of his estate; his son Henry  
was committed close prisoner to the Fleet during the  
King's pleasure, and fined five hundred pounds: Sir  
Thomas Layton was dismissed.

(17) Rushworth's *Collections*, Part ii. Vol. II. in the Appendix, p. 65, 66.



(w) Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 98, 99.  
Heath's Chronicle of the Civil War, p. 122.

(x) Clarendon's Historical View of Affairs in Ireland, p. 23, 24, 25.

(y) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. I. p. 453.

(z) See the Vindication of Sir Richard Greenville, Cox's History of Ireland, p. 133, &c.  
Rushworth's Collections, P. III. Vol II. P. 555.

(a) See the Earl of Leicester's character in Clarendon's History. Memoirs of the Sidney Family, prefixed to the Sidney Papers, p. 139, 140.

(b) History of the Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 99.

(c) Vindication of Sir Richard Greenville, &c.

(d) See Sir R. Greenville's own letter in the note [F].

tholics, from a notion that this would facilitate the sending over a large body of regular well disciplined troops, and thereby enable the King to put a short end to the war (w). The Marquis of Ormond, Commander in chief of the forces in Ireland, was not averse to this measure, on account of the many relations he had embarked in these troubles, and his passionate desire to see that island restored to peace. On the other hand, there was a strong party against a cessation, and that from different reasons (x). Many of them without question wished well to the cause of the Parliament, and were very unwilling that any diversion should be created, by the sending over troops to the King's assistance from Ireland (y). But there were others also very zealously affected to the royal interest, and who wished for nothing more than an opportunity to support it in England, that were notwithstanding vehemently against any cessation in Ireland, because they thought the Irish were not to be trusted; that it would serve only to prolong the war; that it would discredit his Majesty's councils; that it would give fresh colour to the Parliament, to treat all who adhered to his Majesty, as secretly inclined to the Papists; and that consequently this cessation, instead of promoting, would render impracticable the ends for which it was made, and frustrate all hopes of peace, either in England or in Ireland (z). Such of the Royalists as were in these sentiments, were those who adhered to the Earl of Leicester, who though he never went in person to Ireland, had a great many friends there, and was believed to be an honest able man, and as well affected to the King as those who made larger professions of loyalty (a). Amongst these was Sir Richard Greenville, who made no scruple of professing his dislike to a cessation while it was in deliberation, or of protesting against it when it was concluded; and as little scruple of coming over to serve the King in England when it was proposed to him, fully persuaded that he had done nothing in Ireland, but what was very consistent with these principles (b). A considerable body of the forces that had served in Ireland being embarked, part under the command of Sir Michael Ernley, landed in Wales; the rest, among whom was Col. George Monk and Sir Richard Greenville, came to Bristol, where they met with a very unexpected reception; for Lord Hawley, who commanded there, produced an order signed by Lord Digby Secretary of State, to seize them as persons of suspected at least, if not corrupt, principles; which was owing to the informations from Ireland, founded upon an aversion to all who had any attachment to the Earl of Leicester, though he was Lord Lieutenant of the King's appointing; till upon this extraordinary turn in affairs, that high office was conferred upon the Marquis of Ormond. Lord Hawley, who was related both to Col. Monk and Sir Richard Greenville, behaved towards them as became a man of his quality; that is, he took their parole to go to Oxford, and so dismissed them (c). Col. Monk went thither directly, but Sir Richard Greenville thought it expedient to go a little about. He had considerable arrears due to him for his service in Ireland, for which the Parliament were responsible; he did not care to make a bad figure at Oxford, and, whether well founded or not, his principle was, that he might lawfully deceive those who endeavoured to corrupt him (d) [E]. His application at London

[E] *Who endeavoured to corrupt him.* The late Lord Lansdowne, grand-nephew to this gentleman, and who wrote a vindication of him and of his conduct, expresses himself thus upon this delicate transaction (18). 'I will not pretend wholly to justify this last action, not being a friend to any thing that looks like deceit; all that can be said for it is, that it was putting the old soldier upon a pack of knaves, and biting the biter.' Mr Oldmixon, who wrote remarks upon his lordship's performance, was highly offended with this ludicrous expression (19): 'I have, says he, taken all due care to avoid giving offence in sentiment or expression, farther than the subject may itself offend; yet, as cautious as I have and ought to have been, I must confess I have not been without provocation sometimes to speak the whole of the truth, and in very intelligible terms, such is the following passage, He put the old soldier on a pack of knaves. I will give a list of twenty of those knaves, and leave it to the reader to compare the stile and the characters.  
' Denzil Holles, Esq; afterwards Lord Holles.  
' John Crew, Esq; afterwards Lord Crew.  
' Arthur Annesley, Esq; afterwards Earl of Anglesey.  
' Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftsbury.  
' John Selden, Esq;  
' John Pym, Esq; &c.  
' It is no flattery to say there were not greater men in the Roman senate, when Rome was at the height of her liberty and glory, but they were Presbyterians, and might therefore be plundered not only with impunity, but applause. The fact is this: Sir Richard Greenville had received a considerable sum of money of the Parliament, to raise forces for them, and, as

soon as they were raised, deserted with them to the King. One cannot think that the calling that money arrears will excuse a breach of trust and desertion. Supposing the money was arrears, if, after he had deserted their service in Ireland, and forfeited these arrears by such desertion, the Parliament forgiving it, and paying him the money on condition he raised forces with it for their service, the treachery and breach of trust are the same as if there had been no arrears coming to him. Besides, it is very much questioned whether Sir Richard Greenville was in such circumstances as to serve without pay, so long that there was an arrear sufficient to levy a regiment of horse due to him. The Parliament so highly reprobated this treacherous act, that the knight was not only hanged in effigy, but was excepted out of their general pardons. To this the noble apologist thought fit to reply in the following terms (20): 'But what provoked you, it seems, was the expression of a pack of knaves—which, by an extraordinary strain of sophistry, you would draw me in to mean twenty honourable persons, of whom you give a list, whose memories are to be respected, and the more because they lived to separate themselves from the pack of knaves, to be ashamed of their company, and to make ample reparation for having kept it so long. This very separation proves that there was a pack of knaves, whom these men of honour and true patriots disowned and abandoned, as soon as they found them out. The malice of this reflection turns upon yourself, you have applied it where I never meant it: it never entered into my thoughts.' It might have been urged in behalf of Sir Richard Greenville, that having served in the army of Ireland, and the King having committed the management

(18) A Vindication of Sir Richard Greenville, General in the West for King Charles the First, from the misrepresentations of the Earl of Clarendon and the Rev. Mr Archdeacon Echard.

(19) Reflections Historical and Political, &c. p. 21.

(20) A Letter to the author of Reflections Historical and Political, p. 24, 25.



(i) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 537.

some comfort, and the more that I prosecuted with a sincere affection, to the upholding the Protestant religion in that kingdom, so well as his Majesty's just and undoubted right to that crown. The occasion of my coming over is well known too; and truly it was with many sad thoughts of the distractions and miseries of my native country. And I assure you it was without the least design of engaging myself; for I knew my allegiance to my sovereign was a check to me to lift my hand against him; and the reverence I bare to the name of a Parliament, (which I find hath, and doth deceive many) thwarted any resolution in offering my service to his Majesty, where I knew it was due. I contented myself to think I had served both, without dislike of either, and that therefore I might intend my own particular, and before I any way engaged myself (if I should do so in the future) do it upon knowledge, and not report. Landing at Liverpool in August last, I found both there and at Warrington that great suspicions were had of me, and also of my Lord Lisle, that we had brought over great store of treasure; and the itch was so great to plunder us thereof, and of our horses, &c. that it was told me what we had was most useful for their good cause in hand; if we were friends it should be but lent, if we were other, they must not let slip such an advantage. And truly, though we had insolencies offered us, yet Colonel John Booth, by his discretion and good usage of us, kept them from committing those barbarous injuries I found they were inclined unto. This wakened me, and I soon perceived, that, if this were the justice of those pretenders to religion and reformation, the many complaints I had heard from many honest men were not without cause. In short, from thence with great difficulty I was permitted to come up, with a strict guard, to London, whence the source and spring of all our miseries flows. There, Sir, to speak plain English to you, I found religion was the cloak of rebellion; and it seemed not strange to me, when I found there was so little left of the Protestant religion, as there were few of the learned and reverend divines that were wont to preach it. There I found the subject's liberty had a strange guard for it, his conscience being forced to submit to many unlawful oaths (though it pleased God I escaped them all) his estate was liable, upon interpretation of a necessitous party, to be exacted from him; and the whole government there was but a necessity of oaths and money, for subjects to compound to keep part of their own. The privileges of Parliament I knew not many of them, and yet was it very visible that the great privilege of this Parliament was to be none of the former. This some discreet and sober friends, in divers particulars, made very clear to me. How the King's name was used against himself, was as odious to me as ridiculous. Sir, by this you will see I have lived some time amongst you, in which, I must confess, I endeavoured to have dispatched some of my own occasions concern-

(22) Rushworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 385.



but a deliberate and decisive act, by which Sir Richard Greenville was for ever precluded from any hopes of remission or pardon, whatever turn affairs might take; and as we shall see hereafter, this spirit of rancour subsisted on both sides without any abatement during the continuance of the war. After some short stay with the King, Sir Richard Greenville went with a commission to raise two regiments into his own country, where he offered to assist Col. John Digby, who was employed in blocking up Plymouth (*k*); where Lord Robartes commanded for the Parliament; but it is not at all probable, that he had no command there, though this is asserted by the Noble Historian, since he brought with him a gallant regiment to Oxford; and we may very reasonably suppose that he carried them with him upon this service. At the time he went into the West, Col. Digby had orders to put him in possession of his wife's estate, which had been already sequestered on account of her adhering to the Parliament; and this, all circumstances considered, was but an act of justice, considering how long he had been deprived of it by an extraordinary stretch of power. In consequence of this, he fixed his residence at Greenville-House, near Tavistock, where he put things into the best order he was able, and lived there with a magnificence suitable to his disposition (*l*). Col. Digby being wounded in the eye, Sir Richard Greenville was charged with the blockade, where he continued to command till the middle of July 1644, when Prince Maurice found it requisite to re-call such of his forces as lay before Plymouth, by which that place would have been effectually relieved, if Sir Richard Greenville by his personal influence and great reputation, had not assembled a new force sufficient to maintain that blockade. It was this that constrained the Earl of Essex to continue his march into the West (*m*), under a firm persuasion that Plymouth once relieved, and Sir Richard Greenville and his forces beaten, the King's formidable power in those parts would be at an end. Accordingly he advanced towards Plymouth, and Sir Richard being in no condition to oppose him, drew off his small garrisons from Mount Stamford, Plympton, and Saltash, and retired into Cornwall (*n*). This gave the Earl an opportunity of taking Greenville-House, which he did by storm, though being a place of no great defence, those within it had hung out a white flag; however, quarter was given to all, but some who were styled Irish rebels, that is, some who had returned with Sir Richard out of Ireland. In the house were taken two small pieces of cannon, a considerable quantity of arms, and the value of three thousand pounds in money and plate, and one hundred (*o*) and fifty prisoners. A few days after he advanced to Newbridge, and after a very brisk dispute, not without considerable loss, forced Sir Richard Greenville to retreat, and thereby opened a passage into Cornwall; which occasioned such a consternation, that part of Sir Richard's forces quitted Launceston, while he with such as remained retired in a very soldierly manner to Truro (*p*). But affairs quickly changed their face, for on the 1st of August the King having joined the army of Prince Maurice, entered Cornwall after Essex, and constrained him to retire (*q*) to Lestwithiel. His Majesty advancing to Lescard, sent orders to Sir Richard

(*k*) Walker's  
Historical Dis-  
courses, p. 42.

(*l*) History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
IV. p. 538.

(*m*) Rushworth's  
Collections, Part  
iii. Vol. II.  
p. 677.  
Heath's Chron-  
icle, p. 58.

(*n*) Walker's  
Historical Dis-  
courses, p. 48.  
Clarendon's His-  
tory of the Re-  
bellion, Vol. IV.  
p. 539.

(*o*) Rushworth's  
Historical Col-  
lections, Part iii.  
Vol. II. p. 690.

(*p*) Walker's  
Historical Dis-  
courses, p. 49.

(*q*) Heath's  
Chronicle, p. 58.

ing my private fortune, but without it were obliging me in some command, which I conceive had an eye to your own service, I found so little service as any other man. At last, I conceived that this might be a design to have a hold and engagement upon me in a service I was so ill satisfied in: therefore I withdrew myself to my becoming and lawful duty to his Majesty, at whose feet I have now laid myself, from whence no fortune, terror, or cruelty, shall make me swerve. This, Sir, in satisfaction to you and the world; so I rest, as I expect you should term me,

Oxford, March 8,  
1643.

Your malignant Servant,  
Richard Greenville.

The two Houses were so incensed at his going to Oxford, and at his writing and publishing this letter to the Speaker, that they caused two gibbets to be erected, one in the Palace-Yard, Westminster, and the other overagainst the Royal Exchange, where a proclamation was made by the Provost-Marshal and trumpeters of Essex's army, in the words following, which were also fixed on each of the said gibbets.

'Whereas Richard Greenville hath of late presented his service unto the Parliament, and hath been entertained by the Parliament, as Colonel of a regiment of horse: and whereas the said Greenville, contrary to his promise, engagement, and honour of a soldier, hath basely, unworthily, and faithlessly deserted the said service, and feloniously carried away the money paid unto him in regard of the said service, These are to proclaim the said Richard Greenville traitor, rogue, villain, and skellum, not only incapable of military employment, but of all acquaintance and conversation with men of honesty and honour: and this pro-

clamation, in the mean time, to be nailed to the gallows, whilst it shall please God to deliver the said Greenville into the hands of justice, that he himself may supply the room of this proclamation.

'Done this 15th of March, 1643.'

The threats of the Parliament in such cases, were not things to be lightly regarded; for, amongst other causes of their success in military affairs, the strictness with which they proceeded against all whom they considered in the light of offenders, and more especially for deserting them, may be justly affirmed to be none of the least. When Barnstable was taken, there was in it one Captain Howard, who had been formerly a lieutenant in the Parliament's service, and who went to the King with nineteen horse, who, on falling thus into their hands, was hanged by judgment of a court martial; upon which Prince Maurice caused one Captain Turpin to be hanged, who had been tried and condemned before the Judges Heath, Forster, Bankes, and Serjeant Glanville, for high treason; upon which the Parliament ordered those Judges themselves to be impeached of high treason (*23*). This was before they published their famous ordinance for martial law, in virtue of which they condemned many, and, among the rest, Sir Alexander Carew, Sir John Hotham, and his son Captain Hotham, and several other persons. As Sir Richard had these instances before his eyes, so he felt likewise their severity in the tenderest part, for his son falling into their hands, was hanged in reality, as his father had been in effigy (*24*). We may from hence conceive, that, with respect to this gentleman, there were more reasons to excuse severity than in those who had less to fear, and will therefore serve to explain several subsequent passages both in the text and in the notes.

(23) Whitlocke,  
Rushworth,  
Heath, &c.

(24) Lord Lans-  
downe's Works.

[G] To



Richard Greenville to draw his forces to Grampound, which he did, and from thence took post at Lanhethorock (r), and soon after made himself master of Westerman Castle, with a very strong pass, within half a mile of Lestwithiel, so that the Earl of Essex was totally surrounded. His horse, indeed, did break through by the carelessness and drunkenness of Goring, but all the foot were made prisoners, by a capitulation signed by Major-General Skippon, and approved by Essex, and dated on the 1st of September (s). It is very remarkable, that the account published by the King, and the letter written by the Earl of Essex to Sir Philip Stapleton, concur in ascribing to Sir Richard Greenville's conduct this great defeat, which was by much the most severe stroke the Parliament received during the whole war, and that which gave them both occasion and opportunity to lay their unfortunate General aside, and to introduce what was called the new model. It has been suggested, that the Royalists did not make the most of their great advantage, and that the consequences were by no means suitable to the clearness of their victory [G]. Sir Richard Greenville, on the 2d of September, marched in pursuit of the enemy, and to recover Saltaſh, which he effected, and found therein eleven pieces of cannon, and then continued his march towards Plymouth. On the 11th of September the King, with his whole force, came

(r) Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 62.  
Rushworth's Collection, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 704.  
Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 103, 104.

(s) Walker's Historical Discourses, p. 80.

[G] *And to the clearness of their victory.* It is a matter of fact undeniable, that, except a very few, all about the King had an earnest desire to peace. To this the King himself was also inclined, as appears from his letter to the Earl of Essex; and yet for a message which the Lord Wilmot, who had a great friendship for Essex, sent him that he would be accountable for the sincerity of that application, he was, though General of the horse, arrested, declared in effect a traitor, and his command immediately bestowed upon Goring, which surprized and disconcerted the whole army, who joined in an application in favour of Lord Wilmot, which soon afterward cost his friend, the Lord Piercy, General of the Ordnance, his post (25). This proceeding had fatal effects at the time, and much more fatal consequences; Lord Wilmot, though he was not the most regular man in his morals, yet he was a very cautious commander, which rendered him, generally speaking, successful in all his enterprizes, as his great care of the soldiers, and singular courtesy to every body, made him the most respected and the best-beloved officer in the army. This did not hinder another address being set on foot by the officers, to promote a peace, which in general they signed; and the King finding them unanimous, consented that it should be transmitted to the Earl of Essex. The secret of this business was, a desire of rendering the Prince of Wales mediator between his father and the Parliament; in which it does not appear that Sir Richard Greenville, at this time, at all concurred, though he entered into it in a few months after (26). This some warm writers have represented as a measure dishonourable, if not disaffected; but the truth seems to be, that these officers perceiving the King's nephews, Rupert and Maurice, intirely possessed of his confidence, and disliking the violence of their measures, thought it the most effectual means to preserve their country, the constitution, and the royal family, to introduce the Prince of Wales, to whom the Parliament could pretend no just cause of offence, in the high quality of a mediator, from whom they might receive such assurances as might lead to a safe and solid peace. It may very well be doubted whether such as attribute future miscarriages to this disposition in the army, have formed a right judgment, and there seems at least an equal if not a greater probability, that these unfortunate events were occasioned by the warm proceedings against Lord Wilmot, Lord Piercy, and their friends; for how peaceably soever the King's army was inclined, when they had found that all overtures were rejected, and that Essex would hearken to nothing, there is no doubt that they would have been as unanimous in the pursuit of their own safety, by taking vigorous measures; and if, instead of arresting and removing Lord Wilmot, the King had openly expostulated with him and his friends, and shewn them that all farther applications of this sort were not only useless, but dangerous and dishonourable, there had been an end of them, and the army, under officers they esteemed, would have acted with spirit and unanimity: whereas, by this high act of power at so critical a conjuncture, the minds of men were amazed and confounded, at the very instant when that alacrity which springs from union was most necessary (27). When the Parliament army under Essex was intirely surrounded,

and might have been either totally defeated, or obliged to surrender prisoners of war, their horse, under Sir William Balfour, was suffered to escape; and the Noble Historian says expressly, 'That if the measure had been well conducted, their foot might have escaped likewise, which was owing intirely to the dissolute conduct of Goring, who had timely notice of their motion, but treated that notice with contempt, rather than interrupt his drunken debauch. This could never have been the case, if Wilmot had commanded the horse, whose circumspection upon such occasions the Noble Historian himself allows (28). This was the first, and a very great misfortune, not only as it lessened the King's success, and preserved the Parliament's cavalry, but as it weakened his force: for the King's army, equally dissatisfied with the bad conduct of the new General, with his loose behaviour, and the scandalous licentiousness of his troops, began to decrease daily; so that when the foot of Essex's army surrendered, they were very near as numerous as those to whom they surrendered, and, in point of arms and cleathing, in much better condition. From this sudden and strange alteration in the King's circumstances, as well as from his earnest desire to return to Oxford, nothing of consequence was done in the West: for the looking upon Plymouth, without reducing it, was doing, if possible, less than nothing; whereas if the King's army had been intire, as it might have been, both that garrison and Portsmouth must have fallen, which, notwithstanding the defeat of Marston-Moor, which happened a little before, would have re-established his affairs. But this was not all; when the King left the West after his victory, he left it rather in a worse condition than he found it: so that if Sir Richard Greenville, by his complicated authority of Sheriff of Devon and General in Cornwall, had not assembled a force sufficient to renew the blockade of Plymouth, both counties had been left open to the incursions of that garrison, and the relieving it, which was the principal point that Essex endeavoured, had been carried, notwithstanding his defeat. For the present, therefore, the King plainly left the preservation of the West to the care of its inhabitants, of which he gave the strongest testimony, by a very warm and grateful declaration, in which he did equal justice to their conduct, their courage, and their loyalty (29); but then surely it had been prudent to have trusted the command with gentlemen of fortune and interest in those parts, of whom there were many whose merit and capacity were equally out of dispute. Instead of this, Goring, who had no interest, but, on the contrary, was dreaded and detested there, was speedily sent back, and put at the head of the troops, that he might be out of the way of Prince Rupert, who was willing to employ his all-powerful interest in doing for him all he could, provided it was at a distance. The reader may from hence easily form a judgment of Sir Richard Greenville's situation, and of the reasons which induced him not to be over ready in acting, either under or in conjunction with Lord Goring, but rather to take what precautions he could for the security of the country, for which he had, as became him, a very natural and a very laudable affection, and which was not only very consistent with, but very essential to, the King's service.

(25) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 524.

(29) Lord Lansdowne's Works.

25) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 273. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 115.

(26) Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 273.

27) Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 115.



(t) Rushworth's  
Collections, Part  
iii. Vol. II.  
p. 712.  
Whitlocke's  
Memorials,  
p. 103.

(u) Rushworth's  
Collections, Part  
iii. Vol. II.  
p. 716.  
Walker's Histo-  
rical Discourses,  
p. 105.

(w) Whitlocke's  
Memorials,  
p. 106.  
Rushworth's  
Collections, Part  
iii. Vol. II.  
p. 713.

came before that town, which he summoned (t), but without effect; and as the then state of his affairs required, or at least was thought to require, his return to Oxford, the care of blocking up that troublesome garrison was again committed to Sir Richard Greenville, with so small a force as five hundred foot and three hundred horse; which inconsiderable body, by his care, vigilance, and interest, grew very soon so numerous as to be esteemed an army. While this was doing, a part of the garrison of Plymouth made an excursion, which it was not in his power to hinder, as they embarked in a dark night, and landing in Cornwall, they made themselves masters of Saltash, Millbrooke, and the fort between those two places. This, however, was an advantage which they did not long enjoy; for Sir Richard marching in person, with a detachment of his best troops, amounting to about seven hundred men, took Saltash by storm, on the eighth of October, with great slaughter, and made a regiment of foot, a troop of horse, and the remains of some other corps, prisoners; who, as they were taken without quarter, he intended to have hanged, yet not without informing the King, who sent him express orders to desist from (u) that resolution. It was about this time that a relation of his, one Mr Greenville, fell into the hands of the Governor of Plymouth, to whom, by a message, he offered either ransom or exchange, but he was so far from gratifying him in this respect, that, under colour of a plot, he caused him to be immediately hanged up (w). When the Parliament condescended, after much sollicitation, to send propositions of peace to the King at Oxford, by Mr William Pierpoint, Mr Denzil Hollis, Mr Whitlocke, and Lord Wenman, which brought on the treaty of Uxbridge, the Parliament excepted Sir Richard Greenville by name, amongst such as were never to expect pardon, and with him were joined Sir Alexander Carew, Sir John Hotham, and his son Colonel Hotham, then in their hands, and destined to the same usage Sir Richard would have met with, had he been in the same situation. It was the knowledge of this disposition of theirs, that induced Lord Roberts to behave in the manner he did, and to shew as little mercy as manners in every transaction of the war, more especially where it had even a distant relation personally to Sir Richard, for then it was all rudeness and rigour. This, and other severities of the same kind, induced Sir Richard to practise something of the like nature; and though, perhaps, this may not be sufficient to justify his conduct, yet assuredly it ought, in some measure, to excuse it; and it cannot but seem strange, to an impartial reader, that the Noble Historian should relate very particularly whatever acts of violence came to his knowledge of this gentleman, without taking notice of the provocations that, in the opinion of Sir Richard Greenville, made them absolutely necessary. How far he might be right or wrong in his sentiments, we pretend not to determine; but the whole truth ought certainly to be spoken, when such actions are related as have an apparent tendency to set the character of a man of such distinction in so disadvantageous a point of light. He has, indeed, at a great distance of time, found as noble an apologist, who with great wit and spirit has vindicated his memory, but, at the same time, has omitted some matters of fact that perhaps might have answered the purpose much better than can be done by the most plausible arguments [H]. The King having a great sense

[H] *Than can be done by the most plausible arguments.* It is a point of great singularity that we are to examine in this note; a point to which we are directed, and in which we are to be governed intirely by the love of truth. This point is a candid enquiry, how far the Noble Historian has done justice to one of the King's generals, who made a great figure in his service, exposed his life freely, and carried the certificate of his courage in a body covered with wounds. The Earl of Clarendon (30), as we have before observed, enters minutely into this gentleman's personal history, in which he is copied, as in most other things, by another historian (31); and, which is not a little singular, there is a third writer, diffident enough of this great man's authority upon all other occasions, who follows him implicitly upon this, and, without the least scruple as to the justice of the character, treats Sir Richard Greenville as a perfect monster (32).

There must have been some reason why the Noble Author took such peculiar pains about this gentleman and his concerns; and what that reason was, the reader shall learn from his own words (33). 'This so large excursion upon a private person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animosity against the memory of a man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's service; but they who know the occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the Prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and prevailed with some good men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the council then about the Prince had

' some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a man's original nature, manners, and disposition should be manifest and clearly understood.'

For the very reasons here assigned, the Noble Historian ought to have been remarkably circumspect in what he delivered of this gentleman, since he seems to profess that the chief cause of entering into his character, was to shew that he could separate his private resentments, and speak calmly and candidly even of a person whom he had reason to consider as his enemy; for if this had not been his design, his lordship had much better have left Sir Richard Greenville, and his private character at least, to be celebrated by some other pen. We will now proceed to some matters of fact. Speaking of the blockade of Plymouth, he says (34), 'The Earl of Essex had left the Lord Roberts governor in that town, a man of a sour and furlly nature, a great opiniatre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The King finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution, and marched away, having committed the blocking up of Plymouth to Sir Richard Greenville, a man who had been bred a soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises, having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas, if such conditions might be performed to him; all which were punctually complied with, whilst he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town, beginning his war first upon his wife, who had been

(30) Clarendon's  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
IV. p. 535, 536.

(31) Archdeacon  
Echard, in  
his History of  
England.

(32) Oldmixon's  
History of the  
Stuarts, Vol. I.  
p. 259.

(33) Clarendon's  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
IV. p. 539.

(34) Clarendon  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
IV. p. 534.



sense of Sir Richard's services, and being also persuaded of his abilities to render him still greater, from his superior knowledge of that country, his great capacity, and the credit of his

' been long in possession of her own fortune, by virtue of a decree in Chancery, many years before the troubles, and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates who were in the service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the first message between the Lord Roberts and him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never civility or quarter observed between them, but such as were taken on either side were put to the sword; or, which was worse, to the halter.'

We have in the text shewn how this matter happened; but it will be proper to give the words of the noble vindicator, who, in examining this charge against his relation, delivers himself thus (35): ' If the Chancellor had been so good as to have explained the nature and occasion of that message, with all its circumstances, Sir Richard would have been fully acquitted of the consequences. The fact was as follows :

' Sir Richard commanded at that time the blockade at Plymouth; the Lord Roberts was Governor; a man, says the historian, of a four furlly nature, &c. It happened in some skirmish where prisoners were taken on both sides, a young gentleman of about sixteen years of age, near kinsman to Sir Richard, and of his own name, fell into the enemy's hand. Sir Richard, by a civil message, reclaimed him as his kinsman, offering any terms by ransom or exchange: the governor ordered him in the instant to be hanged up at the gates of the town, in sight of the messenger, without other reply.

' After an execution so cruel, so inhuman, and of so exasperating a nature, what could follow but the utmost returns of vengeance?

' These are cases not to be found in Coke upon Littleton; the appeal must be to military judges.'

The author who wrote *Reflections upon Lord Lansdowne's Vindication*, thinks it highly probable that this Mr Greenville was above sixteen years of age, that he was not taken prisoner in a sally, or, if he was a prisoner, that he broke the law of arms, and acted like a spy, by which he lost all title to ransom; in virtue of which conjectures he pronounces, that all Sir Richard Greenville's revenges were so many murders. The noble vindicator, in his Reply, says, That he was told by them who knew him, that he was a young man: so that here is some degree of testimony against the reflector's notions.

Mr Whitlocke gives us this account of the matter (36): ' One Greenville, a kinsman of Sir Richard Greenville, was persuaded into a plot to betray Plymouth to Sir Richard; but the plot was discovered, and Mr Greenville executed. His being a kinsman of Sir Richard, and the word persuaded, are not favourable by any means to the conjecture. We are elsewhere told what this plot was, viz. Mr Greenville was accused of offering Colonel Serle three thousand pounds for delivering up the place (37.)

The next charge against Sir Richard Greenville, in the Noble Historian's words runs thus (38): ' One day he made a visit from his house, which he called his own, to the Colonel (Digby) and dined with him, and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the garrison, in their usual excursions, might meet with him. In his return home, he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with burthens of wood upon their back, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him; and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest, which, to save his own life, he was contented to do; so strong his appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed to in Ireland, without any kind of commission, or pretence of authority.'

Lord Lansdowne recapitulates this story thus (39): ' He himself (that is Sir Richard) surprizes some troopers in the very act of pillaging and plundering the country, and orders them upon the spot to be hanged; nay, he makes them hang one another. How could rogues be better employed?' This may seem a little

too ludicrous, and no suitable answer to the accusation; but what follows from Rushworth may, perhaps, appear somewhat more to the purpose (40).

' On the 11th of July, 1644, Colonel O Brian (brother to the Lord Inchiquin, and in the King's service) sent out a party of two hundred and forty horse and foot, from Wareham to Dorchester, who faced the town several hours; but the inhabitants stood upon their guard, and sent to the Parliament garrisons at Adderbury and Weymouth for relief; whereupon Colonel Sydenham, Major Sydenham, and other forces, hastened thither, put them to flight, and pursued them almost to Wareham, slew twelve, and took sixty horses, and one hundred and sixty prisoners; whereof eight being natural Irish, seven of them were immediately hanged, and the other spared for doing execution on his fellows.'

We will make no comments upon this, but proceed to a third and last instance of the Noble Historian's inclination to point out this gentleman's enormities; and his own Preface will shew, that he really had such an inclination (41). ' There hath been, says he, too much said already to discover the nature and the temper of this gentleman, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars with which the Prince was troubled almost in all places, and which exceedingly disordered the whole business of Devon and Cornwall, and indeed thereby, the whole West. There was one particular that made a great noise in the country: shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plymouth, upon the hurt of Mr Digby, one Brabant, an attorney at law, who had heretofore solicited the great suit against Sir Richard in the Star-Chamber, on the behalf of his wife and the Earl of Suffolk, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the King's service, knowing it seems the nature of the gentleman, resolved not to venture himself within the precincts where he commanded, and, therefore, intended to go to some more secure quarter, but was taken in his journey, having a mountero on his head. Sir Richard Greenville had laid wait to apprehend him, and he likewise had concealed his name; but being now brought before Sir Richard, was immediately, by his own direction, without any council of war, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a spy; which seemed so strange and incredible, that one of the council asked him whether it was true? and he answered, very unconcernedly, Yes, he had hanged him, for he was a traitor, and against the King; and that he had taken a brother of his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had suffered him to be exchanged. He said he knew the country talked that he hanged him for revenge, because he had solicited a cause against him, but that was not the cause; though having played the knave with him, he said smiling, he was well content to find a just occasion to punish him.'

Lord Lansdowne's answer is again too ludicrous, upon so very serious a subject (42). ' A spy, says he, is discovered disguised in his quarters: he commanded him to be hanged: from whence may be concluded his disrespect to the professors of the Law, the fellow being a country attorney; an honest man to be sure by his profession.' All the evidence we have in this matter comes from one side, with this additional circumstance, that it pretends to report at once all that was or could be said on the other, and yet this is not very fairly done; for Brabant was not only concerned for the Earl of Suffolk and Lady Greenville, against Sir Richard, in the great cause in the Star-Chamber, but he gave evidence likewise, and therefore it is probable that the grudge, if any, did not arise so much from soliciting, for that any man might have done, and some must have done, as from the swearing, which certainly was not necessary, and, if Sir Richard is to be believed, was not true. If we take his answer as the Noble Historian reports it, we must take it altogether, and then it will prove nothing, for Sir Richard clearly affirms, that he was hanged for being a spy; and if the ordinances of the

(40) Rushworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 656.

(41) History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 668.

(42) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 205.

(35) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 194, 195.

(36) Memorials of English Affairs, p. 106.

(37) Rushworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. II. p. 713.

(38) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 538.

(39) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 205.



(\*) Coffin's List  
of the Sheriffs of  
the County of  
Devon, p. 1.

his family, made him Sheriff of the county of Devon, and granted him the estates of several persons of great distinction, who were in arms against him, in sequestration; which employment and grants enabled him to keep up a great body of troops, to pay them regularly, and to maintain a very strict discipline, as it is on all hands allowed he did (\*). But, at the same time, it excited against him a very strong spirit of envy, and, which is very singular, his affecting great order, taking care of the estates committed to his charge, and keeping up a form of government, both civil and military, with much exactness, while nothing of the like nature appeared elsewhere, subjected him to reproach, and gave a colour of objecting to him as crimes, actions which he thought himself intitled, and even obliged to do, in discharge of his duty [1]. It was a great misfortune to the King's affairs,

(43) Rushworth's Collections, Part iii.  
Vol. II. p. 369.

(44) Lord Lansdowne's Works,  
Vol. II. p. 208.

Parliament upon that head had been rules to Sir Richard, as they might be, though he did not acknowledge their authority, his conduct might be justified. Mr Brabant was taken returning out of the King's quarters, in an unusual dress, and denied his name; it was from thence inferred that he was carrying intelligence. The case was hard, but there were many hard cases in those times. Mr Daniel Kniveton (43), one of the King's sworn messengers, charged with a message to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, from his Majesty, was hanged at the Royal Exchange of London, for delivering it. The noble vindicator reasons very justly, when he says (44), 'When an officer has to do with an enemy who scruples at no violence, who pillages and plunders, and hangs and draws and quarters, without quarter, what has he to do but to deal with him in his own way? If violence is practised on one side, and lenity allowed on the other, the multitude will desert where they are surest of safety.' All that we have cited, and all that we have said, is submitted to the reader's judgment; and we beg leave only to add, that it is something very singular, all circumstances considered, that so many charges of severity, oppression, and cruelty, should be brought against this gentleman by the Noble Historian, and not one of them occur in Whitlocke or in Rushworth.

[1] And even obliged to do, in discharge of his duty.] The great and heavy charges against this gentleman are solely brought by the Earl of Clarendon; for as to what is said by others, they are only transcribed from him. Let us hear then what he says (45): 'Before the King left the country, he granted him the sequestration of all the estate of the Earl of Bedford in Devonshire, all the estate of Sir Francis Drake, by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter whilst he blocked up Plymouth and Warrington by Launceston in Devon, and the Lord Roberts his estate in Cornwall; all which, and his wife's estate, he enjoyed by the sequestration granted from his Majesty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For besides that he suffered no part of these estates to pay contribution, whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents; he kept very much ground about all the houses in his own hands, which he stocked with such cattle as he took from delinquents; for though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet he was in truth himself the greatest plunderer of this war; for whenever any person had disobeyed or neglected any of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear at the Posse, which he summoned very frequently after he was Sheriff of Devon, and for no other end but the penalty of defaulters, he sent presently a party of horse to apprehend their persons, and to drive their grounds. If the persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their stock, to redeem their persons. For the better disposing them thereto, he would now and then hang a constable, or some other fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty; and if, out of the terror of this kind of justice, men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their stock, which was from thence quietly enjoyed: so that he had a greater stock of cattle of all sorts upon his grounds, than any person whatsoever in the west of England. Besides this, the ordering of delinquents' estates in those parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of these sequestrations he seized upon all the stock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion.

'By these, and such-like means, he had not only a vast stock, but received great sums of money, and had as great store of good household-stuff as would furnish well those houses he looked upon as his own. This was his own estate, upon which he said he had maintained himself without any allowance from the King; which I am confident, besides what he got by his contributions, which would always pay double the men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other arts and extortions of several kinds, was more and more worth in money to him, than his Majesty bestowed upon all his general commanders of armies, and upon all his officers of state, since the beginning of the rebellion to that time.'

There are many points in this charge, as the noble vindicator truly observes, that, upon the very face of them, are no crimes; many others that will appear in the same light, when truly represented, and most of the rest either founded in suspicion, or roundly affirmed, because it is impossible they should be disproved. If the King granted his wife's estate by way of sequestration, he certainly did him no more than bare justice, considering the hardships he had suffered, and the manner in which it was taken from him. As to the estates of delinquents, while in his hands by the King's grant, he might well enough call them his own, to distinguish them from the contributions levied upon the country. Besides, the King might very well do this, as the Parliament did it in respect to all such as continued in their duty to his Majesty. It is a shrewd remark of the noble vindicator, That those in arms against the King are upon all other occasions very roundly called Rebels; whereas, in the present case, the Noble Historian makes use of the Parliament's own word, Delinquents. Thus far as to the estates he held in his hands; now as to the money raised by other means.

If we allow Sir Richard Greenville to be the greatest oppressor and greatest plunderer of the whole war, we must also allow him, upon the same evidence, to have been the most wonderful oppressor, the most public-spirited plunderer, that ever existed; for in his character of oppressor, we are told the people paid very willingly, for he qualified the matter so prudently, that they found their account in it. He summoned the force of the county very often, because, as their occasions required, he very often suffered his men to return home, which, if he had not done, their families must have starved. It is confessed, that from other Generals they continually deserted, and yet those Generals were very indulgent: but this strict, this severe Sir Richard Greenville, could draw together even these deserters at his pleasure, and keep them together likewise as long as he wanted them; from whence they were intitled Greenville's reformades. What could be the reason of all this? When they were under the command of Sir Richard Greenville they were regularly paid. One charge against him is, the insolence of his answer when they would have left him his command, and taken away his contributions: he said, He neither could nor would be at the head of an army who were not punctually paid. In consequence of this, his soldiers never plundered; this his enemies allow, and say that he was beloved and respected by the country for that reason. But then, say they, he plundered enough for himself and them too.

We have seen that his house was taken by storm, by the troops of the Earl of Essex, and we know what the sum was they found in it, which certainly did not amount to a month's pay of his army; so that this must be esteemed an indifferent proof. After his exile abroad, and of his own motive, he supplied the King's garrisons

(45) History of the Rebellion,  
Vol. IV.  
p. 673, 674.



affairs, that he had withdrawn the Lord Hopton, to whom he had given the title of Field-Marshal of the West, and who was a person of calm courage, equally fit for the council and the field; and who, while he held the command there, had been always successful: but it was a much greater oversight to make General Goring, now, by the creation of his father, Earl of Norwich, become Lord Goring, General of the horse, at the expence of Lord Wilmot, who was not only deprived of his command, but obliged to leave the kingdom. All this, but more particularly the sending back Lord Goring to command in the West, was attributed to Prince Rupert, who, hating and fearing that Lord, resolved to remove him from the King's person, and therefore sent him into the West, where, having no interest or alliances, he was from the beginning disliked, and, for his dissolute life, and the great licence he allowed his troops, in a very little time universally hated (y). This Lord was very desirous of having Sir Richard Greenville and his foot under his command, which Sir Richard, foreseeing they should not agree, declined, at least till Taunton should be taken, which was a thing of consequence, and in which he had embarked. The Noble Historian thinks he made no great haste in the execution of that enterprize; and yet one would think he was pretty much in earnest, since, in giving orders for the attack of Colonel Popham's house at Wellington, towards the middle of April, 1645, he exposed himself so much, that he received a shot in the thigh, which at first was believed to be mortal, and by which he was for some time disabled (z). Another circumstance, very unfavourable to the King's affairs in the West, was the sending thither the Prince of Wales, who was too young to command himself, and assigning him a council who were far from being popular. Amongst these, Sir Edward Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, had a great authority, which he exerted in controuling the advices of the King's Generals, who could never be brought to understand that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Master of the Rolls were fit persons to direct an army: Lord Goring made very high demands; Sir Richard Greenville was also dissatisfied; the council sometimes played them against each other, in order to which, a commission of Field-Marshal was sent to Sir Richard, who acted under it for a short space, but finding great inconveniences arise resigned it (a). For this, and for some other actions of a like nature, he was sent for before the council, who upbraided him with the King's favours, reprimanded him, and ordered him to retire to his house as a private man. He submitted with great humility, and remained in that situation a fortnight, 'till they were obliged to employ him again, the troops refusing to serve if he did not command them (b). New disputes quickly arose, Sir Richard came in person to wait upon the Prince at Truro, where, he freely represented to him the situation of his affairs, and the necessity there was of providing for the safety of the West, Lord Goring having deserted his army, his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-General Porter, gone over to the enemy, and Lord Wentworth, who now commanded the horse, terrible to the King's subjects, and contemned by the Parliament forces. One of the things he proposed was to draw a line from Barnstaple to the sea, forty miles in extent, by which he thought all Cornwall and part of Devonshire might be defended against any force that could be brought to attack them (c). This the Noble Historian looks upon as a mark of his being out of his senses, and is equally displeased with another piece of advice which Sir Richard likewise gave the Prince of Wales, that his Highness should send to the Parliament for a treaty, and should offer, if he might enjoy the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall, and they would not advance to disturb him in that county, that then he would not attempt any thing upon them, but that they should enjoy the freedom of all their ports in Cornwall for trade, without any disturbance by his Majesty's ships (d). This was also rejected as unworthy of the Prince, because undutiful to the King; but it is plain enough from both these overtures, that Sir Richard Greenville thought the King's affairs desperate, considering the hands in which they were, and those of the Prince in the high road of becoming so too, which he was willing to prevent, and at the same time to provide for the security of the county, as believing probably, that if the Prince of Wales was left quietly in his own duchy of Cornwall, more open than any part of the kingdom to foreign assistance, he might quickly gather so great a strength as to run no risk of being dispossessed, and in time become such a check upon the Parliament, as might hinder them from attempting any thing against the King's person, whatever

(y) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 641, 643. Vindication of Sir Richard Greenville, p. 210.

(z) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 143.

(a) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 211, 214. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 672.

(b) Ibid. p. 677, 684.

(c) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 216.

(d) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 704. Lord Lansdowne's Works.

garrisons out of what he had left, made a handsome present to the Duke of York, lived privately, and died poor. Was there ever such a plunderer as this? he lived handsomely, while in command kept all things in good order, and formed schemes for preserving Cornwall, and Devon, when all the rest of the King's dominions were lost. His projects were rejected and contemned, in consequence of which Cornwall was lost too. He was a man austere in his behaviour, maintained a severe discipline, judged without law, and punished without mercy. He was therefore hated by his soldiers, who thought his being removed and confined, a deliverance. Not so neither. He was so much respected and beloved by them, that they would serve under no

body else! The very country-people too, whom he had oppressed and plundered without mercy, lost all patience upon his ill usage, and addresses came from every quarter to demand that he should be restored to liberty and power! Many of the Prince's Council were displeased with his treatment; and many who were nearest his Royal Highness's person had such a regard for the Knight, that they were wanting in duty to the Prince! Is this intelligible? Is this consistent? Be this as it will, the evidence is precisely the same; the Noble Historian who brings the charge, and who advised his commitment, acknowledges, that these were its effects. But we shall see much more of this in the next note.



(e) Sir Richard  
Greenville's Vin-  
dication.

whatever they might do with regard to his authority (e). But notwithstanding the ill reception this advice met with, and the indifferent opinion Sir Richard had of the Prince's counsellors and commanders, he continued to serve 'till all things fell into confusion by the want of conduct in others, and the Prince found it unsafe for him to remain at Tavistock, which Sir Richard had foreseen, and upon his Royal Highness's retreat to Launceston, the care of the retreat, and the removing all that could be saved from Tavistock, was committed to Sir Richard Greenville. The Noble Historian informs us, that he performed this but very indifferently, which is highly probable; for the very next day, he represented, by letter to his Royal Highness, the impossibility of keeping that army together, or fighting with it in the condition it was then in; told him, that he had the night before sent directions to Major-General Harris to guard such a bridge, but that he returned him word that he would receive orders from none but General Digby; that General Digby said, that he would receive orders from none but his Highness; that a party of the Lord Wentworth's horse had the same night come into his quarters, where his troop of guards and his firelocks were; that neither submitting to the command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three men had been killed; that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against another; that it was absolutely necessary his Highness should constitute one superior officer, from whom all those independent officers might receive orders, without which it would not be possible for that army to be kept together, or do service; that, for his own part, he knew his severity and discipline had rendered him so odious to the Lord Goring's horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the enemy, than receive orders from him, therefore he desired his Highness to constitute the Earl of Brentford or the Lord Hopton to command in chief, and then he hoped some good might be done against the enemy (f). The Prince received this letter kindly, wrote Sir Richard Greenville a letter of thanks, and, in the beginning of the year 1645, declared Lord Hopton General of the army, and appointed Lord Wentworth to command the horse in chief, and Sir Richard Greenville the foot; but Sir Richard desired to be excused, alledging that he was become infirm, and that he could do more service by drawing together such as had quitted the army, and providing for the interior safety of the county (g). This was so ill taken, that, by the advice of his council, the Prince sent for Sir Richard, and after a sharp expostulation committed him prisoner, first to Launceston, and then sent him to the Mount, where his confinement lasted as long as those that committed him had power to confine him (b) [K]. They were equally disappointed in Lord Wentworth, who being

(f) Clarendon's  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
IV. p. 724,  
725, 726.

(g) Memoirs of  
Sir Richard Bul-  
strode, p. 152.  
Clarendon's Hi-  
story of the Re-  
bellion.

(b) Memoirs of  
Sir Richard Bul-  
strode, p. 152,  
153.  
Lord Lanf-  
downe's Works,  
Vol. II. p. 217  
—220.

(46) Lord Lanf-  
downe's Works,  
Vol. II. p. 217  
—222.

[K] Had power to confine him.] What is said in the text, we have taken entirely from the Noble Historian; we will here, in his own words, give the Noble Vindicator's explanation (46). 'He says, that the disorders in the army daily increasing, Sir Richard, at last fairly and honestly represents in a letter to the Prince, the impossibility of doing any thing with an army so distracted by different and contradictory orders: and recommends a more absolute command to be given to some person whom all would obey, and names the Lord Hopton, who had formerly commanded with great glory and success: he excepts against himself, upon the account of that severity and discipline in which he always kept his men, which might make him disagreeable to that part of the army which had been accustomed to such licence as he never could overlook, &c.

'This advice was readily taken, and he received thanks for it; but it was pursued in such a manner as gave a finishing stroke to all hope, where alone any hope was left.

'The Lord Hopton was immediately declared General; and Sir Richard, without advising with him how far it might be agreeable to his intentions, or hearing what in all probability he might have to offer in relation to himself, was at the same time declared one of the Lieutenant-Generals under him.

'It could not be reasonably imagined, that by proposing to quit the chief command, his design could be to obey in an inferior post in the same army. But, says the Chancellor, this command was superior to what he had before. Strange logic, that part should be more than the whole! the Lieutenant greater than the Captain! But it was plain he had some underhand drift. Well, what was that drift? Why, to stay behind and provide for the security of Cornwall: was Cornwall not worth preserving? O! but there was a discontented party there, and he would have put himself at the head of it. Stranger, and stranger still. A discontented party, where all were known to be professed Royalists! There was,

indeed a strong party discontented with the measures of the Council; but let no man flatter himself, be his power never so great, that it can ever be a doctrine received among Englishmen, That to be dissatisfied with the Minister, implies disaffection to the Prince. In short, the Chancellor's real apprehension appears to have been, That if once he had quitted Cornwall, and Sir Richard had remained behind, he would have shut the door against his return: this was a personal fear, and therefore Sir Richard was to be pinned down to this peremptory command, or nothing. He was not to be trusted out of sight.

'Here it is, that the Lord Hopton is so highly magnified for a speech he is said to have made upon accepting this command.—That, whereas, it was become a custom for others to excuse their disobedience, by pretences of honour; for his part, tho' he could not obey at this time without resolving to lose his honour, he was ready to obey, with the loss of his honour.

'This speech was surely meant rather as a reproach to every body else, than an encomium upon this gallant Lord, and seems to be a mere historical flourish. If he had been commanded, like Sir Richard, to descend from the chief post, to obey in an inferior one; submission in that case, might very properly have been called obedience, with loss of honour.—But, on the contrary, he was appointed to the supreme command, which, sure, was an honour: if any hazard appeared in the execution, the more difficult the task the greater the glory. By military skill, under extreme disadvantages, as much honour is to be gained as in compleat victories. No General, sure, ever excused accepting a command upon pretence of danger in the execution. In what then consisted this indubitable loss of honour, for which the Noble, and the Reverend, Historian, so highly extol this implicit obedience? neither was there at that time any occasion for such a speech, the case was far from being desperate: it was soon made so, indeed, by the violence used to Sir Richard.

'In



ing a very haughty man, it was thought he would resign; but he kept his command, and behaved as indifferently in it as ever; so that soon after Lord Hopton's forces were routed, and all power of resistance in the West failed (i). It is a strange account that the Noble Historian gives of the consequences attending Sir Richard's misfortune. He has represented him as a man of such haughtiness as rendered him distasteful to his superiors, and impracticable with regard to his equals, at the same time that his severity made him terrible to his inferiors, and his oppressions odious to all people. Yet, says he, notwithstanding all this, he was no sooner committed by the Prince, than even those who had complained of him as much as any, expressed great trouble; and many officers of those forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner petitioned for his release; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against Sir Richard Greenville, in which none were more forward than some of the Prince's own household-servants, who were so tender of him that they forgot their duty to their master (k) [L]. In less than two months time after the commitment

(i) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 711, 730. The Civil Wars in England and Ireland, p. 1-8. Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, p. 202.

A Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 729. Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 221, 222.

of

' In short, Sir Richard persisting to excuse himself from being thus commanded, is put under arrest as the Lord Wilmot had been the year before, and committed, with all the public marks of indignation and disgrace that could possibly be imagined, a close prisoner in the common county-goal at Launceston, among pick-pockets and highwaymen, and in that condition remained till the fate of the West was totally decided.

' I must not forget one circumstance, when he was thus ignominiously put under arrest.

' Colonel Roscarrock, an officer of distinction, rode hastily up to him, and whispered him not to submit to so unjust a sentence: he was sure of the resentment of the troops, they would stand by him, and follow wherever he would lead. He severely reproved him, enjoining a strict obedience to the commands of the Prince, to which, whatever might be his fate, he was resolved to submit in every thing that was consistent with his honour: and in this he required all, who had any regard for him, to follow his example.

' This particular I had from Roscarrock's own mouth, who lived to have a government conferred upon him in Ireland after the Restoration, and did not die till towards or after the Revolution.

' I think this speech was full as good as that ascribed to the Lord Hopton; and as far from any spirit of disobedience: he not only obeyed with entire resignation, but sacrificed, at the same time, the two strongest passions of human nature, self-preservation and revenge.

' It was necessary for the Chancellor to find some public justifiable reason for so extraordinary a step: a *fi quis*, therefore a proclamation was published, inviting and encouraging all manner of persons to appear and give evidence of their grievances, during this arbitrary general's command. If there had been any in reality, well grounded or supportable, it is natural to believe, complainants would not have been wanting against a man so disgraced, that to accuse him was making their court: now, or never, was the time for all the murder and plunder to come out. But, to the Chancellor's infinite surprize, not one mortal appeared.

' On the contrary, the whole country took offence, the very persons who were said to have clamoured so much against him, appeared to clamour as much for him; the soldiers murmured, the officers of the army went tumultuously in a body to demand his release, all the members of the council itself, except the Chancellor's particular adherents, disowned the advice, and almost all the Prince's own household-servants, as the Chancellor styles them, openly declared their dislike.

' This disappointment was too sensible for the Chancellor to contain himself in the account he gives of it: *They were more tender of Sir Richard, says he, than of their duty to their master.* A cruel and unnatural reflection upon so many persons of honour, who had devoted their lives and fortunes to the King, and could have no other interest but their master's! Such general exclamations from every quarter, could be founded upon no other motive, but a foresight of the evil consequences of so unjust and violent a proceeding: neither could there be a greater proof of the in-

nocence and merit of the person thus ill treated, nor a fuller answer to all that the Chancellor has mustered up to alledge against him, than so public, so voluntary, and so unanimous an appearance in his defence.

' This is confessed by the Chancellor: but then he cries out—*Who would have thought it?*

There is nothing need, there is nothing can, be added to this Lord's clear and very curious account of the manner of Sir Richard Greenville's quitting the command, and the consequences it produced; he writes indeed with the warmth of a relation, but then he reasons very conclusively, and from facts that have not been, or indeed ever can be, controverted.

[L] *That they forgot their duty to their master* ] We have hinted already more than once, but in this note we will clearly declare, our motives for setting forth the memoirs of this gentleman's whole life, in so copious, and, at the same time, in so critical a manner. They are no other, than an earnest desire to throw light on a very important and very controverted point of the history of these times. (We have, in the former article, shewn that the West of England, and more especially Cornwall, were the parts of the King's dominions best affected to him, and where his interest was most entire; which has been very justly and very judiciously attributed, to the attachment of the middle as well as the lower sort of people to the gentry of old families and large estates; and these being unanimously loyal, gave the King the great weight he had in those parts (47). It is no wonder therefore, that immediately after those dreadful times, it became a question so much agitated, How the West came to be lost? It so fell out, that the Noble Historian found himself obliged to treat this matter very particularly, as being a thing in which he had an immediate concern, the rather, because at the time it happened, there were a great number, and amongst them some very wise and worthy persons, who suggested the true source of the sudden and sad turn of the King's affairs in the West, to be the wrong measures taken by those in whom he principally confided; to his preferring soldiers of fortune, and who had no interests in the country, to those gentlemen of birth and estates, who had served him so faithfully and so successfully in the beginning of the war; to the licentiousness of the forces which they commanded, who behaved as if they had been in an enemy's country, and who, imitating the dissolute behaviour of their generals, became very soon equally dreadful to their friends, and contemptible to their enemies; and above all, to the departure from the original scheme of sending the Prince of Wales thither, as to his own duchy, where he ought to have been assisted by a council who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and had a great influence in it, or who at least would have heard and taken the advice of such as were. The council the Prince had about him was in a great measure composed of able and worthy men; but it is alledged, that it differed from all other councils, in having its resolutions governed by the minority, through their superior interest with the King, whose letters converted opinions, that would otherwise have been rejected, into orders that were not to be disobeyed. The Earl of Berkshire, who was the Prince's governor, and ought naturally to have been at the head of the council, was shut out of all secrets; and all who were in his sentiments had the like fate. These sentiments were no other,

(47) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217.



(l) Sir Richard Greenville's Vin-dication. Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(m) Sir Edward Walker's Account of the Treaty at Newport in the Isle of Wight, p. 57.

(n) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 473.

(o) Sir Richard Greenville's Vin-dication.

of Sir Richard, the Prince of Wales finding his power gone, and his person in danger, thought it high time to retire, as he did on the second of March, from Pendennis castle to the islands of Scilly; and the very next day Sir Richard Greenville embarked on board a vessel for France, from whence he made a tour to Italy, and then returned to Flanders (l). We have no where any distinct account of the motives of Sir Richard's journey, only it may be presumed that they were not altogether for amusement or pleasure. As for the Parliament, even the most moderate and best inclined amongst them, who consented to a treaty with the King in the isle of Wight, still preserved so strong a resentment against him, that, in their proposition, dated October 13, 1648. they inserted Sir Richard Greenville's name in the first branch of delinquents, who were to expect no pardon (m). In all probability this did not much surprize him, though it might quicken his endeavours to procure some means of returning with a competent force into Cornwall. His having served so long abroad made him known to some of the most eminent persons in almost every court in Europe; and as the transactions in England were at that time the principal topic of discourse in all places, Sir Richard Greenville was particularly welcome, as a person of all others the most capable of giving a clear and credible account of the whole transactions of the war, and of the real and secret motives of the dismal consequences that had followed it. Sir Richard improved this kind of correspondence as much as possible for the King's service, both by writings and discourses; laboured the probability of King Charles the second's being replaced on the throne of his ancestors, with a small share of assistance from foreign Princes and States (n). These representations of his had so good an effect, that the King, who was now more able to judge for himself, and who was free from those counsellors who had conceived personal prejudices against Sir Richard, and the nature of his affairs requiring also the advices of a man of a military genius, his Majesty, from Jersey where he then was, wrote to Sir Richard to meet him in France, as he accordingly did at Beauvais, where his Majesty conferred with him in his way to Breda, where he was then going to meet the commissioners from Scotland; from which expedition however he was dissuaded by Sir Richard Greenville; but, in obedience to the King's orders, he remained in Bretagne, and for the most part at St Maloes, that he might be ready upon any occasion to do what service he was able (o). As a clear and convincing proof of his invariable loyalty, he not only sent cloaths, money, and provisions, to the garrison in the Sorlinges, but provided in the like manner for the garrison in Guernsey-Castle, and sent a very reasonable and handsome present to the Duke of York, whose affairs were in very great disorder, and to whom it was highly acceptable [M]. After the total defeat of the King's army at Worcester,

other, than that Lord Goring, who commanded in the West, should march with his troops into those counties, where he had a real interest, and where, if his troops could have established themselves, they might have rendered the war burthenfome to the King's enemies, by living, as they ought to have done, at their expence; that Cornwall and the West should be defended by it's inhabitants, under generals chosen from amongst themselves; that all possible means should have been taken to fortify the country, from it's situation very defensible, and the entrance of the enemy disputed at every pass; that the ports should be kept open for such succours as might be obtained from abroad, and that the Prince should put his honour and his cause on maintaining his own duchy, to which he had a clear, hereditary, and indisputable right. It is however alledged, that the Master of the Rolls, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and their dependants, were in very different sentiments; and that they compelled the Prince, against his own opinion, and by the authority of his father, to act solely under their directions; that they assumed the power of Dutch deputies, were for controuling the opinions, and reconsidering the resolutions of councils of war; that they were for new modelling every thing according to their own notions, without respecting the King's grants, or the manner in which things had been settled, while the war had been carried on prosperously with little assistance from the King's armies elsewhere; that upon the first checks, occasioned solely by ill management, instead of altering their measures, they fell into despair; that they proposed early the Prince's flight into France, concealed it from the Earl of Berkshire, and executed it at last against his consent; that the true secret of imprisoning Sir Richard Greenville, was to prevent his making an attempt to preserve Cornwall, which, to the very last, he thought practicable, and, if he had been at liberty, would either have performed it or perished. It is to refute these assertions, and to justify the Prince's conduct under his own and his friends direction, that the Noble Historian has laboured this book so much more than any other

part of his work. This gives the true key to the bad character of Sir Richard Greenville, the weak one of Colonel Wyndham, and the suggesting that the Earl of Berkshire had no character or interest at all. But in those times it was alledged, that events did not justify the wisdom of these councils, that some strong places in Cornwall, that the islands of Scilly, of Guernsey, and of Jersey, held out long; that if the Prince had been in Cornwall, and that dutchy preserved, when the fleet returned to their duty, the parliament garrisons revolted in Wales, the bold insurrection made in Essex, and the Scots, reflecting on their own dishonour in parting with, had declared again for the King, affairs might once more have taken a new turn; and that after all, we shall find Sir Richard Greenville and his friends were unalterable in their affections to the King and his family; and that such of them as survived, were very instrumental, at the hazard of their lives, having lost their fortunes before, in bringing about the Restoration.

[M] *And to whom it was highly acceptable.* This epistle will sufficiently convince the reader, that notwithstanding all the ill usage he had met with, Sir Richard preserved a sincere affection for his country; a noble zeal for the cause in which he was embarked, and all possible respect for the Royal family, at the same time he made no difficulty of declaring whom he took for his capital enemy (48).

' May it please your Royal Highness,

' Hearing your Highness is under some straits at  
' Jersey, since his Majesty left you there, I have pre-  
' sumed, out of my great zeal for your Highness's ser-  
' vice, by the assistance of an honest loyal merchant  
' here in St Malo's, Mr John Richards, to make your  
' Highness a present of six hundred pounds; which I  
' humbly present by the bearer Major Madren, a Cor-  
' nish gentleman, who was Major to my regiment,  
' when I had the honour to be his Majesty's General  
' in the West.

(48) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 226, 227, 228, 229.

' He



Worcester, and his Majesty's return into France, there were great intrigues at his court, tho' it was very far from being numerous; and those who at that time were in the possession of the Government in England, were likewise very desirous of gaining at any price exact intelligence of what was doing there, and with whom the King held correspondence in his own dominions (p). The desire of knowing, and the power of rewarding, filled very naturally a necessitous court with false friends, who betrayed whatever they could learn; and the courtiers, eager and ambitious even of nominal places, endeavoured to serve their respective purposes, by imputing these perfidious practices, the consequences of which were apparent, and therefore undeniable, one to another; so that if the King listened implicitly to any, he could not help hearing that all about his person were traitors (q). Amongst the rest, one Mr Robert Long, who had acted as Secretary of State, was removed from his office, and the seals given to Sir Edward Hyde; upon some such suspicions Colonel Wyndham, of whose integrity the King was sure, and of whose capacity he had a good opinion, was disappointed of the post of Secretary, which he expected; and many others of less quality were in the like situation, and being moved, partly by resentment, partly by ambition, and not a little from envy, at seeing the King's confidence wholly engrossed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they began to place all miscarriages to his account, alledging, that he held a close correspondence with Cromwell, and rising by degrees, as is common in such cases, at length suggested, that he had privately made a tour to England, and had been actually seen in conference with him (r). These stories coming to the ears of Sir Richard Greenville, who thought himself hated, and conceived himself injured, by Sir Edward Hyde, in neither of which perhaps he was mistaken; he thought it his duty to inform the King, as he did by letter in the month of August 1653, but affirmed nothing of his own knowledge, and desired only, that for the King's honour, and the safety of such as were daily hazarding their lives in his service, the matter might be enquired into. This application, though at some distance of time, had it's effect; an enquiry was accordingly made, which produced a declaration in council, entirely in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as prejudicial as might be to his accusers (s) [N]. The Chancellor of the Exchequer,

(p) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 563—569.  
Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 288.

(q) See the Intelligence given by Bamphile, Manning, Willis, &c. in Thurloe's Correspondence.

(r) Sir Richard Greenville's Vindication.

(s) See the Order in the Note.

' He will farther acquaint your Highness, that I have likewise, out of my small stock, sent a relief of cloaths for the soldiers, and provisions to Colonel Hodge Burges, at Guernsey castle, which will enable him to defend that place the longer against the rebels in the island.

' These voluntary services, I hope, will preserve me in your Highness's good opinion, notwithstanding I have so powerful an enemy as Sir Edward Hyde, to misrepresent my actions and loyalty to the King, to whose service, and to your Royal Highness's I shall be always devoted with great sincerity.

' Presuming therefore upon my duty to your Highness, I must beseech you to admit me to make an humble petition on behalf of a nephew, my godson, now with me, second son to my brother Sir Bevil Greenville, who was slain at Lansdowne; That your Highness would be pleased to receive him into your family and service, near your person: his education has been, since he left his brother in Scilly, at an academy in Angers; and, I find his inclinations lead him to venture his life, and run his fortune in the immediate service of your Highness. Wherefore, I will be answerable for him, and support him, if your Highness will please to accept of his service; beseeching your Highness to believe me, with the utmost submission and duty,

' May it please your Royal Highness,

' Your Royal Highness's most obedient,

' and most dutiful servant,

' Richard Greenville.'

The Duke's Answer.

' Sir Richard Greenville,

' I have received from the hands of Major Madren, the six hundred pounds you have most seasonably supplied me with in this place; the want of money having detained me here ever since the King went to Breda, but now, with this help, I will suddenly remove, and wheresoever I am, retain a memory of this, your particular service to myself.

' What you have desired of me concerning your nephew, now with you, when I am in a condition to increase my family, I will take into my service

' upon your recommendation; but for the present, my condition will allow me no more near my person, but Harry Jermyn, and Charles Berkeley. When I leave this place, you shall know where to address to,

' Your affectionate friend,

' JAMES.

[N] And as prejudicial as might be to his accusers ] The circumstances expressed in the text, might very easily kindle distrust, more especially amongst men, who, on account of events long before passed, heartily hated each other. But, besides all this, there might be, and indeed, there certainly were, some correspondences of Sir Edward Hyde, which might afford Sir Richard Greenville, and persons of his way of thinking, very strong grounds of jealousy (49). He had an intercourse with some of the most zealous officers in the old army, with persons who had the strictest connection with Cromwell, and even with the children of some of the King's judges. To the old Royalists, such an intercourse as this must have appeared in a very strange light, and have inclined them to believe any, even the most improbable, stories, because, whatever they were, they must appear less absurd, than that such persons could ever seriously meditate the restoration of the King; and yet this was really the fact, and the Chancellor not culpable in the least, any more than Sir Richard Greenville, whose vindication it is proper the reader should see in his own words, that the conduct of the King, the Council, Sir Richard Greenville, and those upon whose credit he had ventured to set on foot his accusation, may appear in a true light, and the last scene of this great man's life be as fully and fairly represented as any of his preceding transactions. Thus then, Sir Richard's vindication runs (50):

' In April and May 1653, when I was in Paris, it was there commonly spoken, by divers persons, how that Sir Edward Hyde was suspected to have betrayed the King.

' Afterwards, elsewhere, having understood more probabilities of such truths, I believed it my duty to advertise his Majesty of what I had been informed thereof.

' August 12, 1653, I writ of it to his Majesty, for prevention of future mischief, if to be doubted, as

26 D

' that

(49) Carte's Life of James Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 177.

(50) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 236—243.



Exchequer, who, though he might have faults, was undoubtedly a very able man, turned the edge of the King's declaration against Sir Richard Greenville, by forbidding him his presence,

' that it was reported Sir Edward Hyde had private conference with Cromwell in England, for intelligence.

' For answer thereto, the Marquis of Ormond, by letter of the 19th of September, 1653, did write to me——That his Majesty required to know my grounds, for what I did alledge against Sir Edward Hyde; also, that I should send him all writings concerning that affair, and likewise, the names of all my authors.

' In obedience, I wrote as followeth.

' That my duty was my only ground for what I writ concerning Sir Edward Hyde. As for my authors, Colonel Wyndham said to myself at Boulogne, in June 1653, That Sir Edward Hyde had been in England, and that there he had private speech with Cromwell; also, said he, Mr Robert Long is now in Holland, he can, and will give more certain information of it's particulars: and that thereupon, I did by letter desire Mr Long to certify the truth of that report.

' July 28, 1653, I received his answer, wherein he appeared to confirm what I writ, was said of Sir Edward Hyde, by Colonel Wyndham: which letter I sent, because commanded, but greatly against my will.

' Since which Letter, Mr Robert Long sent me another, containing thus——

' I will assure you, it will be verified, that the person named did positively, and constantly, affirm before two witnesses; whereof one is on this side of the sea, and the other in England, that that person brought Sir Edward Hyde to a conference with Cromwell, and described him so particularly, that it was evident he was known, and did as particularly describe a person that was then with him.'

' And lastly, concerning Sir Edward Hyde's pension for intelligence, that it was so said by divers persons, so commonly, and in divers places, that I did not charge them to my memory, therefore could not possibly, at certainty, name many authors for it, but I did well remember Mr Campbell said it sundry times, in my hearing, at Paris: so also did the Bishop of Derry speak it to me at Flushing, July 1653.

' Having thus performed my duty as required, at last, for the reward of my constant known loyalty, the Marquis of Ormond did signify to me, by letters dated November 29, 1653, that it was his Majesty's pleasure to command, that I presume not to come in his presence, or court: that he finds my allegations against Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be deficient to the ends they were offered, and are taken to be a defamatory libel.

' Since again, for farther vindication of Hyde, have been dispersed many copies of a declaration, in writing, as authorized by his Majesty, January 13, 1654, whereof divers copies have been dispersed not only in France, but also in England, Holland, and elsewhere, and of the same here next ensuing is a copy.'

Tuesday the 13th of January, 1654.

Present,

The King's Majesty,  
The Queen's Majesty,  
The Duke of York,  
The Duke of Gloucester,  
Prince Rupert,  
Lord Keeper Sir Edward Herbert,  
Lord Chamberlain Lord Piercy,  
Lord Inchequin,  
Marquis of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,  
Lord Jermin,  
Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer.

' Whereas, upon complaint made the 22d day of December last, by Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, of certain discourses spread abroad to his prejudice,

' as if he was under an accusation of high-treason: and upon his humble desire that his Majesty would examine the grounds of those discourses, his Majesty, after other inquiries, caused a letter to be read, which had been written to himself, in August last past, by Sir Richard Greenville; in which he informed his Majesty, That Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer had made a step into England before his last coming to Paris; and that he had there private conference with Cromwell, and that he had a pension paid him a long time out of England for intelligence; for justifying which information, the said Sir Richard being required by his Majesty to send him the grounds thereof, had sent a letter, written to him by Mr Robert Long, which was then likewise read: Upon which matter, after his Majesty had examined other allegations, made by Sir Richard, which he found to be untrue, and some whereof his Majesty himself knew to be false, his Majesty had formerly declared his judgment to the said Sir Richard, forbidding him to come into his presence.—And moreover, his Majesty examined Mr Peter Massonet at the board, the 12th of this instant; in regard, he had been mentioned as one of the authors of that report; and likewise caused a paper, written by the said Mr Robert Long, dated January 13, in justification of what he had formerly written to Sir Richard Greenville, to be read; which paper his Majesty looks upon as a libel, derogatory from his own honour and justice, as well as full of malice against Mr Chancellor, and will hereafter take farther consideration thereof. And upon the whole matter declares, that the accusation and information against Mr Chancellor, is a groundless and a malicious calumny, and that he is well satisfied of his constant integrity and fidelity in the service of his father and himself: and moreover, that he will in due time farther examine this unworthy combination against him, when it shall be more in his power to punish the persons who shall appear to be guilty of it. And, in the mean time, his Majesty farther declares his former judgment, That the said Richard Greenville shall not presume to come into his presence.

' To conclude this declaration I only subscribe—  
*O put not your trust in princes, nor in any child of man, for there is no help in them.*

' Though these experiences have grieved me, yet they have of late done me good, for they mind me of my greatest duty; and accordingly I will pursue it, to seek my peace with God and man, and to find me a quiet dying place in my native country, never again to touch with any worldly affairs.

' The premises being so ordered to public view, it is free for the world to judge whether or not I am guilty of a crime worthy of banishment, because, as my conceived duty, I advertized the King how Hyde was suspected, and reported to betray his Majesty, and I named my authors and my advices received thereof.

' This being, why should such performance of duty be charged against me, as guilty of a combination against Hyde, whereof I protest myself not to be guilty in any particular; rather the contrary may be conceived, that Hyde is guilty of some combinations against me, in some relations not convenient here to be mentioned.

' If persons, to perform their loyal duty, shall discover probabilities of treason, and be ruined for it, who then will trouble themselves to do it, when as sovereignty shall censure themselves as a crime.

' I must confess truths. After fight of his Majesty's displeasure, it gave me for some days a most hearty sorrow and grief for myself, as having lost that royal countenance which loyal duty made me love.

' Now also I'll confess, I am not less sorry for the King's loss of so faithful a servant, that has freely sacrificed both his estate and life for him.

' Such he wants, and such he will want, but that's not valued. Hyde must be conceived injured by common fame: he may not be taken guilty of any disloyalty.

' But



presence, and thereby secured himself for the future, against an opponent who had abilities and merit of every kind, and who, in this very transaction, was rather zealous and credulous than criminal; and there is reason to believe that the Chancellor himself thought so, since, in the account he has given us of this matter, in which it clearly appears, that except the Marquis of Ormond he had not a real friend in the council, he never so much as once mentions Sir Richard Greenville, being either content with the revenge he had taken, or conscious that the part he had acted had nothing in it base or unworthy (*t*). Sir Richard Greenville himself was so secure of this, that he soon after published an apology for his own conduct, together with the order, in Holland; in which he expresses himself, as the reader has seen, with great spirit, and as if he had been wholly indifferent as to the event. But though great minds may conceal, that does nothing towards preventing their feeling strokes of this nature; Sir Richard, who had supported so many and so great misfortunes, sunk under the weight of this; and being deprived of that cordial which had hitherto sustained his spirits, the hopes of rendering service to his exiled sovereign, fell the victim of his undeserved displeasure, and, as the last testimony of his unshaken loyalty, died of GRIEF (*u*). This is not said slightly or from conjecture, but is a very certain and melancholy fact. As soon as he had written and published his Vindication, he shut himself up in a close retirement, suffered his beard to grow, in testimony of his sorrow, and very soon quitted that life which his misfortunes had rendered hateful; but when or where is not in our power to say: all we know of him farther is, that his remains lie interred in a church at Ghent, with this inscription only upon a plain stone:

Sir Richard Greenville,  
The King's General in the West.

His Wife survived him for many years, and came again into the possession of her estate, about which she embroiled herself once more in Chancery (*w*). He had by this lady only one daughter, who out-lived him, named Elizabeth, who became the wife of William Lennard, Esq; (*x*), and was never the better for her mother's estate (*y*), but might be truly said to inherit the ill fortune of her Father (*z*).

‘ But Sir Richard Greenville, for his presuming loyalty, must be, by a public declaration, defamed as a Banditti, and his very loyalty understood a crime.

‘ Howsoever, seeing it must be so, let God be prayed to bless the King with faithful counsellors, and that none may be prevalent to be any way hurtful to him or to any of his relations.

‘ As for Sir Richard Greenville, let him go with the reward of an old foldier of the King's; there is no present use for him, when there shall be, the council will think on't—if not too late, *Vale*.

‘ Sir Richard's part in this matter was unavoidable (51). No generosity could have excused stifling informations of so dangerous a nature. Concealment was high-treason: he could do no less than communicate the advice; and he did it in the most private manner, in a letter to the King, which his Majesty was at liberty either to stifle or examine, as in his own wisdom he should think fit; in this there could be no crime, in silence there would, especially since

those informations, however improbable, were not taken from rash and idle discourses, but signified under the hands of persons of note and character, who undertook for the proof. Neither was Sir Richard hasty or precipitate in producing his evidence, he secured his vouchers under hand and seal before he adventured to advertise his master. If there was any malicious combination, he positively denies any share in it: yet such was the Chancellor's grudge to him, and to him only, that he was the sole person singled out to be punished: the rest were referred to another time, when his Majesty might have more power of examining and punishing; and yet, when that time came, and these very original accusers returned to the charge, reviving this very article in a parliamentary impeachment, Wyndham was liberally provided for, Mr Robert Long was made Sir Robert, and Auditor of the Exchequer, and Sir Richard, had he been alive, perhaps might have been a General again.’

(*t*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 515—520.

(*u*) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 247.

(*w*) Cases in Chancery, p. 10.

(*x*) Segar's Baronage, MS.

(*y*) Lord Lansdowne's Works, ubi supra.

(*z*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 89.

(51) Vindication of Sir Richard Greenville.

(a) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 472.

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxoniensis, Vol. I. col. 154.

(c) Antiquitat. Oxoniensis, Part II. p. 381.

(d) Lloyd's loyal Sufferers, p. 472.

(e) Bibl. Sign. 12. Car. II.

(f) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 118. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 519. Rushworth's Collections, Part III. Vol. II. p. 692.

GREENVILLE, [Sir JOHN] afterwards Earl of Bath; he was born at the house of his father, Sir Bevil Greenville (*a*), in the year 1628. And after receiving the first elements of a liberal education in his own county, was, about the beginning of the troubles, removed to Oxford, and there entered a Gentleman-Commoner of Gloucester-Hall (*b*), over which, the famous Degory Wheare at that time presided (*c*). His studies there were interrupted by the news of his father's immature, though glorious, death, at the battle of Lansdowne; upon which, as the chief of his family, and the hopes of Cornwall, this young gentleman, though scarce fifteen, left the seat of the Muses, to put himself at the head of his father's regiment (*d*); in which he very gallantly served, till it was thought necessary to send him, with the remains of that regiment, into his own county, to recruit it; where his extensive influence, and wisdom superior to his years, placed him in the command of a brigade, inferior to none on either side, consisting of five regiments of Cornish infantry (*e*). In this station he was, when, with the rest of the officers of his Majesty's forces, he subscribed that famous letter to the Earl of Essex, from which the calmer and more candid part of both armies, entertained the strongest hopes of peace (*f*) [*A*]. After the defeat

[*A*] *The strongest hopes of peace.* We have mentioned this letter in the former article, and, indeed, it is one of the papers of most consequence, among the many that passed between both parties, in this lamentable

war; the reader therefore will be pleased to peruse, and consider it, and weigh particularly the names of the officers, by whom it was subscribed.

‘ My



(g) Mercurius  
Aulicus,  
Sir Edward Wal-  
ker's Historical  
Discourses,  
p. 115.  
Rushworth's  
Collections,  
Part iii. Vol. II.  
p. 721.

of the Earl of Essex, he attended his Majesty in his return to Oxford, and behaving very bravely in the second battle of Newbury, fought on the 27th of October, 1644, we find his name amongst the heroes who were wounded in that engagement, by the title of Sir John Greenville (g). At the beginning of this action, Sir John was posted on an eminence at Spine, with a body of infantry, a few pieces of cannon, and a small retrenchment before him. The enemy advancing with a superior force both of horse and foot to charge him, General Goring attacked them with the King's cavalry to prevent it; but the Earl of Cleaveland being made prisoner in this charge, the Parliament's forces attacked those under Sir John Greenville with great spirit, and met with as obstinate a resistance; 'till Sir John, receiving a severe stroke with a sword upon the head, his troops began to give way, when

Sir

‘ My Lord,

‘ We having obtained his Majesty's leave to send this to your Lordship, shall not repeat the many gracious messages, endeavours, and declarations which his Majesty hath made, and have been so solemnly protested in the presence of God and men, that we wonder how the most scrupulous can make any doubt of the real, and royal performance of them. But we must, before this approaching occasion, tell your Lordship, that we bear arms for this end, only to defend his Majesty's known rights, the laws of the kingdom (1), the liberty of the subject, the privilege of the Parliament, and the true Protestant Religion, against Popery, or Popish innovations. And this being the professed cause of your Lordship's taking arms, we are confident, that, concurring in the same opinions and pretences, we shall not, by an unnatural war, weaken the main strength of this kingdom, and advance the design of our common enemies, that long since have devoured us in their hopes. My Lord, the exigent of the time will not suffer us to make any laboured declarations of our intentions, but only this, That on the Faith of Subjects, the Honours and Reputation of Gentlemen and Soldiers, we will with our lives maintain that which his Majesty shall publicly promise, in order to a bloodless peace. Nor shall it be in the power of any private person whatsoever to divert this resolution of ours; and the same we expect from you. And now we must take leave to protest, That if this our profer be neglected, which we make neither in fear of your power, nor distrust of our own; but only touched with the approaching miseries of our nation, that what calamities shall oppress posterity, shall lie heavy upon the souls and consciences of those that shall decline this overture, which we cannot hope so seasonably to make again, if this conjuncture be let go. And therefore it is desired, that your Lordship and six other persons, may meet our General to-morrow, at such an indifferent place as you shall think fit, attended with as many, or, if you shall find it any way inconvenient to come in person, that then your Lordship will appoint such, or so many, to meet with the like number from hence, that may consider of all means possible, to reconcile the unhappy differences and misunderstandings that have so long afflicted the kingdom; and for the security of your Lordship, and those that shall come with, and be employed by, your Lordship, we do engage our Faith and Honour, and do expect the same from your Lordship; desiring withal, your very speedy answer, which must be a guide to our proceedings; concluding, that if this shall be refused, we shall hold ourselves justified before God and man, whatsoever shall be the success. So we rest,

Your Lordship's humble servants,

From the army, the  
8th of August 1644.

Maurice,  
Brainford,  
Tho. Wentworth,  
Percy,  
Cleaveland,  
Tho. Blagge,  
Amys Pollard,

Ad. Scroop,  
Herbert Lundesford,  
Barth. Pell,  
Hen. Shelley,  
Tho. Pawlet,  
Theod. Kyrton,  
Anthony Brocket,

Ja. Hamilton,  
Rich. Thornehill,  
Jo. Topping,  
Ja. Dundasse,  
Giles Strangways,  
R. Smith,  
Nich. Samuel,  
Lyndsey,  
Northampton,  
Jacob Asteley,  
Joseph Bampffield,  
Anthony Thelwell,  
Jo. Owen,  
Tho. Stradling,  
Robert Howard,  
Jo. Stocker,  
Bar. Jenkes,  
Hen. Miller,  
Rich. Fielding,  
Tho. Weston,  
Paul Smith,  
Guy Mouldsworth,  
Phi. Honeywood,  
Tho. Culpeper,  
William Leak,  
Jo. Lunter,  
Jo. March,  
Edw. Porter,  
Geo. Armstrong,  
Rich. Nevil,  
Tho. Pigott,  
Jo. Brown,

Druery Leigh,  
Arthur Slingesby,  
David Skringer,  
Ja. Murray,  
Cha. Compton,  
Richard Cave,  
Bernard Steward,  
Bernard Asteley,  
Theo. Gilby,  
William Leighton,  
William Murrey,  
Tho. Blackwall,  
Tho. Bellingham,  
Richard Page,  
Cha. Fowlke,  
James Carye,  
Geo. Goring,  
Ralph Hopton,  
Joseph Wagstaffe,  
Tho. Basset,  
Char. Lloyd,  
George Lisle,  
William St Leger,  
Ed. Nott,  
Jo. Rideck,  
Alex. Standish,  
Jo. Stewart,  
Jo. Gambling,  
Jo. Greenville,  
Arthur Hemingham,  
James Hafwell,  
Will. Maxwell.

To so cool, and moderate a letter, the Earl of Essex returned the following short and fairly answer.

‘ My Lords,

‘ In the beginning of your letter, you express by what authority you send it. I having no power by the Parliament (who have employed me) to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust.

My Lords,

I am,

Your humble Servant,

Listithiel, August  
10, 1644.

Essex.

For his Highness Prince Maurice,  
and the Earl of Forth.

This letter is severely censured by the Noble Historian (2), who seems to think the original design of the officers fell very little short of treason; and in the same light it was considered by Sir Edward Walker (3), who wrote immediately under the King's eye. One would imagine these authors thought the King was at the head of an army fighting for pay, against a foreign enemy, and not of free-born Englishmen, contending for his Rights and their own Liberties, against their deluded countrymen. It was the lofty sentiment of these gentlemen, as to the prerogative of the Crown, when guided by their councils, that gave the Parliament great encouragement, and sunk the spirit of the King's true friends, who fought from principle, and had something to lose; and hence sprung the notion of getting the Prince of Wales to act, which in the sentiments of the same counsellors, approached nearer still to treason.

[B] The

r) Walker's  
Historical Dis-  
courses, p. 59,  
60, 61.

(2) History of  
the Rebellion,  
Vol. IV. p. 519.

(3) Historical  
Discourses, p. 59.



Sir John Cansfield, with the Queen's regiment of horse, happily interposed, checked the enemy's progress, and saved Sir John Greenville from being taken; in which charge however, Sir John Cansfield had the misfortune to lose his leg (b) by a cannon shot. In the spring of the following year, Prince Charles being then in his own duchy, and seeing how great an interest the family had, as well as admiring the prudence and spirit of this young soldier, declared him of his own accord one of his bed-chamber (i); which gave an occasion, though the King confirmed his choice, to one of those unfortunate letters to the Queen; which, being soon after taken at Naseby, were, by the Parliament's order, decyphered and published, on purpose to shew to how great a degree the King was governed by her counsels (k) [B]. As for Sir John Greenville, he continued to serve the young Prince with much zeal and fidelity, and with a disinterestedness that in all respects merited the favour shewn him, and wrought so strong a confidence in him, that when his affairs in the West began first to decline, which was not long after Sir John's being sworn of his bed-chamber, he made choice of him, though so young a person, to go over to France, in order to know what assistance he might expect from thence, and whether, in case of necessity, it would be expedient for him to retire thither. At his return, he brought a letter from the Earl of Norwich, the King's Ambassador at that court, in which he very roundly declared, the Prince's coming thither would be his certain ruin, referring himself for his reasons in support of such a declaration as this to the bearer, who, in vindication of this letter, communicated many passages of moment (l). We have these facts almost in these words in the work of the Noble Historian, but not a syllable of Sir John Greenville; only we are told that this letter and message was brought by one of the Prince's bed-chamber (m). In the beginning of the month of March following, the Prince, at the earnest request of those who, in virtue, as they said, of the King's authority, governed him, embarked for the isles of Scilly, where he remained from the 4th of that month 'till the 16th of April, and then, by the same advice, retired to the island of Jersey (n). Sir John Greenville attended him all this time, and there happened a passage during the Prince's stay in Scilly, which, though very slightly touched by the Noble Writer, might, if it was in our power to give it, deserve a clearer explanation. He says, that the Prince received by a trumpet a summons, rather than an invitation, from Sir Thomas Fairfax; adding immediately, 'It was well it came not to Pendennis, where it would have found a party among the Prince's servants (o).' It is very possible, this party amongst the Prince's servants meant him as well as those who were for hurrying him out of his father's dominions. Sir Thomas Fairfax is said to have conceived some personal distaste (p) to the King; but there is nothing more certain, than that he was no enemy to monarchy, and very freely hazarded his life and fortune afterwards for the service of this Prince, when his affairs were in a much more desperate condition (q): Who therefore can tell what his intentions might be now [C]? The Prince, after some stay at Jersey, and fresh disputes amongst

(b) The Civil Wars in Great Britain and Ireland, p. 130. Sir Richard Bulstrode's Memoirs, p. 118.

(i) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 549.

(k) King's Letters to the Queen, No. xi.

(l) See the Earl of Clarendon's Account in the next quotation.

(m) History of the Rebellion, Vol. IV. p. 685.

(n) Rushworth's Collections, Part iv. Vol. I. p. 104, 285. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 2, 4. Heath's Chronicle, p. 96. Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 178.

(o) History of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 3.

(p) Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II.

(q) M.S. Memoirs of Lord Fairfax, by Bp. Sprat.

(4) See this Letter in the Appendix to Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 271.

[B] *The King was governed by her counsels.* This letter is dated from Droitwich (4), Wednesday, May the 14th; and so much of it as regards our purpose follows.

'Now, I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou mayst suspect, I seek, by equivocating, to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee. It is this, he hath sent to desire me, that Sir John Greenfield may be sworn Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber; but already so publicly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace, both to my son, and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a just distaste, especially now, considering his father's merits, his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the West: yet I have refused the admitting of him, until I shall hear from thee. Wherefore, I desire thee, first, to chide my son for engaging himself without one of our consents; then not to refuse thy own consent; and, lastly, to believe, that directly, or indirectly, I never knew of this while yesterday, at the delivery of my son's letter. So farewell sweet-heart, and God send me good news from thee.'

It is but too apparent from this letter, that though the King had a judgment superior to those by whom he was ruled, yet in reality he had no will of his own, and was very little inclined his son should have any either. When the resolution was taken at Oxford to send the Prince into Cornwall, it was upon a supposition, that his presence in a part of his father's dominions, which in some measure belonged to him, might be beneficial to both their concerns. It is very plain, that the Prince understood it so, and was very well inclined to have done what in him lay to that

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purpose. But the Junco, in his council, all of them strangers in that part of the world, and who had no natural interest in it, were extremely jealous of the native Cornish (5), who, they saw, and, indeed, it was no wonder, as zealous to declare their love for their native country, as their loyalty for their natural Prince. If this had not been the case, the council would have prevented, by their interposition, the King's finding any thing amiss, in his son's making a promotion, in his bed-chamber, founded as much in policy, and his true interest, as in affection and gratitude. In a time of perfect serenity, the King might, perhaps, have had reason for his complaint. But in this broken and distracted situation of things, when his subjects were every where in arms against him, and the Prince at a distance, to complain of the Prince, and to exculpate himself when, at the same time, he avers there was no fault, and to one, who could be no judge, though it seems she always expected to decide, must appear very strange, and lessen the King's character extremely; with which view it was published by the Parliament; and the very publication of these letters sufficiently shew, how little they meant to confide for the future in the King, whose forgiveness, if they had ever seriously desired, they would not thus maliciously, needlessly, and wantonly, have provoked.

[C] *What his intentions might be now.* The war was now in a manner determined, at least in the West, where the King had the most friends, and, consequently, the greatest force; which was in a strange manner divided, dispersed, and destroyed by the disputes between the Prince's council and the Generals, and their reciprocal misunderstandings amongst themselves; for they were as little united in their councils of State and of War, as with each other. It is a question that has

26 E

been

(5) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 224, 225.



(r) Clarendon's  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
V. p. 33.

(s) Heath's  
Chronicle, p.  
284.  
Whitlocke's  
Memorials,  
p. 396.  
Gesta Britanno-  
rum, by Sir G.  
Wharton.

(t) Whitlocke's  
Memorials.

(u) The Civil  
Wars of Great  
Britain and Ire-  
land, p. 326.

amongst his little court, came at length, contrary to the advice of his council, to a settled resolution of going to France, which he accordingly executed; but found such a reception in all respects, as, in the name of the Earl of Norwich, Sir John Greenville had foretold him, and with which he was so disgusted that he did not remain there long (r). About this time it seems that Sir John Greenville returned into the isles of Scilly; for, though upon the Prince of Wales's quitting these islands, and taking with him the best part of the officers who should have defended them, their inhabitants submitted to the Parliament, and received some small garrisons; yet, as soon as their fleet retired, and the people had recovered from the consternation they were in, they resolved to deliver themselves from their new masters; and, as soon as they had done so, they sent to make their submission to the Prince of Wales, and to desire he would send some officer of experience, and well acquainted with their islands, to defend them, which they thought might be done in such a manner as to prevent their feeling that punishment with which they were threatened by the Parliament (s). Upon this, Sir John Greenville, with many officers who had served under him, were sent thither immediately, and establishing himself in St Mary's, fortified as well as he could, and made the best dispositions possible for the security and improvement of this last remnant of his master's sovereignty. The revolt of part of the fleet from the Parliament to the Prince made these islands of still greater consequence; for Sir John taking all the advantages that their commodious situation would allow, sometimes alarmed the coasts of Cornwall, sometimes those of Devon, and sometimes his frigates cruized on those of Ireland (t). In these expeditions they gave terrible alarms, and took several officers of rank in the Parliament's service, whom they kept prisoners, but treated them gently (u). Besides all this, Sir John was daily increasing his forces by the resort of many officers and soldiers

been more than once asked, and perhaps, the curious reader will think it a question worth answering. Whether in such a state of things, any method might have been struck out for preserving the Constitution, and uniting once more the Parliament with the Monarchy, in which, without doubt, the essence of our government consists? The moderate men in the King's army, who disliked the dictates of Digby, the pompous eloquence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the peremptory orders of the princes Rupert and Maurice, had, as we have hinted before, and as we intend fully to explain here, cast their eyes upon the Prince of Wales, and thought that under his auspice a solid peace might be made (6). It has been insinuated, that the worthiest men on the side of the Parliament had likewise thought of the same expedient; and that Essex and Wilmot understood one another on this head; and that it was to prevent other people from being brought to understand it, that Wilmot was accused, and arrested in the King's army by the intrigues of the ministers, rather than any real umbrage taken by the King. As to the first point, that the calmer and more considerate officers on the King's side had this opinion, we have the fullest authority to prove (7). In respect to the Parliament, there are two things certain, the first, that the wise John Hampden, who meant to mend and not to murder the King, or the Monarchy, had set his heart on one post, which was, being governor to the Prince of Wales; a circumstance, that fully proves he was no Republican, or inveterate enemy to the Royal family. The other is, that as darkly as the Noble Historian expresses it, the Parliament now, when he was in the isles of Scilly, invited the Prince (8) to come to them. They saw what was working by the independent republican faction, and they foresaw what would be the issue of it; and at the same time they could discern no method so likely to restore the reeling constitution, as placing at their head the undoubted heir of the Crown; and, as at this time they had the greater part of the army, their new, as well as their old General well disposed to it, the thing might very probably have been done. But we must not expect to be credited on our own authority, or that of an anonymous author, but whose work contains some remarkable facts for all that (9). If the Noble Historian, who sometimes records things of less moment, had preserved, instead of ridiculing Sir Thomas Fairfax's message, we might have been better able to judge of it; however, it is well it is not totally lost. The celebrated Lord-Keeper Whitlocke, who probably had some concern in it, treats this business thus (10). 'March 17, 1645, The House being informed that the Prince was in Scilly, and in some straits for want of provisions, they agreed that a letter should be

written to him, in a loving and tender way from both Houses of Parliament, to invite him to come into the Parliament, and to reside in such place, and have such attendants and counsellors about him as should be approved by both Houses.' We find in the same work, that this proposition was pushed as far as it would go, that the Lords (11) joined in it, that the strongest assurances were given in respect to his liberty, and manner of living, and that at length Richmond was fixed upon for the place of his residence. To all this, the Prince, sometimes by the advice, perhaps, of those counsellors, the Noble Historian so much derided, gave very modest and moderate answers; which kept the negotiation alive, till the Prince was either persuaded, or compelled to leave Jersey, and go to France. Neither was the King insensible, or, perhaps, averse to this, for when in his way to the West, the whole county of Somerset came to salute him near Ilchester, at the close of a long and gracious speech, in which he professed, that he desired nothing so much as peace, and to rule according to the laws of the land, he pointed to the Prince, and said (12), If I live not to do it, I hope this young man, my son, your fellow soldier in this expedition will, to whom I shall particularly give it in charge. When he sent his own message to Essex for peace, he intended to have sent a messenger also with instructions, and this messenger was Mr Harding, one of the Prince's bed-chamber, and his (13) instructions are yet extant. Add to all this, that in the last most dismal scene of his life, when all other circumstances of hope or comfort had forsok him, he had recourse to this proposition, to hear (14) which the High Court of Justice adjourned. It came, indeed, then too late, for the Parliament was purged, the army as much revolted from them as from the King, and Cromwell and his associates masters of all. But even then, Mr Downes, one of his judges, cried out, Have we (15) no bowels? and would have gone further, if he had been permitted. All these particulars taken together, most undoubtedly shew, that at this juncture, when the Prince was in the isles of Scilly, such of his servants as thought he might have treated, were not to be looked upon as either wanting in their duty to the King, or destitute of common sense. If after all another question should be asked, Why, if affairs stood in this light, did not the Prince's council unanimously incline to treat? To this two things may be said; First, It is very extraordinary, the Noble Historian, who has recorded so many other things, has not thought proper to record these reasons; the other, that the Parliament, though then desirous of receiving the Prince, were determined never to have any thing to do with these ministers, and had declared it.

(6) Sir Richard  
Bulstrode's Me-  
moirs, p. 102,  
103.  
Walker, War-  
wick.

(7) Clarendon,  
Walker, War-  
wick, Bulstrode,  
Echard.

(8) History of  
the Rebellion,  
Vol. V. p. 2, 3.

(9) History of  
King Charles II.  
by a Person of  
Quality, p. 6.

(10) Memorials,  
p. 197.

(11) Ibid.  
p. 199, 202,  
205, 206, 209.

(12) Walker's  
Historical Dis-  
courses, p. 45.  
Rushworth's  
Collections, Vol.  
II. Part iii.  
p. 690.

(13) Walker's  
Historical Dis-  
courses, p. 53.

(14) Rush-  
worth's Collec-  
tions, Vol. II.  
Part iv. p. 1422,  
1423.  
Whitlocke's Me-  
moirs, p. 373.  
Ludlow's Me-  
moirs, Vol. I.  
p. 280.  
Heath's Chroni-  
cle, p. 212, 213.  
Sir Thomas  
Herbert's Me-  
moirs, p. 116.

(15) Heath's  
Chronicle,  
p. 467.



soldiers who had served in the late King's army, and by such as had a mind to share in the riches which their daily captures produced (*w*). These circumstances taken together, but more especially the loud complaints of the city of London, in regard to the depredations to which their trade was exposed, alarmed the Parliament so much, that they sent a strong squadron with a good body of land troops on board, commanded by two of the best officers in their service, Sir George Ayscue and General Blake, to reduce those islands (*x*). This was in the beginning of May 1651, the King being then in Scotland, and the Dutch having a good fleet at sea, of whom the Parliament then began to be jealous (*y*). This was not without reason, for the States had actually made propositions to Sir John Greenville, which might have tempted a man of less honour, for they offered him one hundred thousand pounds to put those islands into their hands, to which, if he had consented, Van Tromp was ready, with a squadron of twelve men of war, to have taken possession of them: but Sir John, after making all the preparations necessary for a desperate resistance, entered into a treaty with General Blake; and having made him sensible, that, if he was driven to extremities, the reduction of those islands would be very dearly purchased, he procured from him as good terms as he could reasonably expect, which were signed on the 23d of May (*z*). In pursuance of these articles, the Parliament officers, amongst whom were the Colonels, Axtel, Sadler, and Le Hunt, were set at liberty, the greatest part of Sir John's forces transported, pursuant to those articles, wherever they pleased to go (*a*), and Sir John himself, with his principal officers, returned with Blake into England, in order to make his submission, and, without any composition, to live quietly upon his own estate (*b*). The Parliament, amazed at the large concessions they contained, at first shewed some dissatisfaction with respect to these articles, and seemed little inclined to ratify them. But Blake on the one hand representing his reasons in a very strong light, and declaring on the other, that if they were not ratified he would lay down his commission, they resolved that they should be punctually executed, and so they were (*c*) [D]. As soon as he found himself in so easy a situation, Sir John thought it expedient to settle himself in the world, that he might make his interest in Cornwall and Devonshire still more considerable, and, at the same time, take off the apprehensions which those then in possession of the government entertained of his principles and activity. Accordingly, in 1652 he espoused Jane, the only surviving daughter of Sir Peter Wych, who, after residing twelve years as Ambassador at Constantinople, was made Comptroller of the Household to Charles I. upon whom he made a very considerable settlement, in which he durst not take the title of Knight, but styles himself John Greenville, son and heir of Sir Bevil Greenville, late of Stowe in the county of Cornwall (*d*). The easiness of his circumstances, and this alteration in his family, did not in the least abate his zeal for the King's service. On the contrary, he was always one of the Commissioners appointed by King Charles for carrying on his affairs in England, and for concerting measures with his friends for the support of his Majesty and his brethren abroad, or for the bringing him home. He was not even discouraged when it became necessary for the King to grant a new commission (*e*), on account of the treachery of one of those, and him none of the least capable, who had been named in the former. But Sir John, though a young man, in possession of a good fortune, and entirely beloved in his country, conducted his correspondence so warily, behaved so decently to all persons in power, lived so unexceptionably in the country, that he met with little molestation, though he was sometimes restrained, and remained always suspected [E]. He had, besides

[D] *And so they were.* It is very clear that Sir John Greenville, while he remained possessed of these islands, gave the world a very different notion of them, from what had ever been entertained before. A very knowing and candid writer says, that he made it evident, that the post he had taken was a key (16) that opened a passage to several nations. He had a great garrison to subsist, and, as the islands afforded little for that purpose, he was forced to make use of his frigates; the captains of which, under various pretences, made free with the ships of all nations, and amongst others, took twenty sail of Dutch merchant-men, of which the States complained loudly to King Charles II. (17) who was then in Scotland; and, at the same time, sent Admiral Van Tromp, with a compleat squadron, to procure satisfaction by force, or, which they rather affected, to obtain possession of these islands for a sum of money (18). Sir John made no farther use of this latter proposal, than to draw from the Parliament better terms. Admiral Blake did not grant these till he had tried what could be done by force, for he debarked Captain Morris (19) with a considerable force, who attacked the two islands of Trisco and Briers with his best troops, which they carried indeed after a long dispute. But Colonel Wogan, who defended them, sold them so dear, that they did not care to purchase any thing more upon the same terms; and therefore, upon his

retreat to St Mary's, where there were great magazines and tolerable fortifications, the Parliament Generals very wisely changed their batteries, and proposed honourable terms. Sir John Greenville stipulated in the first place indemnity for all under his command, and next, a free passage for them wherever they had a mind to go. By these propositions he kept his people firm; and we shall be the less surprized, that even Blake was willing to be rid, almost at any rate, of such troublesome people, when we learn, that, at the time of Sir John's surrender, he had, under his command, three and twenty field-officers (20), sixty captains, a proportionable number of subalterns, and that all the private men were veterans, who, under such commanders, would not have been easily subdued, and who, if hard pressed, might have called in the Dutch if they had pleased. This great affair, which Sir John managed with so much firmness, prudence, and address, with two such great men as Ayscue and Blake at the head of a fleet of fifty sail, did him so much the more honour, as he was at this time but in the twenty-third year of his age, a season when conduct is not always shewn even where courage is not wanting.

[E] *Though he was sometimes restrained and always suspected.* We have, in a former article, dwelt a little on the the natural sagacity and prudence of this family, and of the wonderful steadiness and calmness of this

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284.

(x) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 465, 467. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326.

(y) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284, 288.

(z) See the original articles to Sir John Greenville, in the library of the society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and propagating the Gospel. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 326. Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 256.

(a) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 495. Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.

(b) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 495.

(c) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 257. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 89, 90.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 480.

(e) Baker's Chronicle, p. 640. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185, 454. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 667—669.

(16) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 473.

(17) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284.

(18) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 256. Heath's Chronicle, p. 288.

(19) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 493.

(20) Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.



(f) See the Dedication prefixed to Dr Price's *Mystery and Method of the King's Restoration*. Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 90, 91. Gumble's *Life of General Monk*, p. 104.

besides that general plan concerted among the King's friends, some particular views of his own. He knew the close connection that had subsisted between Sir Bevil Greenville and Sir Thomas Monk, the obligations, that General Monk, who now commanded in Scotland, had to Sir Richard Greenville; and he foresaw that there might be a time when his relation to that family might be of use. When he came to reside at Kilkhampton, he found the parsonage as well as his estate under sequestration, on account of the delinquency, that is the loyalty, of Mr Rouse, the incumbent, into whose church the sequestrator had thrust his son. But, upon the death of Mr Rouse, the living being vacant, Sir John exerted his right, and bestowed it upon Mr Nicholas Monk, the General's brother, who, having married a widow, lived silently and peaceably at a small living, about twelve miles from it. This living of Kilkhampton was worth three hundred pounds a year (f); and, at the time Sir John bestowed it, he gave Mr Monk to understand, that, if he should afterwards have any occasion for his service with his brother, he should depend upon him. Mr Monk thereupon made him, as a due testimony of gratitude, a clear promise, which, as soon as an

this gentleman's father, Sir Bevil, in which Sir John resembled him extremely; for, with great quickness of parts, and with much solidity of judgment, he had a degree of prudence, that, perhaps, did more in the management of those dangerous and difficult things with which he was intrusted, than all his other great qualities together. He did not promote the King's interest, or rather endeavour to promote it, as some did, by feasting, and having constantly about him a number of dependants, obstreperously zealous for the cause; but, on the contrary, held a fair correspondence with all his neighbours in general, and was particularly careful in cultivating an acquaintance and friendship with such gentlemen of fortune and family, as, in the beginning of the troubles, had engaged on the side of the Parliament, and afterwards changed their sentiments on seeing the unexpected and unnatural lengths to which things had been carried. But this modesty and silence did not render him at all less steady or less useful in the King's service, in promoting which, he was in the first commission which his Majesty granted for the management of his affairs in England, and which, for its supposed impenetrable secrecy, was commonly styled, *The Sealed Knot*. It was (21) composed of the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Bellasis, Sir William Compton, Sir Richard Willis, Colonel John Ruffel, and Sir John Greenville. But, in October 1659, it was discovered, that Sir Richard Willis betrayed all to Secretary Thurloe (22). Upon this, Sir Edward Hyde wrote to all his correspondents to give them notice of Sir Richard's behaviour; and the King, upon his return into the Low-Countries from the tour he had made to the frontiers of Spain, found it necessary to send over a new commission (23), conceived in the following terms:

' Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our right trusty and well beloved, Arthur Annesley, Esq; (afterwards Earl of Anglesey) John Mordaunt, (afterwards Lord Viscount Mordaunt) Sir Thomas Peyton, Bart. Sir John Greenville, Knight, and William Legg, Esq; and to every of them greeting. We do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you our commissioners, giving you or any one or more of you power to treat with any of our subjects of our kingdom of England, and dominion of Wales, that are or have been in arms against us or our father of blessed memory, or that have contributed to the present rebellion in England (excepting such as actually sat in judgment for the taking away the life of our said father, or pleaded, as counsel learned, against his life, or attended as ministers to that odious pretended court, or laid hands on his person in the execution of that horrid murder), and to assure them in our name, That, if they shall forsake the present rebellion, and join heartily and effectually for the suppressing of the same, and for our restoration to the rights due to us by the laws of God and that of our kingdom; That then we will not only freely pardon their former opposing us and our dear father, and all other their crimes and offences in acting in, adhering to, or complying with, the said rebellion; but that we will recompense and reward such of them, as shall, by any remarkable service, merit of us, either by reducing or rendering any town, fort, or garrison of the rebels into our hands,

' or into the possession and power of you, or of any other trustee employed by us or you for our service. And what you or any one or more of you, shall, by virtue of this our commission in writing, under your hands, or the hands of any one or more of you, promise in our name, in this kind we shall ratify and confirm and perform. Given at our court at Brussels, this 11th day of March 1659, in the eleventh year of our reign.

In consequence of this commission, all who were named in it concurred in their endeavours, and left no path untried, no method untried, to reconcile to the King's cause such as they thought any way capable of promoting it. In this they made a very great progress; for, as most of the sensible Lawyers were averse to overturning every thing that resembled the antient constitution in the State, so the learned and conscientious Nonconformists were as little pleased with the destruction of the Church. The nobility could not but see with regret, that they were confounded with the bulk of the people, and entitled to no farther respect than what resulted from courtesy, and the remembrance of their former station. Merchants and citizens, who had enriched themselves by trade, were infinitely desirous of seeing things settled, that they might be able to purchase lands with safety; and there wanted not some, even among those who had been deepest in the worst practices, who, foreseeing what afterwards happened, were desirous, at any hazard, to make their peace in time, so as to enjoy quietly, and without question, what they had acquired by so many former hazards. This confusion of interests, the commissioners jointly and separately managed with so much dexterity, that many of the most considerable persons in the kingdom in point of interest and property, not a few of the officers in the army, and some even among the new courtiers, that is, those who attached themselves to the family of Cromwell, upon a supposition that the government might have continued in his family, overcoming all former prejudices, in a confidence that all past failings would be likewise forgotten, reconciled themselves thoroughly, and engaged heartily to serve the King, and to restore him to his just rights. The remainder of the Long Parliament, who were at this time in possession of the supreme authority, were far enough from being ignorant of what was passing; but, on the one hand, they considered the attachment of the army to them as an invincible security against all their enemies, and, on the other hand, they flattered themselves, that they should for ever fix this army, which however had turned them once out before, to their interests, aggrandize themselves and their relations, and lay all their opponents in the dirt, by suffering these secret designs to ripen into act, then suppress them by the sword, and lastly, sweep away the fortunes of all concerned, by an unrelenting act of forfeiture; and this, notwithstanding the antient ties of blood or friendship, that might subsist between them and those who were thus destined to destruction. Such were the perils to which Sir John Greenville voluntarily exposed himself, for otherwise, he might have sat still in the peaceable enjoyment of his paternal estate, and have been treated with all possible kindness by those who would have indulged him in any thing, so he left them their authority.

(21) Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 640. Skinner's *Life of General Monk*, p. 82. Lord Lansdowne's *Works*, Vol. II. p. 258.

(22) *Life of Dr Barwick*, p. 185, 454. Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. VI. p. 667—669. Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 448.

(23) Baker's *Chronicle*, p. 640.



an opportunity offered, he likewise very readily and punctually performed. There was nothing followed upon this immediately; but, when the general insurrection was concerted, which was the last great plan for the King's restoration, upon which all his hopes depended, and in support of which he determined to risque his person, it was thought expedient to make some fresh overtures to General Monk, notwithstanding he had observed a profound silence upon some former hints and invitations from the King; and in this design it was judged, that no one could so well serve his Majesty as Sir John Greenville, who was also very deeply embarked in the other affair [F]. Upon this, in the summer of 1659, the King

[F] *Who was also very deeply embarked in the other affair.* We have, in the former note, shewn in what manner the King's affairs were managed at home by his commissioners, with whom he concurred to the utmost of his power, and very frankly offered to hazard his own person and the persons of his brothers, at any time and in any manner that should appear to them necessary, for their encouragement. We have before observed, that this design had a very broad bottom; for the Royalists, or those who had been in arms for the late King, and the friends of the old Parliament, looking with abhorrence upon this remnant; began to perceive now they were cool, and had leisure to reflect, that their interests were the same, and their principles not so remote from each other as they had formerly imagined. But as they were thoroughly sensible that prejudices still prevailed amongst the middle sort of people, they very prudently agreed that the rising should be begun by such as had been always avowed friends to liberty, and never in arms for the late King, of whom there was enough in all the counties of England and Wales to make a formidable appearance (24). Sir George Booth was to raise Lancashire and Cheshire. Sir Thomas Middleton Shropshire and Flintshire. Sir John Carter Denbighshire. The Earl of Stamford Leicestershire. The Lord Willoughby of Parham (who also advanced money to buy arms) Suffolk. Colonel Rossiter Lincolnshire. Colonel Popham Somersetshire and Wiltshire, and to secure Bristol and Taunton. Mr Edward Dunch and others Berkshire. Major-General Massey, the Lord Herbert of Worcester, and Mr How, Gloucestershire. Sir William Compton, Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, and Mr Fanshaw, Hertfordshire. Mr Mordaunt, Sir Francis Vincent, and Sir Adam Brown, Surrey. We might mention many more in almost every part of the kingdom; but that these are sufficient to shew the nature of the design, and the manner in which it was managed, only one thing more is necessary, both in point of authority and for the sake of perspicuity, and that is the Declaration (25), which was to justify this rising, and which was penned with great care and circumspection, probably by the commissioners themselves, so as to comprehend, and within a very narrow compass, the views of all the honest part of the nation; and therefore it follows.

' Since it hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the spirit of division to continue in this distracted nation, and to leave us without any settled foundation of religion, liberty, and property, the legislative power usurped at pleasure and contemned, the army, raised at first for our defence, abused, and misled into unwarrantable actions, by the cunning and ambition of some of the superior officers, no face of government appearing, either in any single person, or a body of men in council lawfully constituted, to whom the grievances of the people may with any probability, of success be properly addressed. Therefore we being conscious of our duty, and sensible of our own and the nation's ruin if these distractions continue, or issue in a more fixed oppression, by some settlement, inconsistent with the laws, peace, and interest of these nations, have taken arms in defence of ourselves, and all others who will partake with us in the vindication and maintenance of the freedom of Parliaments, against all violence whatsoever, of the known laws, liberty, and property, of the good people of this nation, who at present groan under illegal, arbitrary, and insupportable taxes and payments, unknown to our ancestors. This being our duty to God and to man, and our only design, we cannot despair of the blessing of him who gives victory, nor of the cheerful concurrence of all good people, nor of the unceasing part of the army, whose arrears and increase

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' of future pay, and advancement of high command, we shall by all means procure, suffering no imposition of force on any man's conscience; and to this we doubt not but all honest Englishmen will say, Amen, Amen

The day first fixed for this rising was the first of July, but, from the number of persons engaged in it, and their distance from each other, it became absolutely necessary to delay it for a month; of which the King, who was very punctual on his part, and was come to the coast of France in disguise (26), had notice. In this short interval, a discovery was made from the indiscretion of Lady Mary Howard, upon which, herself, Mr Byron, and Mr Harley, were committed to the Tower (27); but, as we observed in the former note, some of the principal persons in the Committee of Safety, stood in no need of such information. They had it earlier and from a much better hand, the King's discarded commissioner (28), in whom, though the King's friends no longer confided, yet they could not hinder his disclosing those schemes with which he had been formerly trusted; so that his new friends were abundantly well acquainted with every thing that related to the general measure, though they might not know by name particular men. By the help of these informations, they took their precautions so well, that they dissipated most of the intended risings, which was very easy for them to do, excepting only that of Sir George Booth in Cheshire, Sir Thomas Middleton in Denbighshire, and Lord Byron at Nottingham, against whom marched Major-General Lambert, with three regiments of foot, three of horse, and some troops of dragoons. Forces were likewise sent for from Ireland, so that Sir George Booth was quickly overpowered (29). While Lambert was thus dealing with their opponents in the field, the Council of State having communicated their lights to the Parliament, they contrived how to deal with them as fast as they fell into their hands. They summoned by proclamation the Earl of Litchfield, Mr Mordaunt, Major General Brown, Sir William Compton, Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, and Mr Fanshaw, to surrender, which the three last did. The Earl of Stamford was taken in his own house in arms, and sent to Leicester; the Lords Falkland and Delawar were committed to the Tower, as were also the Earl of Chesterfield, the Lord Viscount Falconbridge, the Lord Bellasis, Lord Charles Howard, and Lord Castleton. The Earl of Oxford was committed to the custody of a Serjeant at Arms (30). All this was with a view to fix their authority upon an immovable basis, and to deliver themselves at once from all their enemies, by distributing, as near as possible, all the property in the kingdom amongst their friends, or such as by these gifts might be made so. They had no sooner the news of Sir George Booth's being taken, than they voted Lambert one thousand pounds to buy him a jewel (31), and resolved to draw from Sir George Booth, if possible, the names of all who were embarked in his design, but his memory would not serve him for that (32). He acknowledged very frankly, that his design was to restore the King. It is much less wonderful that the remnant of a Parliament should be so highly transported with their victory, than that their opponents in general should concur in that sentiment, and give up every thing for lost. The Royalists retired into the most distant and least frequented parts of the kingdom. Monk not only dismissed his brother, but, as the reader will see in the text, began to think of laying down his command; or else thought it requisite to make such an offer, that he might from thence collect how far they suspected or had proof of his being acquainted with Sir George Booth's design. The firmest men about the King began

(26) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649, 650. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 206, 207.

(27) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 681, 683. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369. Heath's Chronicle, p. 423, 424.

(28) Life of Dr Barwick, p. 185.

(29) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683, 684. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 693.

(30) Heath's Chronicle, p. 425. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 370.

(31) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 683. Heath's Chronicle, p. 427. Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 696.

(32) Heath's Chronicle, p. 426.

(24) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369.

(25) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 672.



King wrote Sir John Greenville a letter, intimating his hopes, and at the same time inclosed another to General Monk; but though both these were couched in unlimited terms, as the reader will see in the notes [G]; yet Sir John was, by private instructions, confined to the sum of one hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be distributed among such officers as the General should find it requisite to gain (g). There was at this time a very strange concurrence of events; the great enterprize was on the point of breaking out, and indeed did break out under Sir George Booth (b). Colonel Jonathan Atkins, afterwards Sir Jonathan, and Governor of Barbadoes, had been sent to Monk to acquaint him with the design, and to procure his concurrence (i). At this very juncture, Sir Hugh Pollard, Sir Thomas Stukely, and some other loyal gentlemen in the West, had framed a design of sending Mr Nicholas Monk to his brother, as the most likely person to gain him over to the King's interest; but in the first place it was held expedient that he should go to London, where Sir John Greenville then was, and receive his last instructions from him (k). Sir John had also the same views, and therefore instantly approved of the design, and communicated to him both the King's letters. He also desired to embark Dr Clarges, whose sister General Monk had married, and to whom Mr Nicholas Monk had communicated his intentions before he went to Sir John. He very honestly reported his commission, which Dr Clarges very wisely declined; he considered that Sir John Greenville was a declared Cavalier, and that it would be very improper for him, who was the General's agent at London, to have any intercourse with a gentleman of that character. He concurred however so far, as to press the Divine to execute the commission he had undertaken; and because all the ways to Scotland were obstructed, he took care to provide a frigate for the transporting of Mr Nicholas Monk thither, and conveyed him safe on ship-board (l), fully instructed how to manage his negotiations with caution, and expressly directed to communicate with none but the General, except Dr Samuel Barrow, Physician to the army, a very discreet gentleman, and Mr John Price his Chaplain; the first of which was ejected out of Trinity-College in Cambridge for his affection to his Majesty, and the latter the son of a sequestered minister, always educated in principles of loyalty, a good scholar, and an honest man; both recommended by Clarges to the General, at his first going into Scotland, to be near his person. The General received his brother kindly, and having made choice of a few persons about him whom he could trust, and united them together by a solemn oath of secrecy, he directed an expostulatory letter to be drawn up, addressed to the Parliament, which he proposed should have been signed by most of his officers, and, as far as can be collected, intended this as a prologue to an action of much greater consequence. He changed his mind, however, suddenly, and resolved to do nothing

gan to despair; and Charles, seeing no hopes of his restitution, but from the reconciliation between France and Spain, set out for the Pyrenees (33) in order to promote it. In six or seven weeks however all things altered their face, the Parliament resolved to abate the spirit of the army. The army shewed no disposition to suffer it. On the 6th of October, the city, to promote a better understanding amongst them, invited the Parliament, the council of state, and the field officers, to dinner (34), at Grocer's-Hall. On the 12th of the same month the Parliament declared the commissions of Lambert and many other officers null, and the very next day the officers nulled that, by setting guards upon the House of Commons (35). All this time Sir John Greenville lived in his house in Covent-Garden, with more apparent tranquility than almost any man of his condition; and though he neglected nothing that was in his power to comfort and relieve the distressed, to furnish safe retreats to those whom their fears had driven to hide themselves, and laboured to mollify the persons in power with regard to those who were in confinement; yet he found such a variety of pretences for doing all this, independent of party, that he seemed to act rather like a generous good-natured man, and one who was above deserting his friends in their distress, than as a warm Cavalier.

[G] *In the notes.* The reader, on the perusal of these letters, will very clearly discern how entirely the King trusted Sir John Greenville, and how little hopes he had of General Monk, otherwise than through his influence (36).

To Sir John Greenville.

S I R,

' I am confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart against me, nor hath he done any thing against me, which I cannot easily pardon; and it is in his power to do me so great service that

' I cannot easily reward, but I will do all I can.  
' And I do authorize you to treat with him, and not only to assure him of my kindness, but that I will very liberally reward him with such an estate in land, and such a title of honour, as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my interest.  
' And whatsoever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever he, or you by his advice, shall promise to any of his officers, or the army under his command, (which command he shall still keep) I will make good and perform, on the word of a King.

Your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659.

Charles R.

That to the General was.

S I R,

' I cannot think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do, and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country, and to your self, that I cannot think you will decline my interest. The person who gives, or sends this to you hath authority to say so much from me; and if you once resolve to take my interest to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it entirely to your own judgment, and will comply with the advice which you shall give me. The rest I refer to the person who conveys this to you, and it is in your power to make me as kind to you as you can desire, and to have me always,

Your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659.

Charles R.

[H] *In*

(g) Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 9.

(b) Baker's Chronicle, p. 649.  
Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 672.  
The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 369.  
Heath's Chronicle, p. 424.

(i) Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 6.

(k) Baker's Chronicle, p. 650, 651.

(l) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 96.

(33) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 680.

(34) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 684.

(35) Heath's Chronicle, p. 428, 429.  
The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 370, 371.  
Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 684, 685.

(36) Baker's Chronicle, p. 651.  
Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 93, 94.



(m) Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 23—26.

(n) Baker's Chronicle, p. 643.

(o) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 109, 110.

(p) Baker's Chronicle, p. 662. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 685.

(q) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 698. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 372. Heath's Chronicle, p. 430.

(r) Price's History and Method of the Restoration, p. 41.

(s) Baker's Chronicle, p. 666. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 134.

(t) Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 72. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 704, 706. Heath's Chronicle, p. 435. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 373. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 691.

(u) Baker's Chronicle, p. 667, 668. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 703. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 138, 139. Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 60.

thing 'till he saw what became of Sir George Booth's enterprize (m). As that gentleman was defeated on the first, and sent prisoner to the Tower on the twenty-fourth, of August, Monk immediately caused his letter to be burnt unsigned, and finding the members, who were styled the Parliament, began to displace several of his officers, and to new model his army, he grew so dissatisfied, that he actually sent a letter to this remnant (n) of a Parliament, to desire he might have leave to lay down his command, and pass the remainder of his days in quiet. He reprimanded his brother for having entered into a design of such consequence, advised him to mind the affairs of his profession for the future, and went so far as to tell him, that if either he or his cousin Greenville suffered this business to come to light, he would do his best to ruin them both (o). But before the Parliament could come to any resolution upon his request, they were turned out by Fleetwood and Lambert, so that the victory, which they believed would have fully established their power, proved the ruin of it. The government, appointed by the army, was a kind of council composed of twenty-three persons, with the Keeper Whitlocke at their head, to whom they gave the title of the Committee of Safety (p). This revolution was made on the 13th of October, and General Monk no sooner received the news, than he declared immediately, notwithstanding all that was past, for the remnant of the Parliament that had been turned out (q). In the mean time his brother returned into England by sea, and giving no other answer to Sir John Greenville than that he was under an oath of secrecy, he communicated this to the King, so that for the present all hopes from General Monk were laid aside (r). General Fleetwood and Lieutenant-General Lambert both courted Monk, but the latter nevertheless marched against him with an army much superior in force, and if he had proceeded with the same activity with which he began, in all probability he had carried his point. But if Lambert was stronger in men, Monk had the advantage in point of money, since he had about seventy thousand pounds in bank; Lambert had very little, and no means to raise more, unless he would have done it by open force (s). While things were in this disjointed state, and Lambert with the best part of his forces at Newcastle, the remnant of the Long Parliament made a bold push, took advantage of the soft temper of General Fleetwood, brought over the best part of the troops that were left about London, and on Christmas day took possession of their old seats again at Westminster, the army in Ireland and fleet having also declared for them (t). This did not hinder General Monk from proceeding in his own way, and marching into England in support of Lord Fairfax, who had raised the North in his favour; however, he sent Major-General Morgan back into Scotland with a reasonable force, that he might have something behind him to trust to (u). On the third of February, General Monk, at the head of his forces, entered London, and, as through the course of a long winter march, he had behaved with so much darkness and reserve, that, except Lord Fairfax and one or two who were about him, nobody ever knew or guessed at his meaning; so, after he came to the Parliament, he balanced with so great circumspection, that he was believed to be firm to one side to-day, and appeared quite another man to-morrow. By these dexterous shiftings, with those who were continually contriving to shift him out of his power, he did what Cromwell, Fleetwood, or Lambert, could never do before; that is, he engaged, or rather he obliged, the remnant of the Long Parliament, first to admit the secluded members, then to put an end to their own session, and to issue writs for a new Parliament (w), returnable April 25, 1660. He was then, as master of all, courted by all; the great leaders of the Parliament offered him Hampton-Court, and a great revenue, at length the supreme authority in what form and with what title he thought fit (x). The French Ambassador seconded this proposal (y); for Cardinal Mazarin, who had made so good use of the first, was willing to bespeak the friendship of this second Cromwell upon any terms. Sir John Greenville, who was likewise amongst those who kept a strict eye upon the General and all his motions, resolved to take the first opportunity of executing the commission he had so long ago received from his master, and at the hazard of his life to draw the King out of that perplexity in which he then stood [H]. But this opportunity was not to be found, the

(w) Heath's Chronicle, p. 437, 438, 439. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 228, 263, 271. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 375, 376, 577. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 694, 696. Skinner's Motus Compositi, p. 28, 36, 41.

(x) Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 127, 128. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 251, 252. Baker's Chronicle, p. 693. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 716, 752. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 270. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 426.

(y) Baker's Chronicle, p. 695.

[H] *In which he then stood.* In order to have a just and precise idea how this important transaction of the King's Restoration was brought about, and by whom; the best method that can be devised, is to consider the letters of Sir Edward Hyde to Dr Barwick, written at the time, and which are happily preserved. These are authentic and unexceptionable evidences, for, beyond all doubt, the Chancellor was master of most of the King's intelligence. From those letters, in the earlier part of the year, it is most apparent that at Brussels they only fatigued themselves with guesses and conjectures, as to Monk's temper and disposition, and comforted themselves with the hopes that Colonel Cloberry, Mr Otway, and Major Redman, whom Dr Barwick had reconciled to the King, and who had all of them some interest with Monk, might work upon him. However, the reserves of the

General frequently wore out the Chancellor's patience, who was very desirous to be at the bottom of his design, and a little piqued that none of his friends could assist him. In a very long letter, dated February 20, 1660, N. S. he tells Dr Barwick, 'that he conceives Mr Otway must be with him, and then, says he, you cannot be long kept in suspense as to what Monk resolves to do, and if Clarges hath the courage to shew him the King's letter, it must work upon him as much as if it had been written to himself.' In the same letter there is another paragraph, that the reader will certainly peruse with pleasure, as it affords us a true picture of the Chancellor's mind in that important crisis (37). 'I did hope that our last letters would have brought us some news of the city's resentment, but I believe they will avoid all sharp expostulations till they can make a clearer judgment

(37) Barwick's Life, p. 499, 500.



the General was aware of his design, and kept at such a distance, that Sir John knew not how to act. At length he bethought himself of Mr Morrice, his neighbour in the country,

‘ judgment of Monk’s resolutions, of which methinks, by your’s of the third, you seem still to retain some hopes; and it is evident enough from his carriage, that he is willing all parties should retain a fair hope of him. There is no doubt it is in his power, if he be once well resolved to make himself so strong, by a conjunction with honest and worthy men, that he need fear no opposition, but may bring all to pass that he can reasonably desire, or others desire from him; and he takes very ill measures of his own interest, if he doth not believe that it can be more advanced by his adhering to the King, and eminently promoting his right, than by any other course he can take; and, in truth, that no other advancement can be pleasant or lasting to him. But if he should prove so false and so foolish, as to give himself up to the imagination of a Republic; I hope the good spirit that already appears throughout the whole kingdom will be heightened with indignation and obiternity, to protest against a submission, and subjection to such an extravagant and absurd government as is now over them, and consequently, will refuse all payments of taxes and impositions, and fill Westminster-Hall with process, and complaints to the Judges for the oppressions they suffer against law. So that they may not be only without hope of a solid settlement, but may receive such visible opposition as may take away all their reputation with their neighbours, of their being like to settle: and then will be the time for those Presbyterian Pulpits, which would be thought to have any principles of allegiance, to discharge themselves efficaciously.’ In a letter dated, March 8, 1660, to the same person, the Chancellor expresses himself (38) thus. ‘ As Monk’s proceeding hath been very mysterious throughout, so nothing is more wonderful than the secrecy of all that hath been transacted in Scotland; of all which intrigue the King knows no more than he does of his present intentions, nor hath any express been dispatched from Scotland to the King, to give him any account of what they demanded, or the other promised; therefore the King desires you would use the best means you can to inform yourself of all the particulars. His Majesty is abundantly pleased with the account you give him of your friend, upon whose affection he depends, as likewise upon his discretion, to proceed in that method, and pace, he finds most convenient; who can best judge of his nature, and how he is to be approached, and when it is seasonable he will shew him the King’s letter to him, and may assure him that he cannot be disappointed in any expectation he shall entertain of the King’s kindness.’ At the close of this letter, he adds. ‘ This hath been written these two days, and I meant not to have made any addition, but the express is just now arrived with the great news, who likewise brings your letter of the 21st, which gives the King great hope that Monk is better disposed and resolved than he yet avows: however, the business is in a good way, and he will by degrees be brought to it, if he had not rather others should have the glory of such an action than himself: but, methinks, this calling another Parliament is the farthest way about, and, I believe, not easy to be practised.’ On the twenty-seventh of the same month, he wrote another letter, though perhaps not to Dr Barwick, which was intercepted, and therein speaks very favourably of Monk, adding, ‘ I hope he will quickly discern that it is time for him to declare his inclinations towards the King, in compliance with the sense of the kingdom, which would have a great impression upon many, and so would be of the greater merit in him.’ This, if those then in the Government, had been in any condition to have acted with vigour, might have been very fatal to the General, and it is not easy to see of what use it could have been of to the King; for if Monk was so well inclined, and yet found it necessary to conceal his inclinations, why should Sir Edward Hyde, purely to express his sentiments, run the risk of revealing them to those, whose interest it

was, not only to frustrate, but to punish the General for having such inclinations? In another letter, dated April 2, N. S. Sir Edward writes to Dr Barwick (39) thus. ‘ The King is abundantly satisfied with the account you give of your friend\*, and hath heard nothing that should persuade him that Monk hath withdrawn any of his confidence from him. But it is very true, one letter from a reasonable good hand (which doth not suspect that we know any thing of him) mentions him as a great stickler with the officers to promote that remonstrance which the General quashed; and I find many others, especially about Chester, who believe Redman to be an Anabaptist, and that brigade to be even ready to protest and engage against the present government. But nothing of those discourses make any impressions here, but his Majesty promises himself great effects of both their services. And truly, if we may believe what some sober men of the city say of Monk himself, and some expressions of his to them, we may reasonably believe, that he is not only without any malice or sharpness towards the King, but even with very good purposes for his service, of which I hope we shall shortly see the effects.’ We will add to all this, a short passage from the same Noble Writer’s history, which will effectually convince the reader, that before Sir John Greenville went over to the King, the Chancellor was a total stranger to General Monk’s intention (40). ‘ This speaking of the temper of those who commanded the fleet, together with the many good symptoms in the state, raised his Majesty’s hopes and expectation higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant alloy, that in so great an alteration and application of many, who had been eminently averse from his Majesty, of the General, who only could put an end all to his doubts, there was, *altum silentium*, no persons trusted by his Majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well. The General was weary, and perplexed with his unweildy burthen, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with persons of every interest, the King’s party only excepted, with whom he held no conference, though he found in his every day’s discourses in the city, with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other persons of quality and consideration, that the people did generally wish for the King, and that they did believe there could be no firm and settled peace in the nation that did not comprehend his interest, and compose the prejudice that was against his party. But then there must be strict conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his Majesty’s power to break, and which might not only secure all who had borne arms against him, but such who had purchased the lands of the Crown, or of Bishops, or of delinquents; and nobody spoke more favourably than for the confirming all that had been offered by his father in the Isle of Wight. Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at Northumberland-House, in a conference with that Earl, the Earl of Manchester, and other Lords, and likewise with Hollis, Sir William Waller, Lewis, and other eminent persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked upon as the heads and governors of the moderate Presbyterian party; who most of them would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full rights, and the Church to its possessions. In this conference the King’s restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the peace of the kingdom, and for the satisfaction of the people; and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit him: some proposing more moderate, others more severe conditions. In this whole debate the General insisted upon the most rigid propositions, which he pressed in such a manner that the Lords grew

(39) Ibid. p. 509, 510.

\* Col. Clodberry.

(40) Lord Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 732, 733.

(38) Barwick’s Life, p. 258, 259.

‘ jealous,



country, his intimate friend, and one of the trustees in his father's will. This gentleman was one of the secluded members, and, upon his coming up to town to take his seat in Parliament, he had been kindly received by the General as an old friend, and admitted as far as any man into his confidence. To Mr Morrice therefore Sir John Greenville addressed himself, and earnestly desired him to procure him a private audience from the General, that he might impart to him an affair of the utmost importance. Mr Morrice having informed the General of this address, he received it with much strangeness, for they had little acquaintance with each other, though related, Sir John entering early into the world when the General was under confinement, and afterwards had been long absent from his country. Therefore the General told Mr Morrice, except Sir John would send information by him of the nature of his business, he would not allow of any interview with him. Mr Morrice thereupon told him, He had already desired to know that, but Sir John Greenville refused it. The General, who was himself the closest man alive, liked very well of this reservedness, and bid Mr Morrice acquaint him, That if he came the next day at nine at night to St James's, he would speak with him. Accordingly, Sir John waited on him at the appointed time, which was on March the sixteenth, the next night after the dissolution of the Rump Parliament; and after he had requested pardon for the importunity of his visit, he desired his permission to deliver a message to him from the King. The General seemed surprized; but seeing there was only Mr Morrice in the room, and he at a good distance from them, he bid him say what he pleased. He then presented a letter from the King, and told him, That his Majesty had great confidence in his affections to him, and since he had so far complied with the desires of all the sober part of the kingdom, for the admission of the secluded members, in order to a free Parliament, the consequences thereof could not but give sufficient evidence of his inclinations to his Majesty's service and restoration, which would naturally flow from his endeavours, in conjunction with their counsels. The General replied (z), ' That he had long lamented the miserable distraction of his native country, and waited for a fit opportunity to contribute his assistance towards the redemption of it. And when Lambert and those of his party had interrupted the Parliament, considering that the army had been in a great measure, by that Parliament, modelled, he supposed, by a declaration for their restitution, he might gain power into his hands for better purposes, and as the better to bring these purposes about, he had resolved, if by his arms the Parliament should be restored, together with those few members who sat at their interruption, to admit those also who had been secluded, intending to that end, by degrees, to put his army into such hands as would favour his intentions. That it was well known to all, how he was disappointed in that design, and through what difficulties he had arrived to the station he was then in; nor was he even at that time secure from great danger of disappointment, if he should not manage his affairs with more than ordinary secrecy. As to the King's Majesty, he said, nobody wished him

(z) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 266, 267, 268—272. Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 133—137. Baker's Chronicle, p. 695, 696. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 275, 276, 277. Life of Dr Barwick, p. 262.

' greater

' jealous, that he had such an aversion from restoring the King, that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice, and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the Parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the General, though he consulted with those of every faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely, with Sir Arthur Haslerig, who was irreconcilable to Monarchy, and looked upon as the chief of that Republican party, which desired not to preserve any face of government in the Church, or uniformity in the public exercise of Religion. This made the Lords, and all others who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the General, and jealous of his inclinations. This conference with the Earl of Northumberland, rests upon the credit of the Noble Historian entirely, for Dr Clarges, who kept an exact journal of all that passed in those times, in which none was a deeper actor than himself, has not a word of it\*. He does, indeed, say, that he went on the behalf of the General to a certain great Peer, whose name is not in the printed history, upon some propositions about admitting the House of Lords to sit before the dissolution of the old Parliament; and it is not impossible this might be the very conference mentioned by the Earl of Clarendon. But, perhaps, the reader may be better satisfied with what the Earl of Northumberland himself says, who writing to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Leicester, the man in the world he loved best, and trusted most, has these words†. ' The meeting my Lord of Southampton, in pursuance of some overtures that have been made for a marriage between his daughter and my son, was the principal occasion that brought me now to

' this town, where I find most people very busy, or at least seeming so, and the public affairs in a posture that needs the advice of better heads than mine. All persons here shew strong inclinations to bring in the King, and re-establish the government upon the old foundation. Some there are that would have him restored to all without any condition, only an act of oblivion, and general pardon to be granted; but the soberer people will, I believe, expect terms of more security for themselves, and advantage for the nation; and unless a full satisfaction be given in such points as shall be judged necessary to those ends, it is thought the army will not be pleased. We are told that the force will be removed from the Lords house, and that the next representative will not act without us; but until the way be clear for your Lordship to come amongst us, and that we may be assisted by your counsels, I shall have no good opinion of our business; nor, indeed, do I yet well understand by what warrant, or upon what account, we should meet. Lambert's escape out of the Tower doth a little startle our governors. Colonel Salmon, Creede, and some other chief officers of that party it is said, are lately gone privately from their usual dwellings, and cannot be heard of, which increases the suspicion of a design. From this letter, dated April 13, 1660, we may judge of the Earl of Northumberland's sentiments from his own words, and compare them with those which are ascribed to him by the Noble Historian. As to General Monk's conferences with Sir Arthur Haslerig, the true design of them was, to keep him quiet, a matter of very great consequence at that time, and which the General very happily effected, and which was of no small consequence to the King's peaceable restoration.

26 G

[I] From

VOL. IV. No. 195.

\* Baker's Chronicle, p. 692.

† Sidney's Papers, Vol. II. p. 685, 686.



‘ greater felicity than himself, nor desired his restoration with more passion ; but if it were not cautiously attempted, it would be out of his power to serve him in it, since, in counsels of so nice concernment, there would not be room for two errors. The people, he said, had been long seduced by seditious informations, and the army had been in the hands of such as had always been against his royal father, and many of them even against monarchy itself ; but that, nevertheless, he hoped, if they might find the same security under his Majesty’s government, as they had under the usurpers of it, he should not despair of their reduction to obedience. And to effect this, it was his humble advice, that his Majesty should prevent their fears, by declaring a free and general pardon to all his subjects, and engage himself to give it under the great seal to all that should submit to his authority, except such as should be exempted by the Parliament. And that he would consent to any act or acts of parliament that should be presented to him for the settlement of public sales, and dispositions of lands, to officers, soldiers, and others, and the payment of the soldiers arrears. As also for toleration of liberty of conscience to all his subjects, and that none should be punished for differences in matters of religion, who should not disturb the public peace.’ Sir John Greenville asked him what he would give in command for himself, and if he would write to his Majesty, which he excused, saying, ‘ If his letter should be intercepted before he had compleated the reforming of the army, it would be impossible for him to keep them in temper, or hinder the subversion of all he had hitherto done, adding, that he sought not his own advantage in his endeavours for the public benefit of his country, and that having with much hazard brought matters near to a fair issue, in pursuance of the general suffrage of the nation, he was unwilling by indiscretion to venture a relapse, but would chuse to involve himself in the same condition with the generality of people, in expectation of what the next Parliament should bring forth, to the happiness of his Majesty and all his dominions.’ Sir John Greenville wrote the substance of this discourse, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his memory, who, as soon as he had read the paper, tore it in pieces, and conjured him to acquaint no person whatsoever with their conference except the King himself, and to request him also to conceal it. But above all, he intreated him to desire his Majesty from him to leave the King of Spain’s dominions, and go to Breda, or some other place under the government of the United Provinces, for that he had certain advice he would be detained by the King of Spain’s minister’s, if he stayed in his dominions, and enjoined him not to return ’till he had seen his Majesty out of Flanders. When Sir John took his leave the General said, ‘ He was glad that this occasion of presenting his duty to the King was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find so industrious in his master’s service, of which he had before some experience, when his brother Nicholas came from him into Scotland.’ Sir John promised to observe his instructions, and set out immediately for Dover, in order to take the first opportunity of passing over to Flanders ; and there it was that he met with the Lord Viscount Mordaunt, who had prepared a vessel with the same view of going to wait on his Majesty, though dispatched to the King by his other friends, and with notices of quite another nature ; neither did Sir John Greenville (a) confer with his Lordship at all as to the nature of his business, though the contrary would seem more than probable from another account of this matter [I]. They landed at Ostend

(a) Skinner’s Life of General Monk, p. 276. Price’s History and Method of the King’s Restoration, p. 143. Baker’s Chronicle, p. 696.

[I] From another account of this matter.] The account we have of the transactions mentioned in the text, from the pen of the Noble Historian, is by much the most extraordinary in his whole book ; he begins his account thus (41). ‘ There was at this time, in much conversation and trust with the General, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a fair estate and reputation, one Mr William Morrice, a person of a retired life, which he spent in study, being learned and of good parts, and he had been always looked upon as a man far from any malice towards the King, if he had not good affections for him, which they who knew him best believed him to have in a good measure. This gentleman was allyed to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his estate in that county, where, by the death of his elder brother without heirs male, he inherited a fair fortune. And Morrice being chosen to serve in the next ensuing parliament, had made haste to London, the better to observe how things were like to go.’

The personal character of Mr William Morrice is extremely just, and the great fault in this paragraph lies in the chronology, which is in this history so loosely expressed, that it can only be collected from circumstances. In the present case, it is plain that at this time refers to some space after the election of members to the Convention Parliament, which is made the cause of Mr Morrice’s going up to London ; but the truth is quite otherwise. This gentleman had been elected

knight of the shire for Devon in 1645 (42), and though he never had sat, was considered as one of the secluded members of the Long Parliament. The way he came up to town was this ; the Reverend Mr Nicholas Monk wrote to Dr Clarges to put his brother the General in mind of sending for Mr Morrice, as a prudent person, and well disposed for his Prince’s service and the good of his country, who might therefore be a proper assistant in his councils. Dr Clarges took this hint, prevailed upon his brother to follow it, and, in the answer he wrote to Mr Nicholas Monk, inclosed a letter from the General to Mr Morrice, desiring him to come and take his seat in parliament, which he did (43) ; and this account we have from Dr, afterwards Sir Thomas Clarges himself, who either wrote or caused to be wrote the continuation of Baker’s Chronicle for the first thirteen years of this reign, which is the most authentic account we have. The General soon found him so useful in the cabinet as well as the senate, that he resolved to have the benefit of his abilities in the place where he was most pinched, and therefore made him a Colonel and Governor of Plymouth, which at once secured an important post, and gave him a seat in the council of officers.

Let us now return to the Noble Historian (44). ‘ With him the General consulted freely, touching all his perplexities and observations, how he found most men of quality and interest inclined to call in the King, but upon such conditions as must be very ungrateful,

(42) Wood’s Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 571.

(43) Baker’s Chronicle, p. 690.

(44) Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 734.

(41) Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 733.



Ostend on the 23d of March, and proceeded from thence to Brussels, where the King then was. Sir John, according to his instructions, remained there very private, contenting himself

‘ungrateful, if possible to be received; and the London ministers talked already so loudly of them, that the Covenant being new printed, and by order fixed up in all churches, they, in their sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood they thought it necessary the people should return to their allegiance.’

‘That which wrought most upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all counties for members to serve in parliament, very many of them being known to be of singular affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the murder of his father, and detest the government that succeeded; so that it was reasonably apprehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them that could not be restrained or controuled, and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to him to merit of the King, from whom he had yet deserved nothing.’

‘Mr Morrice was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the affections of the West, where the King’s restoration was, he said, so impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of few or no members to serve for Cornwall or Devonshire, but such who they were confident would contribute all they could to invite the King to return. And when that subject was once upon the stage, they who concurred with most frankness would find most credit, and they who opposed it would be overborne with lasting reproach. When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance that design, and so consulted with his friend how he might manage it in that manner before the parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his counsels and contrivance.’

It is very evident, that the main design of this account is to transfer, in a great measure if not wholly, the merit of the Restoration from Monk to Morrice; but here again the want of chronology spoils all, as we shall presently see. The arguments here advanced are very pretty and plausible, but could never have fallen from the mouth of Mr Morrice, unless he had been a prophet. Those who were upon the spot, very scrupulous and strict observers of every thing that passed, and who at this time held a constant correspondence with Sir Edward Hyde, were so far from believing the General was influenced (at least in the Noble Historian’s sense) by the elections, that they ascribe these elections going as they did to the General’s influence solely. They affirm, he first prompted the Royalists to stand, notwithstanding their being disqualified, upon this principle, that a free parliament could be chosen only by leaving the people’s affections without restrictions. He is also said to have given private encouragement to many of the Royalists to stand at different places, and it is carried so far, as to affirm, that no Cavalier presumed to stand any where, till he had first obtained the General’s tacit approbation (45). These circumstances (if well founded, and this too may be proved) seem to shew a regular gradation in the General’s conduct, which was grounded in a just apprehension of men and things, and calculated for what is the perfection of true policy, creating that opportunity, and preparing those instruments he meant to use. Sir Philip Warwick, who not only lived in these times, but had some share in these measures, and who had seen the account given of them by Dr Clarges, professes that too little is ascribed to Monk, and too much to his assistants, Clarges and Morrice, for that in reality, Monk was so far from being managed by any, that he managed them all (46), so that those who were generally esteemed his instructors were in fact but his instruments. Honest Anthony à Wood (47) tells us, in his rough way, which however is pretty near the truth, that the General employed Morrice as a kind of a state blind to cajole the Presbyterians.

Once more let us hear the Noble Historian (48).

‘There was then in the town a gentleman well

known to be a servant of eminent trust to the King, Sir John Greenville, who, from the time of the surrender of Scilly, had enjoyed his estate, and sometimes his liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the General into Scotland the clergyman his brother, and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his Majesty, and at this time were taken notice of to have all intimacy with Mr Mordaunt, who most immediately corresponded with Brussels. This gentleman was of a family to which the General was allied, and he had been obliged to his father, Sir Bevil Greenville, who lost his life at the battle of Lansdowne for the King, and by his will had recommended his much impaired fortune, and his wife and children, to the care and counsels of his neighbour and friend Mr Morrice, who had executed the trust with the utmost fidelity and friendship.’

There is nothing in this paragraph which is not exactly true; but notwithstanding this, the whole meaning conveyed, for it is not expressed, is as remote from truth as can be imagined. This is a great singularity, and deserves extraordinary attention. Upon perusing the paragraph, one immediately apprehends, that Mr Morrice, an old grave gentleman, intrusted with the care of Sir John Greenville’s person and fortune by his father, and knowing how well he had behaved in the King’s service, and that he was extremely intimate with Mr Mordaunt, to whose care the King’s concerns were principally intrusted, believed he might be a very proper agent for the General as things now stood, and recommended him accordingly. Yet, whoever should advance this might be confuted, by producing the Noble Historian’s own words, which certainly do not say this, and yet as certainly mean it or mean nothing.

But to go on (49).

(49) Ibid.

‘The General was content that Sir John Greenville should be trusted in this great affair, and that Mr Morrice should bring him secretly to him, in a private lodging he had in St James’s. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his life, he told him, he meant to send him to the King, with whom he presumed he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony, for he was resolved not to write to the King, nor to give him any thing in writing, but wished him to confer with Mr Morrice, and to take short memorials in his own hand of those particulars he should offer to him in discourse, which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint. And so he retired hastily out of the room, as if he were jealous that other men would wonder at his absence.’

‘That which Mr Morrice communicated to Greenville was, after he had enlarged upon the perplexity the General was in, by the several humours and factions which prevailed, and that he durst not trust any officer of his own army, or any friend but himself with his own secret purposes; he advised that the King should write a letter to the General, in which, after kind and gracious expressions, he should desire him to deliver the inclosed letter and declaration to the Parliament, the particular heads and materials for which letter and declaration Morrice discoursed to him, the end of which was, to satisfy all interests, and to comply with every man’s humour, and indeed to suffer every man to enjoy what he would.’

These two paragraphs speak things out plain, and entirely strip Sir John Greenville of the merit of first inviting the General to an immediate correspondence with the King, which is transferred to Mr Morrice; but the great business of the commission too is taken from the General and translated to the same gentleman, as having abilities more equal to the task. He seems here too to be endowed with the spirit of prophecy, for, not content with instructing the young man who was to carry the message, he likewise takes upon him to direct what the King should do, which, as his Majesty really did it, it looks as if the prophecy had been fulfilled.

But

(45) Life of Dr John Barwick, p. 260, 261.

(46) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles the first, with a Continuation, p. 420.

(47) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 571.

(48) Clarendon’s History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 735.



himself with giving notice to the King, by Lord Mordaunt, where he was, and in the meantime he digested again in writing what he had received from the General. The King went to

(50) Ibid.

But let us now go on to the last paragraph of this narrative (50).

'After Sir John Greenville had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short memorials for his memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the General, to whom he read the short notes he had taken, to which little was added; and the General said, that if the King writ to that purpose, when he brought the letter to him, he would keep it in his hands 'till he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his Majesty.' Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the King to consent to, which was his Majesty's present remove out of Flanders. He undertook to know that the Spaniards had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his friends were jealous that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it 'till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired that his Majesty would make haste to Breda, and that for the public satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left Flanders, whatsoever he should send in writing should bear date as from Breda, and he enjoined Sir John Greenville not to return, 'till he had himself seen the King out of the dominions of Flanders. Thus instructed he left him, who taking Mr Mordaunt with him for the companion of his journey, set out for Flanders about the beginning of April 1660, and in a few days arrived safely at Brussels.

At the time of all these transactions, the Noble Writer was abroad, and therefore could not have any personal knowledge of what he wrote. After his return, he might be deceived by those who undertook to give him the best informations, and certainly was so. He had the weight of public affairs upon his shoulders, while at home, and after he was abroad in his second exile, it may be, he had no opportunity of correcting his mistakes, or it is possible he did not suspect them. Be this as it will; there is nothing more evident, than that the whole of this narrative, in which no one authority is cited, is inconsistent with the best and the best informed contemporary writers; irreconcilable to facts and dates; incompatible with the King's declarations, under the broad seal, affixed by this Noble Writer himself; and incoherent in its several parts. We are not the first who have asserted this (51), nor shall we find it any difficulty to prove it.

With regard to contemporary writers, we may insist upon Dr Clarges (52) than whom no man could be better informed, and who committed the history of these things to writing, to prevent posterity from being misinformed. We may mention Dr Thomas Gumble (53), who was chaplain to General Monk, who, immediately upon the death of that great man, published the history of his actions, and addressed it to the King. We may add Dr John Price (54), another of the General's chaplains, who wrote the history of this interesting period very circumstantially, from his own knowledge, and from the relations of the Duke of Albermarle and the Earl of Bath, which, the former being dead, he dedicated to the latter. We may also add to these authorities the judicious work of Dr Thomas Skinner (55), who was Physician to the Duke of Albermarle, conversed much with him during the latter part of his life, and had very extraordinary helps in the writing of his history. To these we may subjoin two other unexceptionable historians, whether we consider them in the light of knowledge or of probity, Sir Philip Warwick (56), and Dr Peter Barwick (57). They all agree that Sir John Greenville addressed himself to Mr Morrice; that it was with some difficulty, and not 'till after he had refused to treat with Morrice, Sir John obtained a private audience of the General; that at this audience he produced the King's letters to himself and to the General; that the reason the General sent him back without a letter, was because the King could not refuse credit to his own minister; and that this negotiation rested entirely upon Sir John Greenville.

It is inconsistent with facts and dates, which are very carefully marked in the text. Mr Morrice came up to town, in consequence of the General's letter of invitation, in the latter end of February; he was made governor of Plymouth in the beginning of March; he introduced Sir John Greenville to the General on the sixteenth of the same month; he set out two or three days after; all which facts happened previous to the date the Noble Historian has fixed, by the words *at this time*, in the beginning of his relation; and before those facts, which, according to him, were the motives of this whole transaction. He landed at Ostend on the 23d of March, and had finished his negotiation by the time the Noble Historian assigns for his departure out of England.

The narrative, as it is given in the text, is clearly supported by the King's warrant, which the reader will find in the next note, and by the preamble of the patent by which Sir John Greenville was created Earl of Bath. The relation of the Noble Historian is inconsistent with itself; for if Mr Morrice had not come to London 'till after his election to the Convention-Parliament, he could scarce have arrived there before Sir John Greenville's departure for Brussels; and if the General had been really wrought upon by the motives assigned in that narrative, all these momentous affairs must have been transacted in fewer hours than they took up days.

But there is something more to be done before we close this note.

It seems very strange that Sir John Greenville, who was in a joint-commission to manage the King's affairs with Mr Mordaunt, now Lord Viscount Mordaunt, than whom no man had more freely hazarded himself for the King's service, should go with him, without saying one word to him of his commission. But this will be very easily accounted for, if we consider two circumstances; the first is, that their going together was not by design but by accident. Take the very words of an accurate historian\*. 'Sir John Greenville, in his journey towards Dover, very seasonably found the Lord Mordaunt, who was then going over to the King, and had hired a vessel to himself, in which he was very joyful to accommodate his old acquaintance Sir John Greenville, and engage together in the King's service; but in all their voyage to Ostend they knew nothing of one another's business. When they came to Brussels, the Lord Mordaunt resolved to go directly to the court, and Sir John Greenville to his lodgings, defining his Lordship to acquaint the King that he was come to town, and where he lodged.'

The next circumstance is, that as they met by chance, so Lord Mordaunt had his secret as well as Sir John Greenville. If the reader considers the following passage, perhaps he may suspect that both their secrets regarded the same person†.

'After some time, says Sir Philip Warwick, the great Lords, Warwick, Manchester, and Say, and some chief members, had private conferences with some persons of the King's party, as Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Sir Geoffry Palmer, and myself, the unworthiest. Not many weeks after, without the knowledge of the Lords, Mr Annesley, (now Lord Privy-Seal) Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and Sir William Morrice, met with the same persons from the General, to the end that the King might see their good intentions, through a medium which was not likely to deceive him. And though they did the same thing afterwards themselves, by particular messengers, whom they sent over to the King; yet they thought this a good means early to be rightly understood: and the General was so well satisfied, that he confessed that there was not a meeting in town, but he had some intelligence of it, save of this, which assured him of their secrecy; and yet he knew not that the same persons met at the same time with the Lords.' This passage will also serve to confirm and illustrate what is said of the reception these proposals met with from the King, in the text. In plain terms, those who met Sir Philip Warwick in the name, and with the concurrence, of the General, procured

\* Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 276.

† Memoirs of Affairs after the King's Murder, p. 428, 429.

(51) See Dr Webster's Preface to the Life of General Monk.

(52) Baker's Chronicle, p. 695.

(53) Life of General Monk, p. 275.

(54) The Mystery and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 133.

(55) Life of General Monk, p. 267.

(56) Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I, and the Continuation &c. p. 431.

(57) Vita Johanni Barwick, p. 181.



him alone in his coach with the like privacy, and having received from him all that he had to say, his Majesty then told him, it was necessary to acquaint the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor Hyde, and Sir Edward Nicholas, with this important affair, as their advice and assistance was absolutely and indispensibly necessary, in framing the dispatches and commissions which were fit for him to carry back (*b*). But the point chiefly pressed by Sir John Greenville, as that which General Monk had most at heart, was the King's immediate departure out of the Spanish territories; and, in the whole of these momentous transactions, there is no one circumstance which shews the sagacity of that great man so much as this; since, through the dilatoriness of his ministers, who would needs prepare their dispatches there, though they might have drawn them in a safer place, when it came to be executed it was done with great precipitation, and the King had only a few hours to make his escape (*c*), the Spaniards having determined to imprison him, 'till he had engaged to restore Dunkirk and the island of Jamaica. At this time his Majesty only directed a commission to be drawn up for General Monk, to command as Captain-General over all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which was signed by him, and put up with a private letter to him from his Majesty, written with his own hand (*d*). There was also another letter directed 'To our trusty and well-beloved General Monk, to be by him communicated to the President of the Council of State, and to the officers of the armies under his command,' with a copy of the King's Declaration inclosed; and because the new and auspicious Parliament (upon whose counsels the hopes both of the King and people did so much depend) were suddenly to meet, letters were drawn up, to be delivered at their assembly, by Sir John Greenville, directed by the King, 'To our trusty and well-beloved the Speaker of the House of Lords;' and another 'To our trusty and well-beloved the Speaker of the House of Commons;' in both which were also copies of his Majesty's Declaration inclosed. There was also a letter directed 'To our trusty and well-beloved, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, of our city of London;' in the contents whereof the Lord Mordaunt (*e*), who was also to return with Sir John Greenville, was mentioned; and another to General Monk and General Montague, to be by them communicated to the fleet. All these papers were dated as from Breda, on the 4th of April old style, and on the 14th according to the new; and this latter date being commonly mentioned, has occasioned great perplexity and confusion. In his conference with the King, Sir John peremptorily refused, as being expressly so commanded by the General, to mention any thing, or to permit any thing to be mentioned, of a reward for his service; only he told his Majesty, that in treating with the General he had made him an offer of one hundred thousand pounds a year, and the post of Lord High Constable of England (*f*), of which he would not hear, and charged him to make no demands, and to receive nothing for him, with which, knowing the General's punctuality, he was resolved to comply. The King however put into Sir John's packet an authentic testimony of his service, and of his own sense of it, which the reader will find in the notes [K].

While

procured him and the rest of the King's friends, to send a person whom they could trust; and this was the Lord Mordaunt, with this general message as the result of their conferences; but, at the same juncture, Mr Annesley and Sir Anthony dealt secretly and separately with the King, in the same manner the General did by Sir John Greenville.

[K] Will find in the notes.] As at this time the Chancellor was upon the spot, and consequently better qualified than any other writer, to relate what passed during Sir John Greenville's stay at Brussels, it is less wonderful that he should disagree with those who speak but at second hand; and yet even that is such authority, as we can but rarely meet with in history. Dr Price says (58), from the mouth of the Earl of Bath, who was then Sir John Greenville, that the King, upon intimation of his being come to Brussels, went privately to his lodgings, and was alone with him, to whom he discovered his instructions from the General, and by whom he was believed, though he had no letter. The Noble Historian says (59), that Greenville's and Mordaunt's being in Brussels was unknown, they attending his Majesty only in the night at the Chancellor's lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice by any, and all along treats Mordaunt as if joined in commission with Sir John Greenville. Dr Skinner says, that on their arrival Lord Mordaunt went directly to court, and, as we have said in the text, informed the King of Sir John Greenville's arrival, and where he was, which produced a visit to him from the King alone. At this interview, the same writer tells us, he entered into the relation of those private instructions that he had received from the General; which, when his Majesty had further considered and debated with Sir

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John Greenville (60), 'they found it impossible to comply with General Monk's desire, in managing this secret affair by themselves alone, without admitting some others to a share in their councils. And therefore his Majesty resolved, that the next day the Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor Hyde, and Sir Edward Nicholas, should be acquainted with it, who accordingly attended his Majesty privately, together with Sir John Greenville, and received this news from General Monk with a kind of joyful astonishment.'

This was a very right resolution in the King, and reconciles us to the Noble Historian's account, to whom very probably his Majesty said nothing of what he thought the General's too great caution. The Chancellor assumes to himself the advising the letters to the two houses of parliament, which was a very prudent well-timed step, and proved of infinite consequence. The Noble Historian affirms, that Sir John Greenville recommended Morrice to the seals; but he says nothing of the offers that had been made to Monk, and rejected by him, of the King's shewing an inclination to reward Sir John Greenville, or of the following warrant (61), which was put up in Sir John's packet.

CHARLES R.

'In consideration of the many services done us, by our right trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir John Greenville (one of the gentlemen of our bed chamber), and his father, Sir Bevil Greenville, who most honourably lost his life at the battle of Lansdowne, in the defence and service of the crown against the rebels, after he had performed many other great and signal services. But more especially, in consideration of

(\*) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 718, 719.

(b) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 718, 719. (c) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 718, 719. (d) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 718, 719.

(d) Baker's Chronicle, p. 702—703. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 328. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 230. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 434.

(e) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 751.

(f) Price's History and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 144. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

(60) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 277.

(61) Price's Mystery and Method of the King's Restoration, p. 157—160.



While Sir John was with the King, he received professions of duty from some persons of great weight in England, who informed him that they had been with General Monk, and took great merit to themselves, from their having prevailed upon him to consent to his Majesty's return, on the terms that the King his father had consented to in the Isle of Wight, to which they intreated him also to consent, as it was impossible for them, notwithstanding their great importunities, to obtain from the General, terms that were in any degree

the late most extraordinary services, never to be forgotten by us or our posterity, which the said Sir John Greenville hath lately rendered us in his person, in his secret, prudent, and most faithful transactions and negotiations, in concluding that most happy treaty which he had lately, by our special command and commission, with our famous and renowned General Monk, and wherein HE ALONE, AND NO OTHER, was intrusted by us concerning the said treaty, about those most important affairs for our restoration, which he has most faithfully performed, with great prudence, care, secrecy, and advantage, for our service, without any conditions imposed upon us, beyond our expectation, and the commission we gave him, whereof we doubt not, but by God's blessing, we shall see the effects of our said happy restoration: we are graciously pleased to promise, upon the word of a King, that, as soon as we are arrived in England, and it shall please God to restore us to our crown of that kingdom, we will confer upon him, our said trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir John Greenville, the place and office of Groom of our Stole, and first Gentleman of our Bed-chamber (with all fees, pensions, and perquisites, thereunto belonging) together with the title and dignity of an Earl of our kingdom of England: and the better to support the said title of honour, and to reward as we ought those many great services, and to recompence the losses and sufferings of him and his family, we are further graciously pleased to promise, upon our said royal word, to pay all the debts that he the said Sir John Greenville, or his father, have contracted in the late wars in our service, or in our Royal father's, of blessed memory; and also to bestow and settle, in good land in England, an estate of inheritance, to the value of at least three thousand pounds per annum, upon him the said Sir John Greenville and his heirs for ever, to remain as a perpetual acknowledgment for his said services, and as a testimony of our grace and favour towards him, and that antient and loyal family of the Greenvilles, unto all posterity. Given at our court at Brussels the 2d of April, in the twelfth year of our reign, 1660.

By His Majesty's command,

Edw. Nicholas.

It is impossible to doubt, after perusing this paper, what the King's sentiments were, or what he intended the world should think of this negotiation, or the gentleman who managed it. One would imagine, that, at this juncture, Sir Edward Hyde thought precisely as the King did, and believed that their direct intercourse with General Monk was to be through Sir John Greenville alone, and no other, since, before he knew whether Sir John was in England or not, he wrote him the following very remarkable letter (62), which is still preserved, and which, though of some length, the reader cannot but peruse with pleasure.

SIR EDWARD HYDE TO SIR JOHN GREENVILLE.

April the 23d, Breda 1660. N. S.

Sir,

The King hath received your's of the 18th from Ostend, and you will easily believe he wished you a quick and a safe passage, and is impatient to hear from you after you have spoken with the Gentleman. Since we came to Breda, every day hath brought us more expresse than you imagine from England, and truly some from considerable persons of all parties, and all pretend to have great power and credit with the Gentleman, and great hope of disposing him to serve the King; in order to which, many propositions are made, and from some, the very advices which are already followed, you will easily think the King re-

turns thanks to all, and desires them to use all their power to so good an end. Now, as the King resolves to conceal nothing of moment from the Gentleman, upon whose affection he relies entirely, and that whatsoever he shall be informed of by his Majesty, shall not be turned to the prejudice of any man; so I am directed to let you know of one particular embassy he hath received, which puts him into some wonder, and the Gentleman will better know what use to make of it than the King doth. There is a gentleman come from my Lady Carlisle, who went first to the Queen at Paris, and from thence hither, with instructions in writing, which the lady professeth are the Gentleman's positive advice, derived to her by the Secretary Thompson, who is the sole confident between them. They contain the Gentleman's positive exceptions against the King's being in Flanders or in Holland, as unfit places for them to treat in, the first as an enemy's and a catholic country, the other as too much interested in trade, and so like to take advantage of the King's presence; and thereupon his advice is pretended to be as positive that his Majesty should immediately go into France, as a place without all exception, as if it were Geneva for religion, and a country not at all affected to it's interest. You will imagine the King believes this not to be the Gentleman's opinion, yet he thinks it necessary he should know it, that he may the better judge what design there may be in this, and whether, in truth, Mr Thompson be like to have any hand in it. There is another thing in which the King doth as much desire the Gentleman's advice. We have, since I saw you, received very frank overtures from Secretary Thurloe, with many great professions of resolving to serve the King, and not only in his own endeavours, but by the service of his friends, who are easily enough guessed at. This comes through the hands of a person who will not deceive us, nor is easily to be deceived himself, except by such bold dissimulation of the other, which cannot at first be discovered. Yet it is enough suspected by the King, there is somewhat of curiosity accompanies Thurloe's professions; for he is very inquisitive to know whether the King hath any confidence in the Gentleman, or hath approached him the right way, which he desires to know, only that he may finish what is left undone, or be able the better to advise his Majesty what he is to do therein.

The King returned such answers as are fit, and desires to see some effects of his good affection, and then he will find his service more acceptable. Both these particulars the King thinks fit the Gentleman should know, that his Majesty may receive his advice, and to know what his opinion is of Thurloe, and whether he be able, if he were willing, to contribute much to his Majesty's service; but this being of such a nature, as being communicated, may be turned to the prejudice of persons, to whom his Majesty wisheth no hurt, and may draw reproach upon himself and his councils; the King would not have you impart either of them to any person whatsoever, except the Gentleman himself and Mr Morrice, because possibly you may not so conveniently at present be admitted to the Gentleman, and then no inconvenience can arise from it.

I am,

Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant.

Indorsed by William Morrice, Esq; afterwards Sir William Morrice, and Secretary of State.  
Lord Chancellor to Sir Jo. Greenville from Breda.

[L] To

(62) In the possession of Hugh Gregor, Esq;



degree better. The fact was so far true, that they had applied to the General, and proposed bringing the King home in that manner, to which he was forced in appearance to assent, that they might not penetrate his real intentions. The King understood this very well, and therefore, when he communicated this affair to Sir John, he could not help saying, 'These people little know on how good terms I stand with General Monk through your interposition (g).' Sir John left the court on the first of April, went to Antwerp, where Lord Mordaunt (h) waited for him, and from thence to Ostend, carrying with him the King's privy seal and signet, which the General was to deliver (i) to whom he thought fit. On his arrival, he privately attended the General at St James's, and delivered to him his Majesty's letter, written with his own hand, together with his commission of General over all the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The General perused the letter, and kept it with him, but for the present he would not trust his own cabinet with the commission, which was therefore delivered back to Sir John Greenville, who secured it in a private place in the floor of his bed-chamber, where he had been long used to lay up letters and commissions from the King, where also this lay 'till after the King's return, and was then delivered to the General (k). And for those other letters, it was now resolved, that Sir John Greenville should keep them privately 'till the opening of the Parliament, and then deliver them according to his instructions. The General at this time also deliberated with Sir John Greenville about the disposal of his Majesty's seal and signet, where it was agreed, that in regard Mr Morrice was the only person that had been privy to this secret affair, and had so faithfully assisted therein, they would recommend him to the trust; which, so soon as the King returned, was accordingly done by the General, though at the same time he was offered ten thousand pounds to procure the place for another. Whatever it might be afterwards, his promotion was at this juncture highly acceptable to the Chancellor, whose complaisance and regard for Sir John Greenville and Mr Morrice ran as high as they could wish, or at least he expressed himself in such terms as manifested his desire to persuade them of his respect and affection [L]. At this very time an incident fell out

(g) Price's History and Memoirs of the King's Restoration, p. 142. Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 282, 283.

(h) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 741.

(i) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 283. Price's History of the Restoration, p. 145. Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 379.

(k) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 284.

[L] To persuade them of his respect and affection.]

It is not impossible but both the following letters might in effect come from the same hand, that is to say, the Chancellor might dictate the King's, as well as write his own letter; for most of King Charles's letters are remarkably short, and are conceived in a quicker and more pointed stile; but be that as it will, these letters are incontestible proofs, that the King and the Chancellor were at this time thoroughly convinced of the capacity of the new Secretary, of the strict fidelity of Sir John Greenville, and of the abilities and affections of them both towards the King's service (63).

(63) In the possession of Hugh Gregor, Esq;

King CHARLES II. to William Morrice, Esq;

' Mr Morrice, Breda, 20 May 1660, N. S.

' The last week Bernard Greenville was even departing from me with my answer to your's of the 20th of the last month, when some messengers arrived with the news of the reception of my letters and declaration, found in the two Houses, which made most that I had writ to you unnecessary, and so I stopped his journey. I have since received your's of the 5th, and I must tell you, I find cause enough to rejoice in the very good opinion I have of you, and in the choice I have made of you for so near a trust, which I am sure you will discharge with full abilities, as well as fidelity to me. I shall hereafter write to you with that freedom as is due to such a servant, and impart those apprehensions to you, which it may be you may find, upon further enquiry, to be very reasonably grounded. That both Houses are very well constituted of men, who desire to restore the nation to a full peace and security, upon the right and safe foundation of the laws, I do not in the least degree doubt; yet there is a little question, that there are some persons both within and without both Houses, who desire to keep up the memory of old jealousies and animosities, and to prevent such an entire union as can only make us all happy. Next the blessing of God, nothing can so absolutely disappoint those disguises, as my presence with you, which those men will as much endeavour to hasten, being most assured (as I doubt not you are) that I have offered nothing in my Declaration or letters that I will not most punctually and exactly perform; but without doubt, for the speedy and secure way of doing it, my presence is most necessary, which would easily adjust all those things

' both in matter and form which are liable to most objections. And therefore, I pray look upon those who would delay my speedy coming to you, as persons who have other designs than they yet own. I know the General cannot but observe, that my friends in the House have complied with his desires in all things, according to the command I gave them, and have thereupon departed from their own sense, and restrained themselves from pursuing that which they thought most for my service. You must take care that I do not suffer for that temper and concession in them, and that advantage be not taken from thence, either to delay the dispatch of what is necessary, or to set on foot any unnecessary and inconvenient demands, which must be inconvenient to me, and would lessen that joy with which we should meet each other, to receive those great blessings which God Almighty is ready to pour upon us, if any indisposition in the army makes it less fit for the General to appear; in pressing that which is most desirable, you may easily get it to be promoted by the Houses, to which he and the army are obliged to submit. Do all I pray that is necessary to be done, in order to the bringing me quickly to you; 'till when, trust me, there are as many designs abroad as at home, to prevent and disturb that good intelligence and agreement which can only make us happy, and disappoint the many designs which are against the peace and honour of the nation. I know not what to say more 'till the committee arrive, who I hope will invite me speedily to repair to you. Sir John Greenville will, I am sure, be absent from you, and so I cannot communicate some things which are not so fit to write, and therefore I have intrusted Sir William Compton to impart some particulars of my doubts and apprehensions to you. He is a person in whose discretion you may repose great confidence, as well as in his affection and fidelity to me, and can convey any thing you think necessary, and shall advise him to many of my friends, who will be very useful upon all occasions. I will say no more, but that I long to see you, which I hope is at hand, and you will then find you have a full credit with

Your affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

Sir



out which had like to have thrown all things back again into confusion. This was Lambert's escape out of the Tower, to whom many discontented officers soon repaired; and, if he could have gained time, there is no doubt he might have assembled a considerable army. But the General sent Ingoldsfby and Streater in pursuit of him, and was extremely well seconded by the council of State in his endeavours to reduce them, of which however he was so far from being confident, that he sent for Sir John Greenville, and told him, that if this insurrection grew to any height, he was determined to publish the King's commission, and put the Royalists in arms in all the three kingdoms (l). At the same time he wrote an answer to the King's private letter, the first he ever wrote his Majesty, and sent it by Bernard Greenville, Sir John's younger brother, with the strongest professions of duty and fidelity. However, Lambert was defeated, and brought back prisoner to the Tower (m), before the meeting of the Parliament. At their meeting, the House of Lords chose the Earl of Manchester for their Speaker, as the Commons did Sir Harbottle Grimston; appointed their usual committees, and ordered thanks to the General, with the most entire approbation of his services (n); and then the House of Lords adjourned to the first of May. In the time of this short recess, that is, on the 27th of April, Sir John Greenville attending at the door of the council-chamber in Whitehall, desired Colonel John Birch, who was one of the members, to let the General know he was there, and upon his coming to the door, he presented to him the King's letter, which he was to communicate to the council of state and officers of the army (o). His Excellency received it with great surprize, and ordered his guards to take care of the person who brought it, broke the seal, and then presented it to the President; notwithstanding which, they had not the courage to read it, ordering that to be postponed 'till the Parliament met; yet they called in Sir John Greenville, and asked him from whom he had it. He answered, *The King my master delivered it with his own hand to me at Breda.* Upon this they resolved to commit him, that he might be forth coming when the two Houses met; on which the General told them, that though not much of his acquaintance, he was his relation, and he would be answerable for him. On the 1st of May Sir John attended the House of Commons, and seeing the Lord Commissioner Tyrrel going in, he desired him to acquaint the Speaker that he was entrusted with a letter to the House from his most sacred Majesty. When the Commissioner came in, he found Arthur Annesley, Esq; the President of the council of state, relating what had passed there. As soon as he had ended, the Commissioner acquainted the Speaker with Sir John's message, upon which a debate ensued. In the mean time, Sir John went to the House of Lords, and having sent for the Earl of Oxford out of the House, desired he would acquaint the Speaker that he attended with a letter from his Majesty. The Lords, after a short debate, resolved to attend their Speaker to the door, where Sir John met and presented him the King's letter, for which he had immediately the thanks of the House (p). On his return to the House of Commons, he was as well received there, and soon after they returned him their most solemn thanks; and, as a farther memorial of their sense of his service, ordered him five hundred pounds to buy a jewel (q), which sum was carried to his lodgings the next day [M]. On the 10th of May, Sir John Greenville, by direction from the General,

went

Sir EDWARD HYDE to William Morrice, Esq;

• S I R,

• I have enough understood from Sir John Greenville how much I am beholden to you, and I beseech you do not impute it to vanity in me, that I was always confident, that at some time or other, either by the representation of some friend, or when I should be fully known to you, I should have a part in your friendship. I am afraid I may be now upon some disadvantage, by the so good character the partiality of Sir J. Greenville may have given me to you, which I may appear far short of; and I shall be very well content that you think me not so good a man as he hath pleased to deliver me, so you think me not so ill a man as others have given me out to be. I hope shortly to wait on you, for the King expects and desires you to come with my Lord General to meet him, for 'till then he will take no resolution of importance, and I shall make myself as worthy of your friendship as I can. I have presumed to write to his Excellency, which, if you think fit, I should desire you to present to him, as likewise the other letter to Mr Palmer, if the contents be agreeable to your opinion, which will always find a great submission from

Sir,

Hague, 27 May,  
S. N. 1660.

Your most obedient servant,

Edw. Hyde.

For my worthy friend Mr Morrice.

It would be easy to prove, from other authentic evidence, that, at this the most critical juncture of all, the reliance of the King was upon the General, Morrice, and Greenville, and extended no farther; but that what has been already said may seem sufficient; only let it be observed, that the Lord Viscount Mordaunt, who had been so much trusted, and hazarded his life so freely, had so clear a sense of Sir John Greenville's merit, that he could not help writing to the Marquis of Ormond, on the 7th of May, that they should have a care of trusting Dr Charges on that side of the water (64), but that they should rather let things rest 'till his worthy comrade came.

[M] *The next day.* The thanks of the House of Commons (65) appear in almost all our histories, but curtailed and abridged; for which reason we have thought it requisite to give them a place here, as belonging strictly to the personal history of Sir John Greenville. Sir Harbottle Grimstone delivered them thus.

• Sir John Greenville,

• I need not tell you with what grateful and thankful hearts the Commons, now assembled in Parliament, have received his Majesty's gracious letter; *res ipsa loquitur*: you yourself have been *auricularis* & *oculatus testis de rei veritate*; our bells and our bonfires have already begun the proclamation of his Majesty's goodness and our joys: we have told the people, that our King, the glory of England, is coming home again, and they have resounded it back again in our ears, that they are ready, and their

• hearts

(l) Price's History of the Restoration, p. 149.

(m) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 726, 727, 728. Heath's Chronicle, p. 441. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 377.

(n) Baker's Chronicle, p. 701. Heath's Chronicle, p. 442.

(o) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 287. Price's History of the Restoration, p. 155, 156.

(p) Skinner's History of General Monk, p. 301.

(q) Heath's Chronicle, p. 446. The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 381. Baker's Chronicle, p. 706.

• In the possession of Hugh Gre-gor, Esq;

(64) Carte's Collection of Letters, Vol. II. p. 336.

(65) The Civil Wars of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 381. Mercurius Publicus, 4to. No. 19.



went on board Admiral Montague's ship (*r*), to desire that he would proceed with the navy to the coast of Holland, which he promised; and the next day Sir John proceeded thither on board the Speaker (*s*), now called the Mary Frigate, of which he brought the King advice on the 14th, and at the same time acquainted him with the earnest desires of his subjects of all ranks to enjoy his presence. He accompanied his Majesty, and was present at Canterbury when the General received the Order of the Garter, and Mr Morrice that of Knighthood, being at the same time declared one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State (*t*). The satisfaction he enjoyed in contemplating the prosperity of his prince and country, which he might very justly attribute to the blessing of Divine Providence upon his own dutiful endeavours, stood for some time in the place of a recompence for his many signal services, which however he did not ascribe to any defect either of kindness or of gratitude in his Royal Master, but to the slowness, or perhaps coldness, of the Earl of Clarendon, who had in a manner the sole and supreme direction of affairs. At length, at the distance almost of a year, on the approach of his Majesty's coronation when several Earls were to be created, he had the title of Earl of Bath conferred upon him, but with circumstances that were not over pleasing, since, notwithstanding it was well known that General Monk, now become Duke of Albemarle, interested himself only as to him and Colonel Charles Howard, who had been highly serviceable in keeping the army steady in the most critical conjuncture, the Earl of Bath was the last but one in the list, and the Earl of Carlisle the last of all (*u*). However, this was in some measure qualified by other marks of royal favour, which did not so immediately depend upon the Minister [*N*]. He was one of the Lords who accompanied his Majesty and the Duke of York to that grand entertainment, which was given them by the society of the Inner Temple (*w*), August 15, 1661.

(*r*) Kennet's  
Chronicle,  
p. 144.

(*s*) Ibid. p. 146.

(*t*) Baker's  
Chronicle,  
p. 711.  
Clarendon's  
History of the  
Rebellion, Vol.  
VI. p. 772.

(*u*) Lord Lans-  
downe's Works,  
Vol. II. p. 168.

(*w*) Dugdale's  
Origines Juridici-  
ales, p. 157.

' hearts are open to receive him; both parliament and people have cried aloud to the King of Kings, Long live King Charles the Second. I am likewise to tell you, that the House doth not think fit that you should return to our Royal Sovereign, without some testimony of their respects to yourself; they have therefore ordered and appointed, that five hundred pounds shall be delivered unto you to buy a jewel, as a badge of that honour which is due to a person whom the King hath honoured to be the messenger of so gracious a message; and I am commanded in the name of the house to return you their hearty thanks.'

Upon which the Noble Historian very justly exclaims in these words (66).

' So great and sudden a change was this, that a servant of the King's, who for near ten years together had been in prisons, and under confinement, only for being the King's servant, and would but three months before have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the King, should be now rewarded for bringing a message from him. From this time there was such an emulation and impatience in lords, and commons, and city, and generally over the kingdom, who should make the most lively expressions of their duty and of their joy, that a man could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the King so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent subjects.'

As a proof of this we need only observe, that the city (67) received the King's letter with as high demonstrations of joy, and bestowed upon the Lord Viscount Mordaunt and Sir John Greenville, three hundred pounds to buy each of them a ring.

[*N*] Upon the Minister.] Sir John Greenville, by letters patents (68), bearing date at Westminster, April 20, in the 13th of King Charles the Second, was created Lord Greenville of Kilkhampton and Byddeford, Viscount Lansdowne, and Earl of Bath, being at that time First Lord of the Bed-Chamber, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries. At this juncture it being suggested (69), that he had by inheritance a real right to the titles of Earl of Carboil, and Lord of Thorigny and Granville in Normandy, he was six days after, by his said Majesty's declaration under his royal signet, allowed and permitted to enjoy, the name, stile, and dignity, of Earl of Carboil, Lord of Thorigny and Granville, in as full and ample manner as his ancestors formerly used, before that dukedom was lost to the crown of England. In the preamble of which warrant, his Majesty uses these words (70): 'Whereas it appears to us, that our right trusty, &c. John Earl of Bath, &c. is derived in a direct line as heir male to Robert Fitz-Hamon, Lord of Gloucester and Glamorgan, in the reigns of King William the Conqueror, King William Rufus,

and King Henry I. and who was the son and heir of Hamon Dentatus, Earl of Carboil, and Lord of Thorigny and Granville in Normandy, which titles they held before Normandy was lost to the crown of England, whereby he justly claims his descent from the younger son of the Duke of Normandy, as we ourselves do from the eldest, &c.' Also in the same year (1661) (71), the King passed a warrant under the privy-seal, whereby he obliged himself, and recommended it to his successors, that, in case of the failure of male issue to General Monk, the title of Duke of Albemarle should descend to the said Earl of Bath, and be continued in his family. And likewise, by another warrant (72), promised the earldom of Glamorgan, formerly enjoyed by Robert Fitz-Hamon, in case of failure of issue male of the Marquis of Worcester by his lady then living, to be enjoyed by him and his heirs male, and in default of issue, to the heirs male of Sir Bevil Greenville his father.

It is from hence we are to date the humour of changing the manner of spelling this name, of which the late Lord Lansdowne was so remarkably fond, that he censures the Noble Historian on this head very unjustly (73). 'The Chancellor, says he, spells the family name *Greenvil*, wherein he has been followed by others. as an oracle in Heraldry as well as History. If Camden had been consulted, or any antient authentic record, it would have been found, that *A* and *E* single have often varied in different ages, but never with a double *E*. All antient names have suffered the same change, especially of the letter *A* into an *E* single.' To shew how little strength there is in this criticism, we need only produce Dr Gumble (74), who was the Duke of Albemarle's chaplain, and perfectly well acquainted with this gentleman's family. He speaks of him thus, 'Sir John Greenville, cousin-german to the General, a most loyal and active instrument in his Majesty's restoration, to whose conduct and prudence we are obliged by justice to attribute very much next to the General.' But perhaps Dr Price, another of the Duke of Albemarle's chaplains, may appear of still greater weight; he dedicates his book to this noble person in 1680, and the title of his Dedication runs thus (75): 'To the Right Honourable John Earl of Bath, Viscount Greenville of Lansdowne, Baron Greenville of Byddeford and Kilkhampton, Knight; Groom of the Stole, First Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and one of the Lords of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council.' To this we may add, that Dr Peter Barwick, in his Latin life of his brother, calls him always *Johannes Greenwillus*. It would be impertinent to multiply authorities upon a point of so little consequence, and which those already produced are sufficient to determine.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Genuine  
Works in verse  
and prose of &c.  
Vol. II. p. 190.

(74) Life of G  
eneral Monk,  
p. 104.

(75) The Myste-  
ry and Method of  
his Majesty's  
happy Restora-  
tion, laid open  
to public view.

[O] Before

(66) History of  
the Rebellion,  
Vol. VI. p. 761.

(19) Whitlocke's  
Memorials,  
p. 700.

(68) Bill. Sign.  
12 Car. II.

(69) MS. Addit.  
to Baron. by Sir  
W. Dugdale.

(70) Ex Inform.  
pæhon. Geo.  
Dom. Lanf-  
downe.



1661. He likewise attended the King and Queen to Oxford, when they went to pay a visit to that university, and had the degree of Master of Arts conferred upon him (x) September 28, 1663. His Lordship was present at a meeting of the Privy-Council at Whitehall, February 22, 1664 (y); in which the King's declaration of his motives for granting letters of marque and reprisal against the Dutch, which was the prelude to the first war in that reign was made. At this juncture it was a very popular measure, countenanced by the approbation of both houses of Parliament, and had so far the concurrence of the city of London, that they not only readily lent the King one hundred thousand pounds for the necessary preparations for that war, but came with equal alacrity into a second loan of the same sort (z). However, the Lord High-Chancellor Clarendon was neither present at the council beforementioned, or took any share in advising (a) or managing the war, which ending less prosperously than it began, and having been ever opposed by that great man, the King took the seals from him (b), and gave them to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. In the next session of Parliament, which began October 10, 1667, the Commons impeached the Earl of Clarendon of treason, and desired that he might be committed, which their Lordships refused, unless some particular treason was assigned (c). Upon this a conference followed, in which the Commons offered their reasons; and upon the report, the question being put to comply with the desires of the House of Commons, it was carried in the negative; upon which, twenty-seven peers entered their protests (d), amongst whom was the Earl of Bath, in which it may well be doubted whether he listened so much to his reason as his resentment. He was one of the Lords of the Committee for Trade, who signed, August 4, 1676, a very explicate report to the King, of the depredations committed upon his Majesty's subjects by the French Privateers, conceived in very strong terms, to which the King gave a satisfactory answer, and ordered the Lord Berkeley, then his Ambassador at the court of France (e), to demand immediate satisfaction. In 1678, his Lordship was one of the few peers who protested against the dispossessing the Lord Viscount Purbeck of his peerage, in which his Lordship shewed himself to be a true lover of justice, being persuaded in himself, that the interest of the Duke of Buckingham had at least as much weight in that business, as the arguments offered (f) in favour of the bill. In 1679, when the King, to calm the heats that had been created by the discovery of the Popish Plot, resolved to constitute a new Privy-Council, consisting of thirty persons, who, in point of quality and of character, might be as acceptable to his subjects as grateful to himself, we find the Earl of Bath of this number (g). There was no measure of the King's reign that gained him more reputation than this; and of the number of new members, none more unexceptionable than his Lordship, who, without incurring envy, enjoyed the King's favour; had been all his life a courtier without losing character, and, except in the case of the Earl of Clarendon's prosecution, his patriotism appeared the pure result of principle. A very strong instance of this was shewn in his being one of the thirty-one Lords \*, who acquitted William Lord Viscount Stafford of high-treason, December 7, 1680, notwithstanding which he was convicted and suffered death. He was also one of the sixteen Privy-Counsellors who subscribed the King's solemn Declaration, entered in the council books, and dated March the third the same year, importing, that to prevent any disputes relating to the succession, his Majesty affirmed, that he was never married, or gave any contract of marriage, to Mrs Walters, otherwise Barlow, or to any other woman whatever, except Queen Katharine his consort, then living, which was a point at that time of the utmost consequence to the public peace †. His Lordship maintained this character of being a steady friend to the crown and to his country, and in all the variety of changes that happened in that reign, retained his credit with the King, whom he always styled his most gracious Master to the last. In a little time after King James II. was seated upon the throne, viz. April 19, 1685: his Lordship was removed from his office of Groom of the Stole (h), which was bestowed upon the Earl of Peterborough. It is clear enough from hence, that his Lordship had not that degree of personal favour with this monarch that he had with his brother; and it is possible also, the King might be desirous, in point of conveniency, of having in that office a Lord of his own religion. But however this might happen, or on whatever motive this alteration was made, the Earl of Bath, as it was very natural for him to do, thought himself slighted; and it may be conceived, that as King James reaped the benefit of the Restoration, and had succeeded to that throne in which he had so great a hand in seating his brother, he was bound to consider that warrant which had been signed at Breda, and which gave him such a title to that post, as could not be honourably superseded during his life-time. However, upon the Duke of Monmouth's landing at Lyme in Dorsetshire, in the month of June 1685, the Earl of Bath raised a regiment (i) of foot for the King's service, with the behaviour and discipline of which regiment, his Majesty, on reviewing them at Hounslow, was so well pleased, that as a public mark of his approbation, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Captain Bevil Greenville, at the head of the regiment. His Lordship had however very little to do with this monarch or his ministers, he was very little consulted, and less employed, having shewn upon all occasions equal zeal for the Protestant religion, and the liberties of his country, though without any bias either to rebellious or republican principles. He had
- a very
- (x) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. p. 830.
- (y) History of England, Vol. III. p. 272, 273. Heath's Chronicle, p. 532.
- (z) Baker's Chronicle, p. 753.
- (a) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 200.
- (b) Baker's Chronicle, p. 756. Lord Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 234, 235.
- (c) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 255, 256.
- (d) The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords from the Restoration to the present time, Vol. I. p. 99. Lord Arlington's Letters, Vol. II. p. 271, 272.
- (e) History of England, Vol. III. p. 339.
- (f) The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords from the Restoration to the present time, Vol. I. p. 208.
- (g) Baker's Chronicle, p. 774, 775. History of England, Vol. III. p. 362.
- \* State Trials, Vol. III. p. 212. Memoirs of Sir John Kersey, p. 107, 108, 111. Baker's Chronicle, p. 780.
- † Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 366. Echard's History, p. 988. Annals of the University, p. 404, 405.
- (h) History of England, Vol. III. p. 439.
- (i) Ibid. p. 451.



a very great hand in that amazing turn of affairs which happened in 1688, and was very little less concerned in the Revolution than in the Restoration, though some writers (k) have taken pains to lessen his merit in respect to both. With a view to this it is said, that when the Prince of Orange, with his fleet and forces aboard, by some accident or other passed Dartmouth and Torbay, the Earl of Bath would not undertake to admit him into the port of Plymouth, under pretence that he was managing the garrison, and that as yet the point was not absolutely in his power, which he did to gain time, and 'till he saw how things would go. The fact truly stated however is very different. His Lordship was at that time Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and governor of the important port and royal citadel of Plymouth, built by King Charles II. and one of the best (if not the very best) fortifications in England, having upwards of two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon mounted (l). There was in the place thirteen companies of foot, most of them belonging to the Earl of Huntingdon's regiment, many of the officers, and most of the soldiers, being Papists (m). It was supposed that the Prince of Orange intended to steer for the North, so that the Earl of Bath could have no notice of his having any design upon Plymouth, 'till apprized of it by the approach of the Dutch fleet; and if he did make any such answer as is before mentioned (though it is not easy to conceive how the question could be proposed or the answer made) it was certainly very proper, and most likely to be the truth. For on the night between the 10th and the 11th of November, he surprized the citadel of Plymouth, seizing the Earl of Huntingdon, and the officers upon whom he most depended; turned all, in whom he could not confide, out of the garrison; and having declared for the Prince of Orange, and caused his Declarations to be proclaimed, and immediately admitted part of the Dutch fleet into the harbour, which the writers of those times acknowledge to have been a point decisive in favour of the Revolution (n). He also sent his own regiment, under the command of his nephew Sir Bevil Greenville, to secure the important island of Jersey, where the King had a Popish governor, and a garrison wholly devoted to him; so that the Earl, not without reason, suspected a place of such consequence to the crown of England, might have been delivered to France, from which danger it was thus happily preserved (o). His Lordship, in the disputes that followed, was against the settling a regency, and voted for declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen. He was soon after sworn of the Privy-Council, and continued in his former offices (p). He was however as little and as ill received a courtier in this as in the former reign, but, in respect to national concerns, he supported and opposed according to his own notions of the public good. His regard for the constitution, abhorrence of those severe and sanguinary sentences, which seemed calculated to render the law itself odious, and his earnest desire to take away arbitrary and abused power, wherever placed, induced his Lordship to contend earnestly for the reversing those exorbitant judgments, believing, that what ought never to have passed at all, should not last and remain on record for ever (q). His Lordship heard grievances insisted upon as the principal ground of the Revolution, and from thence concluded, that the redress of grievances, and a thorough amendment of the whole structure of government, was the great end of the Revolution, which with great zeal and inflexible constancy he set about accomplishing, without inquiring where it would render him acceptable, or whom it might disoblige or offend. He was very assiduous, in 1689, in promoting a clause to be added to the bill of Rights, declaring all pardons, upon an impeachment of the House of Commons, to be null and void, except with the consent of both houses of parliament, and though it was lost in the House of Peers by a great majority, he entered his protest (r). In 1690 he took the same step in respect to a law which he thought might bear hard on the Earl of Torrington, who was then exposed to a prosecution on the part of the crown, and at the same time to the general outcry, not of this only, but of a neighbouring nation, which the Earl of Bath considered as so many additional reasons that ought to intitle his Lordship, in point of form as well as matter, to the strictest justice (s). In the year 1692, he found himself exposed to the resentment of King James, who, when he was ready with a potent army to invade the southern part of this island, by his declaration, dated at St Germain's (t) the 10th of April, excepted from his promise of general pardon, the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Denbigh, and Nottingham, the Lords, Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, Dumblain, and Churchill, together with the Bishops of London and St Asaph, and many other persons of distinction who were commoners. This did not hinder his Lordship from persisting in his former measures, and labouring, as much as in his power lay, in parliament, to examine seriously into the state of the nation (u), and not to treat as senseless and seditious what the courtiers styled public clamour, 'till they were thoroughly satisfied they were not grievances brought to their ears by the cries of the people. In 1694, came on, before the Lord Keeper Somers, in the high court of Chancery, his great suit in regard to the succession of Christopher, late Duke of Albemarle, in which suit his Lordship prevailed, as he likewise did when it was brought by appeal before the House of Lords (w) [O].

[O] Before the House of Lords.] There are few cases better known to the Lawyers than this, which was carried on with great warmth and obstinacy on all sides, created general expectation on account of many particular

(k) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 288.

(l) Supplement to Camden's Britannia. Browne's travels, p. 253.

(m) Expedition of his Highness the Prince of Orange, p. 19. Complete History of England, Vol. III. Echard's History, p. 1125.

(n) The exact Diary of the Expedition, p. 65. The History of the Defection, p. 83. History of Illustrious Men, p. 338, 339.

(o) Falle's History of the island of Jersey, p. 125. Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 117.

(p) History of Illustrious Men, p. 339. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 117. Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 550.

(q) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 566. Journal of the House of Lords.

(r) The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, Vol. I. p. 396.

(s) Ibid. p. 405 — 407.

(t) The State of Europe for the year 1692, p. 178.

(u) The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, Vol. I. p. 412, 413.

(w) Journal of the House of Lords, Bishop Stillingfleet's Discourses, p. 149.



(\*) Complear  
History of Eng-  
land, Vol. III.  
p. 729.  
Burnet's History  
of his own  
Times, Vol. II.  
p. 181.  
Journal of the  
House of Lords.

In 1698 his Lordship was amongst the number of sixty-one peers, who divided against the bill for attainting Sir John Fenwick; and was also amongst the forty-one Lords who protested, upon their passing that bill, by a majority of seven (\*). In the very same session, his Lordship gave a like public proof of his strong desire to see the Commons of England represented in parliament by men of landed estates, and consequently the least liable to bias of any kind, because men of real property must always have the strongest abhorrence (y) for public confusions. His Lordship was of the number of those who disapproved the partition treaty (z), and were desirous that some expedient should be found to

(y) History and  
Proceedings of  
the House of  
Lords, Vol. II.  
p. 466.

(z) Ibid. p. 26.

prevent

(76) See the Case  
of Bath and  
Montagu, at the  
end of the 2d part  
of Cases argued in  
the High Court  
of Chancery,  
p. 112, 113.

(77) See the pre-  
ceding note.

(78) See the Case  
of Bath and  
Montagu, p. 71.

(79) This provi-  
so was seen and  
approved by Sir  
William Jones.

(80) See the Case  
of Bath and  
Montagu,  
p. 71, 72.

(81) Ibid. p. 63.

(82) Ibid. p.  
121, 124.

cular and interesting circumstances attending it, and received three determinations with as great solemnity as any thing of this kind ever did (76). We shall endeavour to state the matter clearly and concisely here. We have before mentioned how great regard and respect General George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, expressed for his relation and friend Sir John Greenville, then become Earl of Bath; and we have likewise observed as a testimony of it, that he engaged King Charles II. to promise by a sign manual, that in case his issue male should extinguish, he would confer the dukedom upon the Earl of Bath or his posterity, and likewise bestow upon them the honour of Theobalds, which would then revert to the crown (77). This great testimony of affection and respect, induced the Earl of Bath to shew the utmost tenderness and concern for Christopher, the only son and heir of Duke George, who in 1675, being then of full age, and capable of disposing of his real estate, made a will, and settled a great part of it, on failure of his own issue, on the Earl of Bath. In the month of July, 1681, the same Duke made a deed, relative to this will in some respect, whereby the main of his estate, after the Duke and Duchess's death without issue, was settled upon the Earl of Bath, and some other parts on Sir Walter Clarges and Mr Bernard Greenville (78). The reasons assigned by his Grace for making this deed being, that his next heirs at law were descended from a regicide, and his great consideration and regard for the persons to whom he bequeathed it. In this deed there was a proviso, that the Duke should have power to revoke any uses in the deed, and limit new ones; but this was to be done by a writing under his hand and seal, in the presence of six witnesses, of whom three were to be peers of the realm, and the tender of sixpence to each trustee mentioned in the deed (79). After all this, in the year 1687 the Duke made another will, and thereby gave some parcels of his lands to Mr Bernard Greenville, Sir Walter Clarges, and others; made some larger provisions for the Duchess during her life, but gave the bulk and residue of all his estate to Colonel Thomas Monk, and likewise made a petition in that will to the King, that he would be pleased to confer a title of honour upon him, and that he would create him Baron Monk of Potheridge (80), the antient seat of the family; whereas, in the former will of 1675, he had desired the King to grant to the Earl of Bath, and the issue male of his body, the title of Duke of Albemarle, and that his eldest son might bear the title of Lord Monk.

But notwithstanding all this, a little before his going Governor to Jamaica, he delivered to the Lord Bath the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, inclosed in a paper under his seal; and directed Mr Crofts, though one of the witnesses to the last will in 1687, to deliver the keys of all his evidences to the Earl, whom he likewise mentioned as the person to be applied to during his absence, and as the person who was to be the heir of the best part of his estate, in case any thing (81) happened to him; and parted with his Lordship, not only without any signs of dislike or quarrel, but with all testimonies of sincere and cordial friendship, which were confirmed afterwards by letters from Jamaica; and during the Duke's stay there, all applications to court on his behalf were made by and through the Earl of Bath (82), in consequence of express directions from his Grace.

After the Duke's demise in Jamaica, in January 1688, several suits were commenced in Chancery. The Duchess of Albemarle, and after her intermarriage with Ralph Lord Montagu, that Lord in her right became plaintiffs against the Earl of Bath and others defendants; and in their bill, set forth the Duke of Albemarle's mar-

riage-settlement, and his Will of 1687, made with great circumspection by the Lord Chief Justice Pollexfen, executed in the presence of three witnesses; three copies engrossed, one delivered into the hands of the Duchess of Newcastle, another to Colonel Thomas Monk, and a third carried by the Duke himself to Jamaica, where, without shewing or explaining the contents, he told Sir Hans Sloane, his Physician, that was his Will (83). In this bill the plaintiffs complain, that the Earl of Bath sets up another will, and a deed, which, if ever executed by the Duke, they believed was obtained by surprize, and ought to be set aside in equity; and, if it should not be set aside, they pray that the Duchess may have the lands limited to her by that deed, and the rent-charge of two thousand pounds a year over the jointure settled upon the marriage, and confirmed by the will of 1675; and they farther pray, that the will of 1687 should stand good as to the personal estate and legacies, and to be protected in the enjoyment of the personal estate and specific legacies, discharged from the Duke's debts.

Another bill was brought by Christopher Monk and Henry Monk, sons of Colonel Thomas Monk, complaining of the Earl of Bath and others, setting up the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, and praying that both will and deed may be set aside, and that the plaintiffs might enjoy the benefits and estates given them by the will of 1687.

There was a third bill brought by the Earl of Bath, Mr Bernard Greenville, and Sir Walter Clarges, in which they set forth the will of 1675, and the deed of 1681, and the continuance and constancy of the Duke's friendship and trust to the time of his death, complaining of the Duchess and others, defendants, for setting up the will of 1687, praying that the personal estate might be applied to the payment of the Duke's debts, and that the real estate might be confirmed to the plaintiffs. These causes were first heard before the Lords-Commissioners of the great Seal, the 8th of July 1691, when a decree was made, that the personal estate should be accounted for, and applied to the payment of the late Duke's debts; and directed an issue at law to try the validity of the deed of 1681. According to this order, in Michaelmas term following, there was an ejectment tried at the King's-Bench bar, wherein the Duchess of Albemarle and Mr Christopher Monk were the lessors of the plaintiffs, and a verdict was then found for the defendants, which established the deed at law; this was the first decision (84).

The parties then resorting back to the court of Chancery for the decision of the points reserved, the causes came to be finally heard on Thursday December 12, 1693, before the Lord Keeper Somers, assisted by the two Chief-Justices, Holt and Treby, and Mr Baron Powell. That day Baron Powell and the Lord Chief Justice Treby gave their opinions, and on the next day the Lord Chief Justice Holt and the Lord Keeper delivered theirs, all four concurring in their sentiments, that the bills of the Earl of Montagu, the Duchess of Albemarle, and the Monks, so far as they respected the deed of 1681, ought to be dismissed (85). There was an appeal from this decree to the House of Lords, which came on to be heard the 27th of February following; where, after a full hearing, the decree was affirmed; and this was the final decision (86). But after all, the manor of Potheridge did not pass by this deed, but in virtue of prior settlements descended to Thomas Pride and Elizabeth Pride, the son and daughter of Colonel Pride by Elizabeth Monk the daughter of Thomas Monk, elder brother to the Duke of Albemarle, from whom, all disputes being amicably compromised, the Earl of Bath purchased it (87).

(83) Ibid. p.  
93, 127.

(84) Ibid. p.  
113.

(85) Ibid. p.  
123.

(86) Journals of  
the House of  
Lords.  
Discourses of Dr  
Stillingsfleet, Bp.  
of Worcester,  
p. 149.

(87) History of  
Illustrious Men,  
p. 340, 341.

[P] From



prevent the maritime powers from being embarked in another war, before they had in some tolerable degree recovered their strength after the former. His conduct, in regard to public affairs in general, was vigorous, from the natural warmth of his temper, and uniform to the very last hour of his life, being animated by a firm and steady attachment to the cause of liberty, in all cases and against all opponents. This steadiness and uniformity seemed to afford the strongest evidence of his having acted constantly from principle, which however has not entirely secured his memory from censure [P]. His Lordship died

[P] *From censure.* We have, in the course of this article, made it sufficiently evident, that any diminution of this noble person's merit, in the conduct of the great transactions in which he was embarked, must proceed either from misinformation or injustice; and we have also made it as clear, from facts, as any thing can be made, that he was scarce ever a boy; but from the age of fifteen considered as a man, knighted when about seventeen, and very early esteemed for that which is commonly of the slowest growth, though one of the highest of all human qualities, prudence. His family, his reputation, and his polite behaviour, recommended him to Prince Charles, but the King his father valued him for his discretion. It was this that determined the Earl of Norwich to trust things with him, on which the fate of the royal family depended, before he was of age. At twenty-three he made that glorious defence in Scilly, and, in consequence of it, that very advantageous treaty with the Admirals, Ascue and Blake, which restored to him his estate and freedom, and security to all who followed him. He was but thirty-three, when, after having run through numberless perils, with much suspicion and little hurt, he with great dexterity brought about the Restoration, which, if we will believe one who knew it best, King Charles the Second, was the work of him and none other. When the reader considers this character, drawn from facts, let him cast his eye on the manner in which we find him introduced upon the stage, in the history of a right reverend author (88). 'He (that is 'General Monk') took care to raise his kinsman Greenville, who was made Earl of Bath, a man who thought 'of nothing but of getting and spending money.' His nephew and apologist was a little warm upon this, and with reason (89). 'Would one not naturally 'think, says he, this same Greenville, as he calls him, 'was some pitiful scoundrel, raised from the dirt upon 'no other merit but being the General's cousin? A 'man or a wretch, 'tis the same thing, who thought 'of nothing but getting and spending money. Now 'this happens likewise to be directly the reverse both 'in character and fact: but it was a random stroke, 'some lash he deserved for the hand he had in the Restoration, something was to be said, hit or miss, true 'or false, it was to take it's chance, and posterity was 'to believe it upon his word. Dr Burnet says it. We will treat this matter more calmly. The prelate must have written this part of his history from information, he might be misinformed, and he really was so. This same Greenville was not raised by his kinsman Monk. He had the warrant for his earldom before the King saw the General's face; but as for reasons mentioned in the text, he was not actually created Earl of Bath 'till many months after the Restoration, Bishop Burnet might be easily deceived in that particular; yet if he had consulted Dr Price's book, he might have seen that warrant, and have learned from thence, that he did not rise at his kinsman's request, or at his own; but derived his title purely from his proper merit, and his master's gratitude. But still this is not all. So far was Sir John Greenville from being raised by his kinsman, that his kinsman was really raised by him. It was at first proposed to create General Monk Earl of Essex, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year; of which the King being ashamed, and the General refusing to make any proposal, it was left to Sir John Greenville to settle the matter, who fixed the title of Albemarle, on account of the General's direct descent from Margaret, the eldest daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick and Albemarle, with a very moderate grant to support the dignity (90). That the Earl of Bath was not very rapacious, we may likewise collect from some incontestable facts. If he had been so, he would have taken the hundred thousand pounds

offered him for the isles of Scilly by the Dutch. He accepted, for the greatest service a subject could render a prince, what the King was pleased to give or rather promise him; and it is highly probable he had only part of that, since, from his last will (91), it appears the King his master died much in his debt. If he did spend money, it was certainly his own, for we shall give such instances of his justice, as will leave the reader under a moral certainty that he did not spend other people's. Let us now return to the Right Reverend Historian; speaking of King Charles the Second's being reconciled to the Church of Rome at the time of his death, he says (92), 'As soon as Huddleston had prepared every 'thing that was necessary, the Duke whispered the 'King in the ear. Upon that the King ordered that 'all who were in the bed-chamber should withdraw, 'except the Earls of Bath and Feversham, and the door 'was double locked. The company was kept out half 'an hour, only Lord Feversham opened the door once, 'and called for a glass of water.' The Reverend Father's own account differs somewhat from this (93). 'The King, says he, having private notice that Mr 'Huddleston waited at the door, desired to be in private; the Bishops and Nobles withdrew, the Duke 'latching fast the door; the Lords P. B. and F. were 'going out also, but the D. told them they might stay.' It has been supposed, that the three initial letters should be read, Peterborough, Bath, and Feversham. It appears from Huddleston's account, that the Earl of Bath would willingly have retired, and his staying ought to be ascribed to the Duke's command, and his office as Groom of the Stole. Some have applied to this noble person the following passage, which clearly contradicts the foregoing relations both of the Priest and Bishop (94). 'I heard a great peer relate, that 'King Charles was in a manner past his senses when 'the Duke said, *Brother, will you have the Priest come 'in; and without any sensible answer given by the 'King, Father Huddleston, who was set to wait at the 'chamber door, was called in, and did what he pleased 'in his way without the King's choice, or any open 'sign of assent to it.* If any thing of this sort escaped him early, it might be a very good reason why King James would not have the Earl about his person. Yet the same Right Reverend Author tells us, his Lordship was very deep in the worst measures of that reign (95). 'At the same time, says he, a Parliament was summoned, and all arts were used to manage elections, 'so that the King should have a Parliament to his mind. 'Complaints came up from all the parts of England, 'of the injustice and violence used in elections beyond 'what had ever been practised in former times. And 'this was so universal over the whole nation, that no 'corner of it was neglected. In the new charters that 'had been granted, the election of the members was 'taken out of the hands of the inhabitants, and restrained to the corporation men, all those being left 'out who were not acceptable at Court. In some boroughs they could not find a number of men to be 'dependent on; so the neighbouring gentlemen were 'made the corporation men; and in some of these, 'persons of other counties, not so much as known in the 'borough, were named. This was practised in the 'most avowed manner in Cornwall by the Earl of Bath, 'who, to secure himself the Groom of the Stole's 'place, which he held all King Charles's time, put 'the officers of the guards names, in almost all the charters of that county, which sending up forty-four 'members, they were for the most part so chosen, that 'the King was sure of their votes on all occasions.' In the first place, it may not be amiss to inform the reader, that the King, as soon as he came to the throne, designed to exclude the Earl of Bath from being Groom of the Stole; in which post he did not seek to maintain himself

(91) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 119.

(92) History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 607.

(93) A true Relation of the late King's death. To which are added, Copies of two papers, written by the late King Charles II. of blessed memory, found in his strong box.

(94) Bp Kennet's complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 418. in the notes.

(95) History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 625, 626.

(88) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 98.

(89) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 254, 255.

(90) See the Preamble to the Patent of George Monk, Esq; creating him Duke of Albemarle, dated 7 July 1660, in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. II. lib. xiv. p. 1. Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 167.



(a) History of Europe for the year 1701, p. 379.

(b) History of Illustrious Men, p. 341.

(c) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 121.

died at his house in St James's (a), August 22, 1701, and was buried at Kilkhampton in Cornwall. He had issue, by his sole consort beforementioned, and who dying February 17, 1692, was buried in the Church of St Clement Danes, five sons and eleven daughters. Of the latter, seven died while they were young: Lady Jane married William Gower, Esq; and by him became the mother of Sir John Leveson Gower, who was the first Lord Gower; Lady Katharine, married to Craven Peyton of the county of Lancaster, Esq; Warden of the Mint, who died without issue before him; Lady Grace, who married Sir George Carteret, raised to the degree of a Baron of this realm, by King Charles II. and Lady Henrietta Maria, for whom he had provided a fortune of ten thousand pounds, but who died before him unmarried. Two of the sons also died when they were young, and three survived him, viz. Charles, who succeeded him in his honours, and yet did not live to see his funeral (b) [2]. His youngest son, Bevil, died of the small-pox (c), September

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(96) History of Illustrious Men, p. 337.

(97) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(98) History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 793.

(99) History of Illustrious Men, p. 339, 340. Chauncy's History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire, p. 297.

(100) See the Case of Bath and Montagu, p. 120, 121.

(101) See the Dedication prefixed to Dr Price's History of the Restoration.

himself by favour, but claimed it as his right. His claim was considered more than once by the Privy-Council, and was at last referred to Sir Robert Sawyer, the King's Attorney-General, who reported that the King might bestow the office, but that the salary and perquisites belonged to the Earl of Bath. Upon this King James said, that was giving Peterborough, who was his own Groom of the Stole when Duke of York, the shell, and Bath the kernel (96). After these alterations, which certainly were not like to make the King love him better, the Earl of Bath was turned out on Sunday the 19th of April (97), the Parliament was not opened till the nineteenth of May. So that in this time the elections were made, and the reader will judge, whether, under such circumstances, the Earl of Bath was like to go violent lengths for the Court; and if he casts his eyes upon the lists of the county and boroughs of Cornwall in this Parliament, he must be satisfied that they were never better represented. We have before observed, that his Lordship has been misrepresented in the affair of Plymouth at the Revolution. The Bishop admits that he sent his promise to the Prince of Orange by Admiral Russel (though probably he meant Herbert); and though he disputes the complying with it in the place before cited in the text, yet he afterwards clearly admits the fact (98). Another writer, who was also a lover of secret history, has been so kind to inform us, that soon after the Revolution, his Lordship applied himself to one who was in the highest favour with the new King, and desired him to represent the claim he had to the royal seat of Theobalds; but it is said (99) that favourite took this opportunity of begging it for himself; and from thence arises an insinuation, that the Earl of Bath, by this disappointment, was disobliterated. In respect to this fact we cannot affirm or deny any thing. But this we have a right to say, that if we take this noble peer's character from facts, we must conclude him a man of a very steady temper, and of very amiable and estimable qualities. He was the dutiful and zealous servant of Charles the Second, and yet durst oppose his favourites and his ministers. His loyalty to King James appeared on the Duke of Monmouth's invasion. As to what followed, when the King pursued his own notions at the expence of the laws, he set an example fatal to himself. But that his Lordship really followed his sentiments in that great turn, appears from the whole strain of his conduct afterwards, by which he was exposed to the resentment of one King, at the same time he was not much in favour with the other. That he was a firm and faithful friend, appears from his behaviour towards the Duke of Albemarle's family. On the death of the old Duke, the King offered him his Garter, but he modestly declined accepting it, and desired it might be given the young Duke (100), which was accordingly done. As Duke Christopher left him a great part of his estates in 1681, so in 1684, the Earl, by his Will made with much caution, after the heirs male of his own family, substitutes the Duke and his, but without making the thing public, so that there is not the least hint of it in the case. As a proof of his justice we may remark, that in a little time after the Restoration, he presented the Reverend Mr Nicholas Monk and the Reverend Mr Price to the King, and made their services known (101). We may add another instance in his family. His circumstances once made it necessary for him to demand his lady's consent to depart from her right to certain lands which were in her jointure, but things changing,

so that he was not under the necessity of selling them, he voluntarily replaced them (102). He was an excellent father, a kind relation, and a generous master. He lived with a splendour suitable to his quality in town; he built a fine house (103), and shewed great hospitality in the country, where, through all the changes in his own fortune, and notwithstanding all the alterations in the state of public affairs, his influence was very extensive through the whole course of his life, and his death generally and deservedly regretted.

[2] *And yet did not live to see his funeral.* If this Noble Peer had descended from a line less fertile in heroes, his actions might well have entitled him to a separate article, whereas here, from the nature of our work, we are obliged to confine the particulars that regard him to a note. His title during his father's lifetime was Viscount Lansdowne, and his turn to a military life being conspicuous very early, his father consented in 1683 to his making a campaign in Hungary against the Infidels; he was present in the month of September at the raising of the siege of Vienna, and attended the Duke of Lorraine when he gained the famous victory at Borkan, on the first of October, and also assisted in the siege of Gran (104). On his return to England, King James appointed him Envoy Extraordinary (105) to the court of Spain, where he actually resided when the Revolution happened. He returned through France, where he delivered back his letters credential to King James at St Germain's. He was no sooner at home, than he was called up by writ to the House of Lords, by the title and with the precedency of his father's barony (106). In 1690 he did very remarkable service, in defending the coasts against the French, after the Earl of Torrington's misfortune at sea, with which Queen Mary, who was then left in the administration, was highly satisfied. In an address which he presented to her upon that occasion, he takes the title of Charles Lord Viscount Lansdowne, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire (107), &c. This Honour was conferred upon him by the Emperor Leopold, for his signal services in the war of Hungary, by his charter bearing date at Lintz, Jan. 27, 1684, and was to descend to all his posterity of both sexes (108): his Lordship however voted in the House of Lords as his father did, which gave credit to a report, that he stood upon indifferent terms with King William, occasioned by a warm expression of his Lordship's upon the following occasion. He had applied for the arrears due to him as minister in Spain, and meeting with delays at the Treasury-board, he addressed himself to King William in person, and receiving an answer he did not expect, he replied with some warmth, *What, does it shock your Majesty to do justice* (109)! We have observed in the text that he did not long survive his father, and indeed the accident that brought him to his end was equally singular and unfortunate. He had a custom of cleaning his pistols himself before he went a journey; and designing to attend his father's remains into Cornwall, he was thus employed on the 4th of September, when the pistol, the charge of which he was drawing, going suddenly off, shot him through the head, so that his corpse, with that of his father, was carried down to Kilkhampton (110). On the 22d of May 1678, this Noble Lord was married at St Martin's in the Fields, to the Lady Martha Osborne (111), fifth daughter of Thomas Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, by whom he had issue a daughter, who died an infant, which lady was buried in Westminster Abbey, on the 26th of September 1689.

(102) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 118.

(103) See the notes to Camden's Britannia, edit. 1695. p. 14.

(104) History of Illustrious Men, p. 342. History of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382.

(105) History of England, Vol. III. p. 439.

(106) History of Illustrious Men, p. 343. The History of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382.

(107) History of Illustrious Men, p. 344, 345, 346.

(108) History of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 122.

(109) History of Illustrious Men, p. 344.

(110) History of Europe for the year 1701, p. 381, 382. History of Illustrious men, p. 346, 347.

(111) History of Europe for the year 1701, p. 382. Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 124.



15, 1706. His second son, John Greenville, after having signalized himself by his great courage, both by land and sea, particularly at the siege of Cork, in which he led on the grenadiers, rose by his distinguished merit to be a Colonel in the guards, Captain of a third rate man of war, and Governor of Deal, from all which he was removed, for vindicating the conduct of the Earl of Torrington. He was no less conspicuous in his character as a senator, having the honour to sit constantly in Parliament, from the first year of the reign of King James II. to the first of Queen Anne, and was a very able and eloquent speaker, inasmuch, that on March 9, 1703, being then Knight of the Shire for the county of Cornwall, he was created Baron Greenville of Potheridge (e), and constituted Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, Lord Warden of the Stannaries, during the minority of his nephew, and Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance. But about two years afterwards was removed, to make way for the Lord Rialton, and his father the Earl of Godolphin (f), from the two former employments. He espoused Rebecca, daughter of Sir Josiah Child, and widow of Charles Marquis of Worcester, by whom he had no issue; so that deceasing December 3, 1707, the title of Lord Granville of Potheridge became extinct (g), but his estate, which was very considerable, fell to his nephew William-Henry, Earl of Bath, who was also the last that bore that title, as the reader will see in the notes [R].

(e) Bill. Sign.  
2. Anne Regim.

(f) History of  
Illustrious Men,  
p. 348.  
History of Eu-  
rope for the year  
1707.

(g) History of  
Illustrious Men,  
p. 149.  
History of Eu-  
rope for the year  
1707. p. 514,  
515.  
Le Neve's Mo-  
numenta Angli-  
cana, p. 141.

1689. He married secondly the Lady Isabella, daughter to Henry de Nassau Lord of Auverquerque, Velt-Marshal of the forces of the States-General, and sister to Henry Earl of Grantham, by whom he had issue (112), his only son William-Henry Earl of Bath, of whom his mother died in childbed.

[R] In the notes.] This hopeful youth was born the thirtieth of January (113) 1691-2, and losing both his father and grandfather in the tenth year of his age, the superintendence of his education devolved on his grandmother, the old Lady Auverquerque (114), who so well executed that charge, that his Lordship even in his youth surpassed the hopes of his friends; and being excited by the martial ardour natural to his family, made two campaigns in the army of the high allies before he was twenty years of age. While he was thus employed, his cousin, the honourable George Granville, Esq; then Secretary at War, wrote him the following letter, which, as it contains abundance of historical circumstances relating to the family, may with great propriety be inserted here.

To WILLIAM-HENRY, Earl of BATH, &c. at the camp in Flanders, September 4, 1710.

My dear Lord,

Whilst you are pursuing honour in the Field in the earliest time of your life, after the example of your ancestors, I am commanded by the Queen to let you know she has declared you her Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Cornwall, the Earl of Rochester to act for you 'till you are of age (115).

You will do well to write your most humble thanks to her Majesty, for so graciously remembering you, unsolicited, in your absence: you shall likewise do the same to my Lord Rochester for accepting the trouble.

This, my dear Lord, is a preparative to bring you upon the stage, with some lustre at your first appearance in the world. You are placed at the head of a body of gentry, entirely disposed in affection to you and your family: you are born, possessed of all those amiable qualities which cannot fail of fixing their hearts: you have no other example to follow, but to tread in the steps of your ancestors: it is all that is hoped or desired from you.

You are upon an uncommon foundation in that part of the world: your ancestors, for at least five hundred years, never made any alliance, male or female, out of the western counties: thus there is hardly a gentleman either in Cornwall or Devon but has some of your blood, or you some of theirs. I remember the first time I accompanied your grandfather into the West, upon holding his Parliament of Tinners, as Warden of the Stannaries, when there was the most numerous appearance of gentry of both counties that had ever been remembered together: I observed there was hardly any one but whom he called cousin, and I could not but observe at the same time how well they were pleased with it. Let this be a lesson for you when it comes to your turn to appear amongst them. Nothing is more obliging

than to seem to retain the memory of kindred and alliance, though never so remote: and, by consequence, nothing more disobliging than a forgetfulness of them: which is always imputed to an affected disdainful superiority and pride.

There is another particular, in my opinion, of no small consequence to the support of your interest, which I would recommend to your imitation; and that is, to make Stowe your principal residence. I have heard your grandfather say, if ever he lived to be possessed of New-Hall he would pull it down, that your father might have no temptation to withdraw from the antient seat of his family. From the Conquest to the Restoration, your ancestors constantly resided amongst their countrymen, except when the public service called upon them to sacrifice their lives for it.

Stowe, in my grandfather's time, 'till the civil wars broke out, was a kind of academy for all the young men of family in the country: he provided himself with the best masters of all kinds for education, and the children of his neighbours and friends shared the advantage with his own. Thus he in a manner became the father of his country, and not only engaged the affection of the present generation, but laid a foundation of friendship for posterity, which is not worn out at this day.

Upon this foundation, my Lord, you inherit friends without the trouble of making them, and have only to preserve them: an easy task for you, to whom nature has been so liberal of every quality necessary to attract affection, and gain the heart.

I must tell you, the generality of our countrymen have been always Royalists: you inherit too much loyal blood to like them the worse. There is an old saying amongst them, that a Godolphin was never known to want wit, a Trelawney courage, or a Greenville loyalty: wit and courage are not to be mistaken, and to give those families their due, they still keep up to their character: but it is the misfortune of loyalty not to be so clearly understood or defined. In a country subject to revolutions, what passes for loyalty to-day may be treason to-morrow; but I make great difference between real and nominal treason. In the quarrel of the houses of York and Lancaster, both sides were proclaimed traitors as the other prevailed. Even under Cromwell's usurpation, all who adhered to the King were proclaimed traitors, and suffered as such: but this makes no alteration in the thing itself: it may be treason to call black black or white white: but black will be black and white will be white, in spite of all the legislators in the world.

There can be no doubt about allegiance unless princes become tyrants, and then they cease to be Kings: they will no longer be respected as God's viceregents, who violate the laws they were sworn to protect. The preacher may tell us of passive obedience; that tyrants are to be patiently suffered as scourges, in the hands of a righteous God, to chastise a sinful nation, and to be submitted to like plagues, famines, and such like judgments from above. Such doctrine, were it true, could only serve to mislead

(112) History of  
Illustrious Men,  
p. 347.

(113) Collins's  
Supplement,  
Vol. V. p. 124.

(114) History of  
Europe for 1711,  
p. 539.

(115) Pointer's  
Chronological  
Historian, Vol.  
Vol. II. p. 657.



' lead ill-judging princes into a false security : men are not to be reasoned out of their senses : human nature and self-preservation will eternally arm against slavery and oppression.

' It is therefore not to be supposed that even the weakest prince would run that hazard, unless seduced by advice, wickedly palliated by evil counsellors. Nero himself, under the influence of a good ministry, was the mildest, the most gracious, and best beloved of the Emperors. The most sanguinary, the most profligate, and the most abhorred, under a bad one. A prince may be deceived or mistaken in the choice of his favourites : but he has this advantage, he is sure to hear of it from the voice of the public. If then he is deaf, he seems to take upon himself the blame and odium of those actions which were chargeable before but upon his advisers.

' Idle murmurs, groundless discontents, and pretended jealousies and fears, the effect of private prejudice and resentments, have been, and will ever be, under the wisest administrations : we are pestered with them even now, when we have a Queen, who is known to have nothing so much at heart as the contentment of her people : These are transitory vapours, which scatter at the first appearance of light : the infection spreads no farther than a particular sett of four splenetic enthusiasts in politics, not worth minding or correcting ; universal discontent can never happen but from solid provocations.

' Many well meaning persons, however abounding in zeal, have been often unwarily caught by popular

' pretences, and not undeceived 'till it was too late. Have a care, my dear cousin, of splitting upon that rock : there have been false patriots as well as false prophets.

' To fear God and honour the King, were injunctions so closely tacked together, that they seem to make but one and the same command : a man may as well pretend to be a good Christian without fearing God, as a good subject without honouring the King

' *Deo, patriæ, amicis*, was your great-grandfather Sir Bevil's motto : in three words he has added to his example a rule, which in following you can never err in any duty of life. The brightest courage and the gentlest disposition is part of the Lord Clarendon's character of him : so much of him you have begun to shew us already, and the best wish I can make for you, is to resemble him as much in all—but his untimely fate.

My Dear Lord,

I am for ever, &c.

GEORGE GRANVILLE.'

This excellent young nobleman, of whom such extraordinary hopes were conceived both at home and abroad, was seized by the small-pox in the succeeding year, and died May 17, 1711, in the twenty-first year of his age, unmarried. His remains were interred the twenty-third of the same month in Westminster-Abbey (116).

(116) History of Illustrious Men, p. 347. History of Europe for 1711, p. 539. Monumenta Anglicana, p. 228.

GREENVILLE, or, as he wrote it himself, being the great patron of that orthography, GRANVILLE, [GEORGE] created by Queen Anne, Baron Lansdowne of Biddeford in the county of Devon ; an eloquent speaker, an elegant writer, an admirable poet, and, in a word, one of the most accomplished noblemen this nation has produced (a). It is a misfortune that a person so able has not left us any memoirs of his own, who with so much candour and spirit has rescued from calumny the characters of other great men. The materials for this article are for this reason, in proportion to the worth of it, very scanty ; and all that we are able to do towards rendering justice to his memory, and gratifying in some measure the expectation of the reader, is to range them in the best manner we are able, and to borrow from his own excellent writings all the lights we can (b). He was the son of the honourable Mr Bernard Greenville, or Granville, who, in regard to the merit of his illustrious father Sir Bevil, had, by a special warrant from King Charles the Second, the rank given him of an Earl's younger son (c), and who added to the lustre of his antient and noble family fresh splendour by his personal merit [A]. His son George was born about the year 1667, and is said to have received a great

(a) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 98.

(b) See the article of GRANVILLE [GEORGE], in Jacob's Lives of the Poets ; and the article LANSDOWNE in the General Dictionary.

(c) Lives of Illustrious Men, p. 349.

(1) Biographia Britannica, Vol. IV. p. 2297.

(2) E Stemmate antiq. & nob. Famil. cc Greenville.

(3) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 106.

(4) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 96.

(5) Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 291.

(6) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 161.

(7) Skinner's Life of General Monk, ubi supra.

[A] By his personal merit.] This gentleman, Bernard Granville, Esq; the father of our author, was, as we have already shewn, the son of Sir Bevil Granville, and brother to the Earl of Bath (1). He was born in the year 1631, and consequently was not above twelve years old when his father was killed at Lansdowne (2). He received his education in the country, and remained under the care of some of his father's friends in Cornwall and Devon 'till he was about twenty years of age, and then secretly withdrew himself, that he might join his brother Sir John Greenville in the islands of Scilly (3). He had there the benefit of the capitulation, and returning with his brother into the West, was very active in the King's service, and escaped very narrowly with his life upon several occasions (4). In the great transaction of the King's Restoration, he was introduced by his brother to General Monk ; and that great man gave a singular instance of his confidence in him, by intrusting him with his answer to the King's letter at a very critical conjuncture (5). Our author says upon this subject (6), ' My father, Mr Bernard Granville, was the person entrusted by the General with his last dispatches to the King to invite him home, and to acquaint him that every thing was ready for his reception.' In point of time his Lordship is clearly mistaken ; for, as Dr Skinner truly observes, this was the boldest stroke in the General's whole conduct (7). He wrote an answer to the King's letter before Lambert was retaken, and consequently, long before things were settled, and all matters in readiness for the King's reception. Indeed it appears by the King's own letter to the General, that this with which Mr

Bernard Granville was intrusted, bore date the 20th of April (8) ; whereas the King's letters were not presented to the two Houses 'till the first of May. But this does not at all affect the credit of what his Lordship says farther (9), ' That when the General gave his father his final instructions, he acquainted him, that there were other messengers going over at the same time in the same ship, from Sir Anthony-Ashly Cooper and others, directed to the Chancellor : that he should take care not to be suspected of any thing more than a common passenger, nor charged with any business : and above all, to use such diligence as to get first to the King, that his Majesty might not be surprized or perplexed by any uneasy importunities or disagreeable demands, but be prepared in what manner to receive and content them with general answers. My father accordingly arrived the first by two or three hours to the King, who was at supper. Upon sending in his name, his Majesty immediately arose from the table, and came to him in another room : the King had no sooner read the General's letter, but he embraced the bearer, and told him, that never man was more welcome to him. He could now say *he was a KING and not a DOGE*.' He was Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of Gloucester during the time of his exile ; and after the Restoration, Gentleman of the Horse, and one of the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber to King Charles the Second (10). He was choise for Lestard in Cornwall in the first Parliament after the King's Restoration, called the Long Parliament (11), and served for Launceston and Saltash in all the Parliaments of that reign

(8) See the Appendix to Dr Barwick's Life, p. 528.

(9) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 161.

(10) See the monumental Inscription in Aubrey's Surry.

(11) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 34.



a great part of his education in his infancy under the eye of Sir William Ellis, who was himself a man of letters, and of very quick parts (*d*). Mr Granville quickly discovered the genius of his family, and being with his elder brother entered of Trinity-College in Cambridge, at a time when others have made very little progress in a grammar-school, he was, before he reached the age of twelve, distinguished, by addressing a very fine copy of verses, of his own composition, to her Royal Highness Maria Beatrix d'Este, Duchess of York, who in 1679 visited this university (*e*). He took his degree of Master of Arts there at thirteen, and left Cambridge soon after. On the accession of King James the Second, he addressed three poems to that monarch in the first year of his reign, and in the eighteenth of his own age, all of them very finely written, particularly the last, which was looked upon as incomparable. Panegyric in prose and in verse was in fashion in those days; Lewis the Fourteenth had introduced and rewarded it in France, and from thence, with the other modes of that court, it spread over all Europe, and very early into England, where Waller, Dryden, and Otway, distinguished themselves in this way; and therefore it was the more excusable for so young an author as Mr Granville, prompted alike by inclination and ambition, to tread in the same path. His obedient genius enabled him to gratify his passion, and to reach, even in his first heat, those who were so much practised to the race. He was from this time considered as a master of numbers; and we may truly say of him, what can scarce be said of any other, that before he was a man he was a poet. There was, and there still is, a degree of complaisance that waits on the productions of young men of fashion; but Mr Granville did not at all avail himself of this, his very first poems are among the number of his best, and he did not stand indebted for his reputation, to favour, faction, or common fame, but had it conferred upon him by the first and fairest judges of the times, than whom perhaps few ages have produced better (*f*) [*B*]. The great esteem in

(*d*) Jacob's Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets, Vol. II. p. 121.

(*e*) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 3. Jacob, *ibid*.

(*f*) See the note [*B*].

(12) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 25, 80.

(13) Parliamentary Register, p. 192.

(14) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 80.

(15) Aubrey's History and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. V. p. 252.

(16) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 97.

(17) Original Poems and Translations, by John Dryden, Esq; Vol. II. p. 224.

(18) The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq; edit. 1721. 4to. Vol. I. p. 142.

(19) See the Prologue to his Tragedy of Heroic Love.

(20) See the Prologue to the Jew of Venice, and the Epilogue to his Tragedy of Heroic Love.

(21) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 8, 9, 20.

reign (12), for Plymouth in the first of James the second (13), and for Saltash, in the reign of King William, to the time of his death (14), in the 70th year of his age, on the 14th of June, 1701; and was buried at Lambeth in Surry, as was also his lady, who died on the 20th of September following (15); she was sole daughter and heir of Cuthbert Morley, of Normanby in Cleveland, in Yorkshire; Esq; by his wife, the Lady Katherine Leke, daughter to Francis Earl of Scarisdale, by whom he had issue three sons, Bevil, George, and Bernard; and two daughters, Anne, married to Sir John Stanley, Bart. and Elizabeth (16).

[*B*] *Than whom perhaps few ages have produced better.*] If testimony were of any weight in proving an author to be a genius, we should find no great difficulty to succeed in this particular; for if the names of the immortal Dryden (17), who was his friend; the celebrated Joseph Addison, Esq; (18) who was his intimate acquaintance; the famous Henry St John (19), afterwards Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, who lived with him in the greatest intimacy; and the ingenious Mr Bevil Higgons (20), who was his relation, would suffice, it is secure; more especially as they have all given it under their hands, and staked their own credit with posterity in support of his. But where a man's writings are extant, it is to them we ought to appeal, and this will justify our producing his third poem to King James (21). Mr Waller's complement to him, and his own reply. They are all very short, and full to the point, but perhaps it may not be amiss to remark, that our author wrote in the dawn of that monarch's reign, and before it was overcast by any of those offensive acts in favour of Popery, which gave occasion to its being transmitted in so very different a light to succeeding times.

#### To the KING.

Heroes of old, by rapine, and by spoil,  
In search of fame, did all the world embroil;  
Thus to their Gods, each then ally'd his name,  
This sprang from Jove, and that from Titan came:  
With equal valour, and the same success,  
Dread King, might'st thou the universe oppress;  
But Christian laws constrain thy martial pride,  
Peace is thy choice, and piety thy guide;  
By thy example Kings are taught to sway,  
Heroes to fight, and Saints may learn to pray.  
From Gods descended, and of race divine,  
Nestor in council, and Ulysses shine;

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But in a day of battle, all would yield  
To the fierce master of the seven-fold shield:  
Their very Deities were grac'd no more,  
Mars had the courage, Jove the thunder bore.  
But all perfections meet in James alone,  
And Britain's King is all the Gods in one.

To the author, on his foregoing verses to the KING.  
By MR EDMUND WALLER.

An early plant, which such a blossom bears,  
And shows a genius, so beyond his years,  
A judgment that could make so fair a choice,  
So high a subject to employ his voice;  
Still as it grows, how sweetly will he sing  
The growing greatness of our matchless King.

#### Answer. To Mr WALLER.

When into Libya the young Grecian came,  
To talk with Hammon, and consult for fame;  
When from the sacred tripod where he stood,  
The Priest inspir'd, saluted him a God;  
Scarce such a joy that haughty victor knew,  
Thus own'd by Heaven, as I, thus prais'd by you.  
Who e'er their names can in thy numbers show,  
Have more than empire, and immortal grow;  
Ages to come shall scorn the powers of old,  
When in thy verse of greater Gods they're told;  
Our beauteous Queen, and Royal James's name,  
For Jove and Juno shall be plac'd by Fame;  
Thy Charles for Neptune, shall the Seas command,  
And Sacharissa shall for Venus stand:  
Greece shall no longer boast, nor haughty Rome,  
But think from Britain, all the Gods did come.

We cannot conclude this note, without confirming what has been said in the text, by the authority of a professed critic (22), who thought like a scholar, and wrote like a gentleman; his work was addressed to the Marquis of Granby, in 1709. Waller, says he, for the music of his numbers, the courtliness of his verse, the easiness and happiness of his thoughts on a thousand subjects, deserves your Lordship's consideration, more perhaps than any other, because his manner and his subjects are more common to persons of quality, and

(22) Felton on the Classics, p. 218.



(g) Collins's  
Supplement to  
the Peerage,  
Vol. V. p. 97,  
98.

in which he stood at this court, and the many personal marks of favour he received from their Majesties, added to the turn of his education, and the natural generosity of his temper, made Mr Granville passionately loyal in that season of his life, when few, and he the least of any, had learned to dissemble (g). At the time of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, he was with great difficulty restrained from taking arms; and at the Revolution he had a return of the same kind of political fever, in the first transports of which he wrote his father a letter, which without doubt the reader will be pleased to see (b) [C].

(b) Lord Lansdowne's Works,  
Vol. II. p. 105.

After

'and the affairs of a court. Mr Granville, my Lord, hath rivalled him in his finest address, and is as happy as he ever was in raising modern compliments upon ancient story, and setting off the British valour, and the English beauty, with the old gods and goddesses.'—In the preface to a subsequent edition, he says on the same subject.—'If I had seen my Lord Lansdowne's poems in one view, I might have formed a juster idea of the greatness of his genius, and the delicacy of his wit. For when I wrote these sheets, they lay dispersed up and down in the Miscellanies; but some kind hand hath assembled the scattered stars, and added another lyre to the constellations.'

(23) Memoirs of  
Sir John Ker-  
sey, p. 274—  
277.

[C] *The reader will be pleased to see.* This singular and zealous letter has been often printed, but perhaps the following quotation from the impartial memoirs of a very worthy gentleman (23), wrote in the country, and at the very time precisely, when this letter was written, will render it better understood: 'At this time, says he, Lord Thomas Howard was Lieutenant of the West-Riding, a rigid Papist, and now gone ambassador to Rome. He had left but three deputies behind him, two of which also were Papists, and but two of the three were now in the country, while most of the gentry of Yorkshire were come to the city, expecting to meet with writs for the choice of members. I therefore pressed the High-Sheriff to give notice to some gentlemen, while I convened others for the next day, when Sir Henry Gooderick began a discourse, which I seconded, to shew how little we were able to serve the King with the Militia, without another Lord Lieutenant, under whom we might lawfully serve, meaning a Protestant, and at the same time we subscribed a representation of our case to his Majesty. I was well aware, how very ungrateful this would be to him; but to obviate his displeasure, I gave him private intelligence of the intention to prepare it, and begged of him to excuse the concern I had therein, assuring him it was now absolutely for his service. In the midst of this, comes down a special messenger to purge the corporation, to put out the former Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and to appoint others, almost all Papists; but the commission was so defective, and there were such mistakes in the execution of it, as frustrated the design. The next day I prevailed with the Lord Mayor to call a hall, upon which occasion, I spoke to them a full half hour, and so convinced them of the evil arts which had been put in practice against me, and the great injustice done me, that they all seemed to be converts in my favour; and to add to what I had said, I gave them up the keys, but made them own it as a courtesy, and promise to restore them to me again, whenever I desired it, for his Majesty's service. And now Lord Fairfax, a Roman Catholic, and Lord Lieutenant of the North-Riding, being at York, observed to me, it could be for no good end that the Lords Devonshire and Danby, were come down to the country, though the former pretended he was only come to view his estate, and the latter to drink the waters at Knareborough. They were both of them frequently engaged in conversation at Sir Henry Gooderick's; and the first of them came to York, where I paid all imaginable civilities to him, and received the same from him; the other I waited on at Sir Henry's, not once suspecting that men of their high quality and great estate, could intend any thing prejudicial to the government, or dangerous to themselves, and indeed their outward behaviour was very decent and innocent. Two days afterwards I had an express from Lord Preston, the new Secretary of State, Sunderland, who was turned Papist, and had been the author of great mischief, since he had been near the King, being laid aside, to acquaint me, that his Majesty had given a very kind reception to our

representation on the part of the country; and that in compliance therewith, he had named the Duke of Newcastle to be Lord Lieutenant of all Yorkshire, and his Grace coming to town soon after, appointed his deputies and militia officers, both horse and foot. The King began now, tho' fatally too late, to be sensible of his error, in carrying matters to so enormous a length, at the instigation of Popish counsels, and now restored several justices of the Peace in most counties, as also the old charters all England over; he now quits his hold of the Bishop of London, does justice to Magdalen college, and begins again to court the Church of England.' We may now proceed to the letter, which from the perusal of this passage, may be understood in the most minute particulars, and perhaps, taken together, they will afford the justest picture of the state of the North of England at that great crisis, a thing not to be met with in any of our histories, and yet very capable of instructing us in points of very great importance, and in particular shewing us how that great turn came to be so easily made; for King James had really subverted his own government, before he was attacked from abroad, and by a strange mutability of counsels, disabled his friends from acting when he was attacked. These are the most curious and most interesting parts of history; and yet, not to be written with any tolerable degree of certainty, but from such memoirs, and such letters as these, where affection filled the heart, and truth guided the pen.

Mar, near Doncaster, Oct. 6, 1688.

(24) To the Honourable Mr BERNARD GRANVILLE, at the Earl of Bathe's, St. James's.

(24) Lord Lansdowne's Works,  
Vol. II. p. 105.

Sir,

'Your having no prospect of obtaining a commission for me, can no way alter or cool my desire at this important juncture, to venture my life in some manner or other, for my King and my country.

'I cannot bear living under the reproach of lying obscure and idle in a country retirement, when every man who has the least sense of honour, should be preparing for the field.

'You may remember, Sir, with what reluctance I submitted to your commands upon Monmouth's rebellion, when no importunity could prevail with you to permit me to leave the academy. I was too young to be hazarded, but give me leave to say, it is glorious at any age to die for one's country, and the sooner the nobler the sacrifice.

'I am now older by three years. My uncle Bathe was not so old, when he was left among the slain at the battle of Newbury; nor you yourself, Sir, when you made your escape from your tutors, to join your brother at the defence of Scilly.

'The same cause is now come round about again: the King has been misled. Let those who have misled him, be answerable for it: no body can deny but he is sacred in his own person, and it is every honest man's duty to defend it.

'You are pleased to say, it is yet doubtful if the Hollanders are rash enough to make such an attempt: but be that as it will, I beg leave to insist upon it, that I may be presented to his Majesty as one whose utmost ambition it is to devote his life to his service, and my country's, after the example of all my ancestors.

'The gentry assembled at York, to agree upon the choice of representatives for the county, have prepared an address to assure his Majesty they are ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for him, upon this and all other occasions; but at the same time they humbly beseech him to give them such magistrates, as may be agreeable



After things were settled, Mr Granville pursued his studies, and gratified his taste for poetry in the enjoyments of a private life. He was the younger son of a younger brother, and of course much restrained in point of fortune; and as matters were then situated with his family, had no reason to expect any favours from the administration (i). However, the hereditary prudence of his family, though it supplied not all deficiencies, yet covered all defects from public appearance; and his exact behaviour and correct œconomy prevented the world from discerning, that Providence, though indulgent in all other respects, had, to render that indulgence more beneficial, denied him riches suitable to the rank in which his birth had placed him. This was the more remarkable, because, when he afterwards enjoyed an affluent income, that commendable œconomy was no more discerned, which had been the ornament of his youth; whereas, in most men, it is either an infirmity attending old age, or at least a habit produced by experience. Being thus excluded from that circle of pleasures in which young men are commonly immersed, and, at the same time, debarred those passages to fame, in which the martial disposition of his family would have inclined him to tread, he struck out amusements of another kind, and though by a different road, reached the temple of Honour sooner than most of his contemporaries (k). His dramatic pieces were of very different kinds, and written in very different manners; but they were all well received, and owed that reception to their intrinsic merit, as much as to the general esteem and respect that all the polite world professed for their author (l). They are, to say no more than truth, pieces that have often passed the press, without any diminution of that praise which they received upon the stage [D]. He was as true a judge of the

(i) Lives of illustrious Men.

(k) See the Poem addressed to him by Mrs Elizabeth Higgons, in his own Works.

(l) Gildon's Supplement to Langbaine's Account of the Dramatic Poets.

powers

agreeable to the laws of the land, for at present there is no authority to which they can legally submit.

'They have been beating for volunteers at York, and the towns adjacent, to supply the regiments at Hull, but no body will lift.

'By what I can hear, every body wishes well to the King, but they would be glad his ministers were hang'd.

'The winds continue so contrary, that no landing can be so soon as was apprehended, therefore I may hope, with your leave and assistance, to be in readiness before any action can begin. I beseech you, Sir, most humbly and most earnestly to add this one act of indulgence more, to so many other testimonies which I have constantly received of your goodness, and be pleased to believe me always, with the utmost duty and submission,

'Sir,

'Your most dutiful son,

'and most obedient servant,

'GEO. GRANVILLE.'

[D] Which they received upon the stage.] We have three plays of his, of which it is necessary to speak separately, and very distinctly, because there are several circumstances that are fit to be known in relation to them, which yet are not mentioned in his works.

1. The SHE GALLANTS, a Comedy, acted at the Theatre Royal in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1696.

In the advertisement originally prefixed to this Play, it is said to be the *Child of a Child*, and it is urged in the way of apology for it, that it was written at an age, when some persons are but beginning to spell. At first it met with applause, but a rumour being industriously propagated, that it was calculated to turn some great characters into ridicule (25), a formidable party was raised against it; notwithstanding which, it was several times played with success. The author always asserted, that the allusions beforementioned were downright misrepresentations, and indeed, supposing the Play to be wrote in 1682 or 1683, or even two or three years later, the author must have been a Prophet, as well as a Poet, to have aimed his satire as it was supposed to be directed. Besides, its original intention was private amusement, and it was an unforeseen accident that brought it upon the stage: so that in this, as it often happens, the piece was guiltless, it was the innuendo that made the libel; and the apprehensions of false friends, which brought certain characters upon the carpet, for which the Play and its author suffered, though in reality neither was to blame. Many years after, he corrected and gave it a new title, and then it was called,

ONCE A LOVER, and ALWAYS a LOVER, a Comedy.

In the preface he observes, this is a new building upon an old foundation; and that taking it under examination so many years after it was written, he flatters himself to have made a correct Comedy of it. To justify this pains, he says, that he found it regular, the scene constant to one place, the time not exceeding the bounds prescribed, and the action entire. He proceeds to point out the principal alterations that have been made, and concludes with the following remark (26) 'Whether this infant deserved a new coat, or whether now he is provided with one, it may set him off better, is with all deference submitted. An author flatters himself very ridiculously, if he can suppose it in his power to argue and reason the world into judging as he himself perhaps may do, of his own work.'

In praise of this performance we find it said (27), that it 'has a great deal more wit than the stage is generally used to; dialogue equalled by few, and more just satirical observations than most of our modern comedies.' These, together with the commendations before given by the author, may be all true, but at the same time, it is as true, that there is scarce a single scene, in which there are not expressions found, unworthy of him and of the British Stage; and for which, all the wit, humour, and vivacity with which they are mingled, cannot atone. Whatever is immodest is inexcusable; we can never presume that he has correction in his view, by whose writings the corruption of his audience is in any danger of being brought about; and if the true end of the stage be to expose and ridicule vice, it looks like defeating it, to introduce language and characters of the worst sort, in such a manner as to make the most pleasing impressions.

2. HEROIC LOVE, a Tragedy, acted at the Theatre Royal with great applause, 1696.

This was very justly esteemed a capital performance, and as Mr Gildon (28) very truly says, it was an attempt to restore the antient manner of writing Tragedy at the expence of the modern. In it, Mr Granville observed the strictest rules of the antient drama; the action is single, the scene is never varied, the time is the same with the representation. All extravagance, all unnecessary incidents are cut off; nothing can be more correct, or more free from what is called sustian, than the diction of this piece. It is founded upon the Iliad, and is wrote according to the laws of Aristotle: It has been very justly commended, and most certainly shews an accurate judgment, very capable of curbing even the most exalted genius. It is however, to speak the truth, as is our duty, rather free from faults, than abounding with beauties, and entertains one at least, as much in the closet, as it could do on the theatre. But notwithstanding this, we must allow it great merit, as it shewed what might be done, without having recourse to improbabilities or to rant. It is in this light

(26) See the Preface prefixed to this play, in Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III, p. 1, 2.

(27) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123.

(28) Supplement to Langbaine's Account of Dramatic Poets, p. 66.

(25) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123.



powers of music as the harmony of numbers, and amongst the small number of poets, acquainted with the happy secret of combining both without injury to either. What he has written in prose would have done him honour upon the subject as a critic; but what he has done in verse does him still more honour, as it shewed he was able to execute with spirit and vivacity, what his judgment taught him with the utmost correctness. The sound, in respect to these compositions, was truly a comment upon the sense, and one might have expected, that what he wrote in this stile, should have carried the opera higher in Britain than even in Italy; but perhaps it has had contrary effect (m). His theory has been always acknowledged perspicuous, noble, and just, but, like other great masters, his practice upon trial has been found inimitable [E]. He was not one of those fine easy writers

(m) See his Preface to the British Enchanters.

(29) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 123, 124.

light that it must be considered, in order to justify the high praises given the author; and when considered in this light, it will effectually justify him, wrote as it is, with dignity and spirit, great beauty of sentiment, and without any one of those improprieties which have been objected to the English Tragedy; no distortion of history, no incredible fictions, no shedding of blood upon the stage, but all that decorum preserved, which the strict rules of criticism demand. It was introduced with all possible advantages (29); the Prologue was written by the Right Honourable Henry St John, Esq; the Epilogue by Mr Bevil Higgons, and both are very fine pieces; but what did him the greatest honour, were the numerous complements bestowed upon his play after it appeared in print; and as great politicians sometimes unite the most opposite interests, so our author drew the praises of parties, seldom heard in the commendation of the same thing, the ladies and the critics. But what must have given him the highest pleasure, as it was the surest proof of his success, was the following incomparable poem of Mr John Dryden, which alone is sufficient to fix his character with posterity, and to secure his reputation as a poet, against all the attacks of ignorance or envy: 'a poem that does equal honour to him and to the author, and abounds with sound sense and conclusive argument, delivered with all the force of poetry, accompanied with all the harmony of numbers, and glowing with that disinterested friendship which great minds only feel, and which a great genius only could express.

(30) Original Poems and Translations, by John Dryden, Esq; Vol. II. p. 224.

(30) TO MR. GRANVILLE,

On his excellent Tragedy, called, Heroic Love.

Auspicious Poet, wert thou not my friend,  
How could I envy, what I must commend!  
But since 'tis nature's law, in love and wit,  
That youth should reign, and with'ring age submit,  
With less regret, those lawrels I resign,  
Which dying on my brows, revive on thine.  
With better grace an antient chief may yield  
The long contended honours of the field,  
Than venture all his fortune at a cast,  
And fight like Hanibal, to lose at last.  
Young Princes obstinate to win the prize,  
Tho' yearly beaten, yearly yet they rise:  
Old monarchs tho' successful, still in doubt,  
Catch at a peace; and wisely turn devout.  
Thine be the lawrel then; thy blooming age  
Can best, if any can, support the stage,  
Which so declines, that shortly we may see  
Players and plays reduc'd to second infancy.  
Sharp to the world, but thoughtless of renown,  
They plot not on the stage, but on the town,  
And in despair, their empty pit to fill,  
Set up some foreign monster in a bill;  
Thus they jog on; still tricking, never thriving;  
And murd'ring plays, which they miscall reviving.  
Our sense is nonsense, thro' their pipes convey'd;  
Scarce can a Poet know the play he made;  
'Tis so disguised in death: nor thinks 'tis he  
That suffers in the mangled Tragedy.  
Thus *Iys* first was kill'd, and after dress'd  
For his own Sire, the chief invited guest.

I say not this of thy successful scenes;  
Where thine was all the glory, theirs the gains:  
With length of time, much judgment, and more toil,  
Not ill they acted, what they could not spoil:  
Their setting Sun \* still shoots a glimm'ring ray,  
Like ancient *Rome*, majestic in decay:  
And better gleanings, their worn soil can boast,  
Than the crab vintage of the neighb'ring coast †.  
This difference; yet the judging world will see,  
Thou copiest *Homer*, and they copy thee.

\* Mr Betterton's company in Lincoln's-Inn-fields.

† Drury-lane Playhouse.

3. The Jew of VENICE, altered from the MERCHANT OF VENICE, written by *Shakespear*, 1701.

The profits of this Play were designed for Mr Dryden, but upon his death given to his son (31). The Prologue was spoken by the ghosts of Shakespear and Dryden, and was written by Mr Bevil Higgons. It was well received then, and much esteemed since. The chief merit of it is, that much of the original author is retained, and the alterations chiefly consist in shortening the scenes, and dispatching the business of the play with more veracity. To comply with the humour of the time, the Masque of Peleus and Thetis was introduced, of which something will be said in the next note. If the Jew of Venice be more fit for the stage, the Merchant of Venice will be most esteemed in the closet. The scene is Italy, and we see the grave and the comic manners of the Italians finely preserved. The sentiments are truly noble and nervously expressed; the morality is equally striking and pleasing; the characters strongly marked, and yet extremely natural; the whole piece abounding with sensible reflections, and those very capable of being applied in the common conduct of life. On the whole, we may affirm of this Play, that such as understand it best will admire it most; and that though it may be rendered more fashionable, yet it can never be so altered as to be improved. This was our author's sense of the thing, as well as ours, and therefore it is not, censure, but complement, when we submit to it.

(31) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 1, 11.

[E] Has been found inimitable.] We have in the text hinted the difficulty of settling the Chronology of our author's writings. He composed most of his poetical pieces when he was a perfect child; he reviewed, heightened, and improved them, in the middle part of his life; he revised, corrected, and gave them the last touches, when his judgment was most mature. His poetic compositions of this kind, are but two.

I. Peleus and Thetis, a Masque, originally introduced in the Jew of Venice.

The whole of this exquisite performance is set to music. The argument is, that Peleus being in love with Thetis, by the assistance of Proteus, obtains her favour; but Jupiter, being also in love with the same immortal beauty, takes her from him, and condemns Peleus to suffer endless pains on mount Caucasus. There he has an opportunity of consulting Prometheus, skilled in Astrology: upon whose prophecy, that the son born of Thetis, should prove greater than his father, Jupiter desists from his pretensions, and Peleus with his consent espouses Thetis. The reader will allow us to justify what has been advanced in the text, by a short quotation towards the close of the Masque.

(32) Prometheus to Jupiter:

Son of Saturn, take advice,  
From one whom thy severe decree  
Has furnish'd leisure to grow wise:

Thou rul'st the Gods, but Fate rules thee.

[The

(32) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 151, 152.



writers that compose a poem in a morning, but remarkably careful and curious about every thing he wrote; so that his verses never appeared 'till they had undergone a severe examination; and even after they had received the sanction of public applause, they were not safe from his castigation; he thought he had a right to trim and prune the products of his imagination as long and as often as he thought fit, and it is certain that he exercised this right through his whole life (n). Like Ovid and Tibullus, his muse was employed in transmitting the charms of beauty, as far as they can be transmitted by those of poetry, to succeeding times. He began where Waller ended; and as he had conferred immortality on

(n) *Jacob's Lives of the Poets*, Vol. II. p. 125.

## [The Prophecy]

Whoe'er th' immortal maid compressing,  
Shall taste joy, and reap the blessing;  
Thus th' unerring stars advise:  
From that auspicious night, an heir shall rise,  
Paternal glories to efface,  
The most illustrious of his race,  
Tho' sprang from him, who rules the skies.

## Jupiter. [Apart.]

Shall then the son of Saturn be undone,  
Like Saturn by an impious son?  
Justly th' impartial fates conspire,  
Dooming that son to be the fire,  
Of such another son.  
Conscious of ills that I have done,  
My fears to prudence shall advise,  
And guilt, that made me great, shall make me wise.  
The fatal blessing I resign;  
Peleus, take the maid divine\*,  
Jove consenting, she is thine;  
The fatal blessing I resign†.

\* Giving her to Peleus.

† Joins their hands.

II. The BRITISH ENCHANTERS, or NO MAGIC like LOVE: A Dramatic Poem, with Scenes, Machines, Music, and Decorations, &c.

(33) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 155.

Our author in a short preface prefixed to this work, tells us (33), that, 'of all public spectacles, that which should be called an Opera is calculated to give the highest delight. There is hardly any art but what is required to furnish towards the entertainment, and there is something or other to be provided, that may touch every sense, and please every palate.' He observes, that the French Opera is perfect in the decorations, the dancing, and magnificence; the Italian excels in the music and voices, but the drama falls short in both. An English stomach, he says, requires something solid and substantial, and will never rise satisfied from a regale of sweetmeats. We have, says he, several poems under the name of Dramatic Operas, by the best hands; but the subjects, for the most part, have been improperly chosen: Mr Addison's Rosamond, and Mr Congreve's Semele, are rather Masques than Operas. At the close of his preface, he gives the following account of his own performance, which may be also stiled the history of it. 'The unities are religiously observed: the place is the same, varied only into different prospects, by the power of enchantment: all the incidents fall naturally within the very time of representation: The plot is one principal action, and of that kind, which introduces variety of turns and changes, all tending to the same point: the ornaments and decorations are of a piece with it, so that one could not well subsist without the other: every act concludes with some unexpected revolution, and in the end, vice is punished, virtue rewarded, and the moral is instructive. Rhyme, which I would by no means admit into the dialogue of graver Tragedy, seems to me the most proper style for representations of this heroic romantic kind, and best adapted to accompany music. The solemn language of a haughty tyrant, will by no means become a passionate lover, and tender sentiments require the softest colouring. The theme must govern the style, every thought, every character, every subject, of a different nature, must speak a different language. An humble lover's gentle address to his mistress, would rumble strangely in the Miltonic dialect; and the soft

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'harmony of Mr. Waller's numbers, would ill become the mouths of Lucifer and Belzebub. The terrible and the tender, must be set to different notes of music. To conclude; this dramatic attempt, was the first essay of a very infant muse, rather as a task at such hours as were free from other exercises, than any way meant for public entertainment: but Mr Betterton, having had a casual sight of it many years after it was written, begged it for the stage, where it found so favourable a reception, as to have an uninterrupted run, of at least forty days. The separation of the principal actors, which soon followed, and the introduction of the Italian Opera, put a stop to its farther appearance. Had it been composed at a ripener time of life, the faults might have been fewer: However, upon revising it now at so great a distance of time, with a cooler judgment than the first conceptions of youth will allow, I cannot absolutely say, *'scripsisse pudet'*. It remains, that we give a specimen of his power in respect to numbers, which is the prerogative of our language, of the most extensive influence, and which, notwithstanding, is the least understood. For this reason therefore, we will produce such an instance; and if, for the short time he is reading it, the reader will forget Mr Dryden's Ode upon St Cecilia's day, he will not be able to recollect a finer piece of Lyric Poetry in the British tongue.

## (34) Ode to DISCORD.

(34) *Ibid.* p. 192, 193.

A single voice.

When Love's away, then Discord reigns,  
The Furies he unchains,  
Bids Æolus unbind  
The northern wind  
That fetter'd lays in caves:  
And root up trees, and plow the plains,  
Old Ocean frets and raves;  
From their deep roots the rocks he tears,  
Whole deluges lets fly,  
That dash against the sky,  
And seem to drown the stars.  
Th' assaulted clouds return the shock,  
Blue light'ning singe the waves,  
And thunder rends the rock.

Then Jove usurps his father's crown,  
Instructing mortals to aspire;  
The father would destroy the son,  
The son dethrones the fire.  
The Titans to regain their right,  
Prepare to try a second fight;  
Briareus arms his hundred hands,  
And marches forth the bold gigantic bands.

Pelion upon Ossa thrown,  
Steep Olympus they invade;  
Gods and giants tumble down,  
And Mars is foil'd by Encelade.

Horror, confusion, dreadful ire,  
Daggers, poison, sword and fire,  
To execute the destin'd wrath conspire:  
The Furies loose their snaky rods,  
And lash both men and Gods.

The chorus, repeat the last stanza.

26 M

[F] That



(o) Lord Lanfdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 63, 64.

(p) Ibid. p. 88.

on Lady Dorothea Sidney, under the name of Sacharissa, so the Countess of Newbourg, who was Granyville's Mira, will live as long as the English language (o). But as much as he excelled in the amorous, he excelled also in other kinds of poetry, and had the genius and learning as well as the spirit and the turn of Ovid, as appears clearly from one of the most beautiful pieces of poetical criticism that is any where extant (p) [F]. At the accession

(35) Ibid. p. 88. [F] *That is any where extant.* This performance is his Essay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry (35). The Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards successively distinguished by the titles of Normanby and Buckinghamshire, had wrote an admirable piece, intitled, An Essay (36) on Poetry; the Earl of Roscommon (37), had likewise written with the same title upon translated verse. Our author, to compleat the subject, wrote this third Essay, to shew that notwithstanding all the notions of poetic liberty, whatever is absurd, extravagant, or unnatural, can never be either sublime or beautiful. He wrote likewise annotations to explain, to establish, and to confirm his rules by examples. The following instances will give the reader an idea of his Poem (38).

(36) The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normanby, and Duke of Buckingham, Vol. I. p. 127.

(37) Essay on translated Verse, by the Right Hon. the Earl of Roscommon, Lond. 1680, 4to.

(38) Lord Lanfdowne's Works, Vol. I. p. 90, 91, 96, 97.

\* Ariosto.

Thus poetry has ample space to soar,  
Nor needs forbidden regions to explore,  
Such vaunts as his, who can with patience read,  
Who thus describes his hero slain and dead.  
\* ' Kill'd as he was, insensible of death,  
' He still fights on, and scorns to yield his breath.  
The noisy culverin, o'ercharg'd, lets fly,  
And burst unaiming in the rended sky:  
Such frantic flights are like a madman's dream,  
And nature suffers in the wild extreme.

The captive canibal, weigh'd down with chains,  
Yet braves his foes, reviles, provokes, disdains,  
Of nature fierce, untameable and proud,  
He grins defiance, at the gaping crowd;  
And spent at last, and speechless as he lies,  
With looks still threat'ning, mocks their rage and dies:

This is the utmost stretch that nature can,  
And all beyond is fulsom, false, and vain.

I needed not to have travelled so far for an extravagant flight, I remember one of British growth of the like nature.

See those dead bodies, hence convey'd with care,  
Life may perhaps return—with change of air.

But I choose rather to correct gently by foreign examples, hoping that such as are conscious of the like excesses, will take the hint, and secretly reprove themselves: it may be possible for some tempers to maintain rage and indignation to the last gasp, but the soul and body once parted, there must necessarily be a determination of action.

Quodcumque offendis mihi sic incredulus odi.

I cannot forbear quoting on this occasion, as an example for the present purpose, two noble lines of Jasper Main's, in the collection of the Oxford verses, printed in the year 1643, upon the death of my grandfather, Sir Bevil Granville, slain in the heat of action, at the battle of Lansdowne. The Poet, after having described the fight, the soldiers animated by the example of their leader, and enraged at his death, thus concludes:

Thus he being slain, his action fought anew,  
And the dead conquer'd, whilst the living flew.

This is agreeable to truth, and within the compass of nature: it is thus only, that the dead can act.

(39) Ibid. p. 91, 98, 99, 100.

(39) Beauty's the theme, some nymph divinely fair  
Excites the muse, let truth be even there.

As Painters flatter, so may Poets too,  
But to resemblance must be ever true:

† ' The day that she was born, the Cyprian Queen, † Corneille.  
' Had like to have dy'd, thro' envy and thro'  
' spleen;

' The Graces in a hurry left the skies,  
' To have the honour to attend her eyes;  
' And love despairing in her heart a place,  
' Would needs take up his lodging in her face.'  
Tho' wrote by great Corneille, such lines as these  
Such civil nonsense sure could never please;  
Waller, the best of all th' inspir'd train,  
To melt the fair instructs the dying swain.

\* Le jour qu'elle naquit, Venus bien qu' immortelle,

Pensa mourir de honte, en la voyant si belle;  
Les Graces à l'envi descendirent des cieux  
Pour avoir l'honneur d'accompagner ses yeux,  
Et l'amour qui ne pût entre dans son courage;  
Voulut obstinément loger sur son visage.

This is a lover's description of his mistress, by the great Corneille, civil to be sure, and polite as any thing can be. Let any body turn over Waller, and he will see how much more naturally and delicately the English author treats the article of love, than the celebrated Frenchman. I would not, however, be thought by any derogatory quotation, to take from the merit of a writer, whose reputation is so universally and so justly established in all nations; but I said before, I rather choose, where any failings are to be found, to correct my own countrymen by foreign examples, than to provoke them by instances drawn from their own writings. Humanum est errare. I cannot forbear one quotation more from another celebrated French author. It is an epigram upon a monument for Francis the First, king of France, by way of question and answer, which in English is verbatim thus:

Under this marble, who lies buried here?  
Francis the Great, a King beyond compare.  
Why has so great a King so small a stone?  
Of that great King, here's but the heart alone:  
Then of this conqueror, here lies but part,  
No—here he lies all—for he was all heart.

The author was a Gascon, to whom I can properly oppose no body so well as a Welshman: for which purpose, I am farther furnished from the forementioned collection of Oxford verses, with an epigram, by Martin Lluellin, upon the same subject, which I remember to have heard often repeated to me, when I was a boy. Besides, from whence can we draw better examples, than from the very seat and nursery of the Muses?

Thus slain, thy valiant ancestor did lie,  
When his one bark a navy did defy;  
When now encompass'd round he victor stood,  
And bath'd his pinnace in his conquering blood,  
Till all the purple current dry'd and spent,  
He fell and made the waves his monument:  
Where shall the next fain'd Granville's ashes stand?  
Thy grandfire fills the sea, and thine the land.

I cannot say the two last lines, in which consists the sting or point of the epigram, are strictly conformable to the rule herein set down: the word ashes, metaphorically, can signify nothing but fame, which is mere sound,



accession of Queen Anne, he stood as fair in the general esteem as any man of his age, which was about five and twenty. His father, who was just dead, had made some provision for him; and his uncle the Earl of Bath, who did not survive him long, had also left Mr Granville a small annuity, which, with the credit of his cousin, soon after created Lord Granville of Potheridge, engaged him to come into Parliament; and he was accordingly chosen for Fowey in the first Parliament of the Queen with John Hicks, Esq; (9). Soon after he published, in conjunction with several other patriots, one of the orations of Demosthenes, in order to excite a proper spirit in the nation against France; for, as an eminent writer observes, the Tories were at this time looked upon as sincerely inclined to vigorous measures (r). This new specimen of literature gained him many friends, at the same time that it added highly to his reputation, and is still in very great esteem [G]. His fortune received some improvement from an accident, in all other respects big with irreparable loss, the death of his gallant brother Sir Bevil Granville, looked upon at that time as the rising hopes of the family, who had given such early proofs of magnanimity, as had disarmed the rage of party, and, at the time of his decease, was universally acknowledged to be a most deserving officer, and a gentleman equally distinguished by amiable and estimable qualities [H]. Mr Granville bore this blow of fortune with great steadiness, and

(9) *Wells's Memoirs of the Earl of Bath*, Vol. II. p. 139.

(r) *Lord Londondown's Works*, Vol. II. p. 114. — *Burton's History of his own Times*, Vol. II. p. 314.

sound, and can fill no space either of land or sea: the Welshman, however, must be allowed to have outdone the Gascon. The fallacy of the French epigram appears at first sight; but the English strikes the fancy, suspends and dazzles the judgment, and may perhaps be allowed to pass under the shelter of those daring hyperboles, which, by presenting an obvious meaning, make their way, according to Seneca, through incredible to true.

[G] *And is still in very great esteem.* As few countries were ever blessed with more great men at one season than this island at that time, we may observe, that in no period that can be assigned, there ever appeared a truer or a warmer spirit of liberty; it was to keep up this spirit, that some of our ablest patriots thought it might be expedient to translate some of the best orations of Demosthenes, as containing the most perswasive arguments to animate the subjects of a free state, to exert their utmost strength in opposing the pernicious designs of an ambitious and overbearing neighbour; they thought it very fortunate, that as without any manifest absurdity they might compare their own government to that of Athens; there was at the same time, so great and so apparent a likeness between the characters of Philip of Macedon, and Lewis the Fourteenth. We know not whether it was choice or accident, that determined our author to the second Olynthian; but whatever determined him, we may very boldly say, that he has translated it with equal fidelity and beauty, and, without either forcing the sense, or straining the spirit, has rendered it as applicable to the subject, which was the common object of all the translators, as could be expected or even desired. It has been said, that some of them made too free with a French translator, considering the author's eloquence was to be turned against a French prince; this certainly was not Mr Granville's case, and to shew how admirably he did his part, and at the same time to shew how the good sense, and sound reasoning of one age, may square with the circumstances of another, though at a great distance, we will presume to give a few paragraphs, and appeal to the reader's own judgment, whether the advice given in them, may not be read with edification even in our age (40).

What time so proper for action? what occasion so happy? and when can you hope for such another, if this be neglected? has not Philip, contrary to all treaties, insulted you in Thrace? does he not at this instant straiten and invade your confederates, whom you have solemnly sworn to protect? is he not an implacable enemy? a faithless ally? the usurper of provinces, to which he has no title or pretence? a stranger, a barbarian, a tyrant, and indeed what is he not? and yet, O ye mortal gods! when we shall have abandoned all things to this Philip; when by the indifference of some, by the treachery of others, we have as it were, added force and wings to his ambition, we shall yet make ourselves a greater scorn to our enemies, by upbraiding and loading each other with the reproach. Each party, though equally guilty by their divisions of the common calamity, will be imputing the miscarriage to his neighbour; and though never so conscious, every one will be ex-

cusing himself, by laying the blame on another: as after the loss of a battle, not a man that fled, but accuses his companion, condemns his general, and separately examined, no one takes shame to himself, each shifting the common disgrace from one to another; but yet it is certain, that every individual man who gave ground, was equally accessory to the general defeat. The man who accuses his companion, might have stood firm himself, had he pleased, and that which was a route, had then been a victory. Such is the pride and folly of parties overborn and sway'd by personal prejudice; sacrificing the public to private resentment, and charging each other with miscarriages for which they are every one equally accountable. A manager for one side proposes; he is sure to be opposed by a manager for the other, not gently and amicably, but with heat, malice, and unbecoming reflection; let a third more moderate arise, his opinion is not to be received, but as he is known to be engaged in a party. What good can be hoped from such a confusion of councils, directed only by prejudice or partiality, in defiance to sense and right reason? if no advice that is given is to be received, but as it suits the humours of a party, or flatters the distempers of the times, it is not his fault who speaks honestly, but yours who resolve to be deaf to all arguments that displease you. In debates for the public, we are not to seek what will please, but what will profit. If our wishes exceed what we have means to accomplish, we must contract our wishes, and confine them to what is in our power. Let the Gods have your prayers, to grant what is out of your reach, nothing is impossible to them: but we, who have only human means to act by, must be governed by circumstances, doing as well as we can, and trusting the rest to Providence. The reader upon the perusal will certainly concur with us, in opinion, that he could not have chosen a fitter oration than this; one more applicable to the end proposed, or which alluded more clearly to the state of the times; so that the advice of Demosthenes, though he lived so many ages before, and at such a distance from us, is brought directly home; and from the familiarity of the conjunctures, his exhortations as properly adapted to the people of Britain then, as they were to the citizens of Athens when delivered.

[H] *Equally distinguished by amiable and estimable qualities.* We have before, mentioned Sir Bevil Greenville's receiving the honour of Knighthood from King James the Second, in the camp at Hounslow, May 22, 1686, and his being afterwards sent by his uncle the Earl of Bath, to the island of Jersey. He was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Bath's regiment at the Revolution, became afterwards Colonel (41), and was at length promoted to the rank of Major-General, being upon all occasions with equal steadiness and courage; in the battle of Steenkirk, particularly, he signalized himself more than any officer in the army. This battle was fought on Sunday August 3d, 1692 (42), the army of the allies being commanded by King William, and that of the French, by the Marshal Duke de Luxembourg. The vanguard being oppressed by numbers,

(41) *Lives of Illustrious Men*, p. 350.

(42) *Kennet's History of England*, Vol. III. p. 644.

(40) *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 121, 122, 223.



and continued to dedicate his more serious hours to the service of his country, and to spend his moments of leisure with the Muses, whom he courted with dignity and freedom, and not with that eagerness and fondness which render men pedants even in poetry. He continued to serve in the Parliaments called in the fourth and seventh year of the same Queen's reign. In the ensuing Parliament, chosen in the ninth year of the Queen, he was elected for the borough of Helston, and also Knight of the Shire for the county of Cornwall, for which he served (s). On the great change which happened in the autumn of 1710, he came into employment with his friends; and on Michaelmas-day was declared Secretary at War in the room of the late Earl of Orford, then Robert Walpole, Esq; (t). He continued in this office for some time, and discharged it with great capacity. Towards the close of the next year, he espoused the Lady Mary, daughter of Edward Villiers, Earl of Jersey, at that time the widow of Thomas Thynne, Esq; from whom she enjoyed a considerable jointure, and by whom she was the mother of the late Lord Viscount Weymouth (u). On the thirty-first of December, 1711, he was, in consideration of the great and eminent services of his ancestors, and his own conspicuous merit, created a peer of Great-Britain, by the title of Lord Lansdowne, Baron of Biddeford in the county of Devon (w). Amongst the numerous creations at that time, there was none that gave greater satisfaction to one side, or less offence to the other, than this. His Lordship was apparently the next male in that noble family, in which two peerages had extinguished almost together. His personal merit was universally allowed, and, with regard to his political sentiments, even those who thought him most mistaken, allowed him to be open, candid, and uniform, expressing himself frankly upon all occasions, and shewing rather more warmth when in opposition to power, than when his notions seemed to receive a favourable colour from fashion. He stood always high in the favour of Queen Anne, and with great reason, having upon every occasion testified the greatest zeal for her government, and the most profound respect for her person. We need not wonder therefore, that, in the succeeding year, he was advanced to the post of Comptroller of the Household, and, on the 18th of August, sworn of her Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council (x). About that time twelve-month he became Treasurer of the Household (y), being succeeded in his former employment by Sir John Stonehouse. His Lordship continued in this post during the remaining part of the Queen's reign, and 'till his Majesty King George was pleased, on the 11th of October, 1714, to bestow it upon the Earl of Cholmondeley (z). His connections with the tory ministry, and the generosity of his disposition, which would not allow him to desert his friends in their distress, induced him to act with them at the beginning of the late reign, when we find his name amongst those Lords, who protested against the bill for attainting Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, and also against that for attainting James Duke of Ormond (a), unless they surrendered by a day certain. This steadiness of his Lordship in the support of his old friends, exposed him, as he must foresee it would, to many inconveniencies; for upon the insurrections in Scotland and England, his Lordship, though he was one of those who signed the proclamation (b) of the late King, upon the demise of her late Majesty Queen Anne,

(a) The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, Vol. III. p. 17, 18.

(b) Historical Register, Vol. I. p. 3.

numbers, and Count Solmes neglecting to support them, out of envy to the English, and distaste to the Prince of Wirtembergh, who commanded, and having at last sent horse instead of foot, expressly contrary to the royal orders, to their relief, his Majesty, who foresaw the consequences of this ill conduct, exerted himself with the utmost vigour to repair it, though by this time the foot were a mile distant from the troops that were engaged, and had already suffered severely. However, the King made all possible diligence to get the infantry up, ordering a brigade to march to the wood, and forming a line of battle in the plain, with such foot as could come up. The eagerness of the soldiers to follow and engage the enemy was such, that they put themselves into some disorder, and took more time to form their battalions, than could now be spared; so that before they could reach the wood, the vanguard and infantry of the left wing being overpowered by thirty battalions of the enemy, who charged them continually one after another, and by a fresh body of dragoons, brought up by Boufflers, they were forced to retreat in great confusion, and to leave the wood to the enemies possession. The English Life-guards owed their preservation to the Danish Foot-guards; and a regiment of Lunenburg, commanded by the Baron of Pibreck, being in disorder upon the skirt of the wood, and the Colonel himself dangerously wounded upon the place, Sir Bevil Granville, who commanded the Earl of Bath's regiment, marched up to his relief, receiving the enemies fire, before he suffered his battalion to discharge. By this method he lodged himself in the narrow way near the

wood, ordered his serjeants to carry off Baron Pibreck, and maintained his post till he was commanded to leave it by the Prince of Nassau. The King enraged at the disappointment of the vanguard for want of timely relief, expressed his concern, by often repeating these words, Oh my poor English! how they are abandoned! nor would he admit Count Solmes to his royal presence for many months after. But considering the attack was not to be renewed without endangering the loss of the army, Luxemburg being considerably reinforced by Boufflers, and besides the night drawing on, his Majesty commanded a retreat, which was performed with admirable order, and without any great disturbance from the enemy, who never durst engage the English in the rear. After the death of King William, in the year 1703, we find Sir Bevil Granville advanced to be governor of Barbadoes, with a fixed salary of two thousand pounds a year (43). He was extremely welcome to the inhabitants at his first arrival, though he had not long been there before disputes arose, which were gradually carried to a very great height, and in conjunction with the warmth of the climate, had such an operation on his health, that he solicited his re-call; and having obtained it, went on board an infected ship, and died in his passage home, September 15th, 1706 (44), in the flower of his age, unmarried, and universally lamented. He served in Parliament for the Borough of Fowey, in the County of Cornwall (45), in the reign of King James; under that of King William, he was elected for Lestwithiel (46).

(43) The British Empire in America, Vol. II. p. 63.

(44) Lives of Illustrious Men, p. 350. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, p. 121.

(45) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 139.

(46) The Parliamentary Register, p. 137.

[I] Which

(s) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. II. p. 75, 14.

(t) History of Europe for the year 1710, p. 571. Pointer's Chronological Historian, Vol. II. p. 659.

(u) History of Europe for the year 1711, p. 574. Lives of Illustrious Men, p. 350.

(w) History of Europe for 1711, p. 479.

(x) Pointer's Chronological Historian, Vol. II. p. 721. History of Europe for the year 1712, p. 132.

(y) Pointer's Chronological Historian, Vol. II. p. 735. (z) Historical Register, Vol. II. p. 12.



(c) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 68.

(d) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 125.

(e) Historical Register for the year 1717, Vol. II. p. 10.

(f) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 188—195.

(g) See his Lordship's Preface to the first Volume of his Works.

(h) A Vindication of General Monk, Duke of Albemarle, from some calumnies of Dr Burnet, and some mistakes of Dr Echard, in relation to the sale of Dunkirk and the Portugal Match. A Vindication of Sir Richard Granville, General in the West for King Charles I. from the misrepresentations of the Earl of Clarendon and the Rev. Mr Archdeacon Echard. Both these are printed in his Lordship's Works, Vol. II. p. 135, 185.

(i) Reflections Historical and Political, occasioned by a Treatise lately published, intitled, A Vindication of General Monk and Sir Richard Granville, &c. To which are added, A Reply to that part of it which relates to Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, and New Proofs of the misrepresentation and partiality in the Earl of Clarendon's and Mr Echard's Histories, extracted out of the said Vindication, and Rapin's History of England, 1732, 4to.

(k) Remarks upon the Right Honourable the Lord Lansdowne's Letter to the author of the Reflections Historical and Political, &c. as far as relates to Bishop Burnet, 1732, 4to.

(l) A Letter to the author of Reflections Historical and Political, occasioned by a Treatise in Vindication of General Monk and Sir Richard Granville, &c. by the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, 1732, 4to.

(m) An Examination of the late Archdeacon Echard's account of the Marriage-Treaty between King Charles II. and Queen Katharine, Infanta of Portugal, addressed to the Right Honourable George Granville, Lord Lansdowne; by Dr Colbatch of Trinity-College in Cambridge, 1733, 4to.

Anne, yet was seized as a suspected person, September 26, 1715 (c), and committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he continued a long time. At this unfortunate juncture, the well intended officiousness of one of his servants, deprived the world of several excellent pieces that had fallen from his pen, by hastily committing to the flames (d) some papers, of which he had observed his Lord to be particularly careful. The loss was irreparable; for his Lordship being tender of the productions of his youth, suffered no copies to be taken, 'till, by repeated corrections and improvements, he had reconciled them to his maturer judgment. He was at length discharged from his tedious imprisonment (e), February 8, 1717, when all dangers were over. His Lordship's being set at liberty was highly satisfactory to the polite part of the world, as he was a distinguished patron of letters, and ever cherished in others, those arts by which he had risen himself into universal esteem. We find him, in 1719, as vigorous as ever in the House of Lords, as appears by his speech (f) against repealing the act to prevent occasional conformity, to which, in point of eloquence and spirit, there are very few harangues in our language that ought to be preferred. About three years afterwards, his Lordship, for the sake of his health and for other reasons, thought fit to go abroad, and continued out of the kingdom for several years (g). It was during this space that the first volume of the Bishop of Sarum's History of his own Times was made public; and, as that work made a very great noise, it is no wonder that his Lordship perused it with attention; and finding the characters of the Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Bath treated in a manner he thought they did not deserve, his Lordship formed the design of doing them justice. This led him to look into the works of other Historians, more especially those of the Earl of Clarendon and Mr Archdeacon Echard; where, finding his great-uncle Sir Richard Greenville more roughly treated, and his Lordship having in his hands memoirs capable of setting his conduct in a fairer point of light, he resolved to follow the dictates of his duty and his inclination, by publishing his sentiments upon these heads, and giving the world those lights, which in respect to them they had long wanted (h). At his return to England in 1732, he made this work of his public, which was generally well received, as being written with great spirit, wonderful beauty of expression, and, being full of new discoveries, gave the lovers of personal history infinite satisfaction. However, there wanted not some who thought themselves obliged in honour to oppose his Lordship, for very particular reasons: amongst these, Mr Oldmixon (i) was the first; and though he was naturally of a very warm temper, embarked early in an opposite cause, and in some things had copied the authors his Lordship condemned; yet, upon this occasion, he wrote with temper, made his Lordship great concessions, and contented himself with defending only a few points, and those too not the most material in his Lordship's performance. The nearest relation (k) of the deceased prelate looked upon himself as obliged to enter the lists also with his Lordship; and though more might have been urged in his excuse than for any other man in a case of this nature, if he had transgressed a little the rules of moderation, yet he really wants it not; his discourse is written with great coolness and calmness, and, while he says every thing that it was in his power to say, and in the strongest terms possible, there is nothing that has so much as an air of vehemence, much less of ill manners. Nay, this writer forbore making any attack, 'till his Lordship had answered his former antagonist, Mr Oldmixon, in a letter dated from Old-Windsor, August 22, 1732 (l), in which his Lordship made a full return of candour and civility. But in the spring of the succeeding year, his Lordship met with an opponent of a very different cast, in Dr Colbatch (m), of Trinity-College Cambridge, who undertook to vindicate the memory of Mr Archdeacon Echard, in reference to his account of the marriage-treaty between Charles the Second and the Infanta of Portugal; and this he has done with great vigour and judgment, but at the same time with too much asperity. He was a person perfectly well acquainted with the subject, as having resided long in Portugal, and made the political affairs of that country his study. He was also a great master of argument, and thought himself at liberty to retort where it was in his power, any observation; to censure every escape in expression; and to criticize his Lordship as an author, without paying too much regard to his quality. He had better fortune than either of his predecessors; he attacked the weakest part of his Lordship's book, and knowing the advantage he had, kept steadily to that single point, without wandering into the other parts of the dispute. His Lordship prudently declined an answer, and contented himself with having afforded the republic of letters an opportunity of seeing several points of English history thoroughly sifted, and some new facts brought to light, which otherwise, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion [I]. His Lordship soon after took an opportunity of revising all his works,

[I] Which otherwise, in all probability, had been buried in oblivion. We have in the two foregoing articles, made such abundant use of his lordship's writings, as clearly proves the assertion in the text, to which, for the satisfaction of the reader, we will subjoin some farther instances in this note. In reference to the loyalty of the county of Cornwall, our author

has produced a very remarkable letter from King Charles the First, dated from his camp at Sudley-Castle (47), September 10th, 1643, of which he informs us, that there is a copy hung up in almost every church and chapel in the county. In reference to Sir Bevil Greenville, he has furnished us with much; in regard to Sir Richard Greenville, with a great deal more; but still there

(47) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 276, 277, 278.



works, in order to a new edition, which might be worthy of them and of his Lordship, a circumstance that does him great honour, and which has contributed not a little to preserve

there are some things wanting that would give us much farther lights upon this subject. Whitlocke has preserved a circumstance we meet with no where else, and though but a rumour, and a false rumour too, is of some consequence to that gentleman's character. After the defeat of Essex in Cornwall, it was reported and believed, that the King had created that gentleman (48) Baron of Lestwithiel, an undeniable evidence, that common fame attributed to him the honour of that action. We know not what is become of that relation which Sir Richard is said not only to have written, but to have (49) printed and published, of his own conduct in the West; and we are also in the dark as to the death of his only son; all that his lordship knew was, that he suffered for his father's principle (50); all we have been able to discover farther, is the time of his death, which was (51) March 8th, 1657-8. Many things relating to the Restoration we have already had occasion to mention, and several more belong to other articles, which therefore it would be improper to mention here. But there is a fact with regard to King Charles's Queen Katherine, and her capacity of bearing children, which through his lordship's means has been stated in a pretty strong light, and which for that reason ought not to be overlooked. In reference to this, his lordship says (52), 'as to the incapacity in the Infanta of bearing children, it was never proved nor acknowledged: on the contrary, I have heard many ladies of equal quality to the Duchesse of Guadaloupa, some of them my near relations, who had the honour to attend upon her Majesty's person from her first coming into England to her dying day, affirm it to have been a false imputation, and that she was twice declared to be with child, is an undeniable proof of it.' This point is very fully explained by the following commentary of Dr Colebatch (53). 'Whether matters of this sort be capable of proof, is more than I know; it is not likely they'll be acknowledged by the persons concerned. It was cause sufficient for the Chancellor to take the alarm; and to warn his master of the danger, in case the thing was believed upon any probable presumption. Mr Echard I'm sure hath dealt fairly with his reader, by acquainting him with what hath been alledged on one side and the other, which he had for the most part from myself. He says very truly, that this supposed incapacity could not be imputed to the Infanta's age or country. I have seen a woman near Lisbon, with a child of her own in her arms, who seemed to be near fifty years; and upon my taking notice of it, was told, that women there, if they marry sooner than those of other countries, which is commonly the case, sooner cease to bear children, and not otherwise. So that if there was any truth in the report concerning the incapacity of this princess, it must, as the Archdeacon observes, be upon account of some peculiar infirmities of body. But such a report there certainly was, and that before the marriage was compleated. Mr John Pollexfen, a countryman of your Lordship's, was a person so eminent in divers respects, that in all likelihood he was well known to your Lordship, and if so, he may have acquainted you with what I have heard from him myself; namely, that when the Earl of Sandwich came with a fleet to conduct the Queen to England, this matter was the common subject of discourse among our merchants at Lisbon, and that they, he, Mr Pollexfen, being one of the number, remonstrated to his Lordship, that the King was not like to have issue by his marriage. Possibly the report may have been confirmed if not raised by the Duchesse of Guadaloupa, whose brother, the Duke of Aveiro, went over from Portugal to Castile (and she with him as I suppose), about the time when the marriage was agreed upon. I am sure Sir Robert told me, that being at Madrid when the news came thither of our Queen's miscarriage, he waited on that lady to acquaint her with it, which having done, he added, that there being now cause to expect a future pregnancy, he hoped it would be attended with a more happy success. But the Duchesse, who had been acquainted with the Queen from her infancy and in

the nursery, (they are Sir Robert Southwell's own words) shaking her head, gave him to understand, that she looked upon such hopes to be altogether groundless—I have, as I told Mr Echard, several times heard the same thing affirmed by one lady, who had the honour of being allied to your lordship's family, and was the only Protestant of her rank and sex that attended the Queen at Lisbon; I mean the Lady Wyche, who declared, that to her knowledge, her Majesty was in a childbearing condition 'till after King Charles's death. I doubt not but that each of these ladies, had some particular reason on which to ground their opinion; so that great deference is due to the testimony both of the one and of the other. But I do not see how any difference in their quality, should affect the credibility of their evidence on either side. In proof however of so much of the fact, as that this matter, which ought always to have been kept secret, was very early the topic of discourse, and occasioned some very strange reports in Portugal, as well as in England; we shall cite a passage of Sir Robert Southwell's letters, the rather because it will give us a hint of those, by whom such stories were propagated, no doubt, with the pious intention of destroying gradually the English interest in every court in Europe. This letter of Sir Robert's is directed to Lord Arlington, and is dated December 2d, 1667. 'I would not omit to tell your Lordship of one question which the Queen asked me, which was, whether the Queen of England was not divorced from his Majesty, which she said she had heard; as also that the Duchesse was in like manner from his Royal Highness, and all the children declared illegitimate. Your Lordship may imagine in what confusion I was, to hear her discourse on this subject, and the industry I used to efface these impressions; adding, for one conviction, the strictness of the commands I had now newly received, to solicit the residue of the portion. Unto which her Majesty presently applied the discourse, pleading the poverty of the kingdom more sensibly than one who had talked of her departure from it. But as to the report aforesaid, concerning the Queen our mistress, it is hardly credible how hotly it was discoursed in this town about ten days ago; and even that her Majesty was already embarked, and it is now in like manner flown all over the kingdom; and though I do believe that some wild letters have, from the Portuguese in England, been writ hither to this effect, yet I am sure the French have fomented it with all the vigour they could (54). An eminent prelate, having (55) reported in his history, that the Duchesse of Portsmouth had told Mr Henley of Hampshire, that she believed King Charles the Second was poisoned; Lord Lansdowne, who was at Paris, where the Duchesse of Portsmouth was living, procured the question to be asked her, whether she had ever said so to Mr Henley or not; to which the Duchesse answered, that she did not remember her being so much as acquainted with Mr Henley, which his Lordship looks upon as a clear confutation; whereas others look upon it as a mere evasion, and that if there had been no truth in it, her Grace would peremptorily have denied the fact, instead of reflecting upon the memory of the prelate, which she did in very coarse terms. However, in respect to the fact of the King's death, his Lordship gives us his own sentiments in the following words (56). 'As to the poisoning part of the story, it was always my opinion, and not ill grounded neither, that the King hastened his death by his own quackery. The last year of his life, he had been much troubled with a sore leg, which he endeavoured to conceal, and trusted too much to his own drugs and medicines. On a sudden the running stopt, and it was then he was seized with his apoplexy: a common case, fatal the moment those sort of fores dry up. There being so natural a way of accounting for his death, to what purpose then all these forced speculations from strained circumstances? no one but the next heir could have any interest in it, and he never was so much as accused or suspected. The Bishop himself generously acquits him.' This was his Lordship's sentiment, and carries in it great probability.

(48) Memorials, p. 106.

(49) Wood's Fasti Oxoniensis, col. 194.

(50) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 204.

(51) Gesta Britannorum, p. 478.

(52) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 174, 175.

(53) Examination of the late Mr Archdeacon Echard's account of the Marriage-Treaty between King Charles II. and Queen Katherine, Infanta of Portugal, addressed to the Right Hon. George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, p. 42, 43, 44.

(54) Letters of Sir Robert Southwell to the Duke of Ormond, &c. p. 352, 353.

(55) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 610.

(56) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 263.



serve that deference and respect to his memory, which his many great talents and amiable qualities always secured, while living, to his person. He chose to increase the value of his writings, by examining and correcting, rather than by multiplying them; he was his own Critic, and performed that office with the steadiness of a judge, and without being at all biased by the natural tenderness of an author for his own productions. He chose to be known to posterity in his literary character, and very justly; having distinguished himself in so many different kinds of writing, both in verse and prose. His Lordship had the misfortune to survive his younger as well as his elder brother; and perhaps there is nothing more affecting in his Lordship's character, than that veneration which he had for some, and that tenderness which he had for all his family. Of the former, the reader has already seen many instances, and some also of the latter. But there are two letters, one to his cousin, the last Earl of Bath, in respect to his conduct in private life, the other to his nephew, Mr Bevil Greenville, on his entering into Holy Orders (n), which it would have been an injury to his memory not to place in the notes, and therefore there the reader shall find them [K].

(n) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 184—187. Vol. II. p. 283—285.

lity. Yet his Grace of Buckinghamshire, an older man, and who had better opportunities of knowing, seems to think otherwise. His words are these (57).

'I would not say any thing on so sad a subject, if I did not think silence itself would in such a case signify too much; and therefore, as an impartial writer, I am obliged to observe, that the most knowing and most deserving of all his physicians, did not only believe him poisoned, but thought himself so too not long after, for having declared his opinion a little too boldly.'

His Grace likewise does the same justice to his successor. The Physician he mentions was Dr Short, a Papist, and the expression he made use of was, that the King had not fair play for his life. A very honourable and judicious writer, has explained this in another sense than that in which it has been commonly taken (58).

'It so fell out, that the very access of the King's distemper was such, as no poison or medicament in the world could produce or counterfeit; that is, an apoplectic or epileptic fit, choose you whether, for in one of those the King was certainly at first taken. He cried out, and then falling back in his chair lay as one dead. The physician in waiting immediately bled him, and the following regimen was as in apoplectic cases, his Majesty's being presumed to be that, to get him to wake, and then to keep him from sleeping. One Dr Stokeham, an eminent physician in Covent-Garden, declared to me, that the physician that bled the King, utterly mistook his case; for his fit was not an apoplexy, but epileptic, and then all they did was ex diametro wrong. For in that case, bleeding is little less than mortal, and the way is to let them dose out the fit without disturbance, and they will come to themselves and be well; but the other course will sooner make them mad than recover them. Hence he infers, that the natural construction of Dr Short's words was, that the methods used, did him more hurt than good; and if he had been alone, and nothing at all done to him, nature had had it's course, which the Doctor might probably mean by fair play. We will venture to add, that these are the best accounts that are to be had of this matter, and taking them together we may be pretty certain of the truth. It was not the first or the second fit of the kind the King had had, and recovered from by being let alone; but the circumstance of drying up his leg (59) might probably make it more violent, which the accident of his being improperly treated rendered mortal. The reader will excuse this short digression to which we were induced, that we might the better explain the great use of such historical memoirs as those are, which Lord Lansdowne has published.

[K] And therefore there the reader shall find them.] The first of these letters is the sequel of that which the reader has already seen in the former article; it is addressed to the young Earl of Bath, and it contains our author's sentiments of the conduct fit for a nobleman distinguished by birth, blessed with a large fortune, and honoured with a singular mark of the royal favour, to pursue in his own country, upon a supposition, that with these advantages there can be but one thing left for him to render himself truly popular, not by meanly courting vulgar applause, but by consulting the true interest of his country, and thereby joining the people's love to the sovereign's choice. There is a freedom, there is an honesty, in this letter which renders it in-

valuable; and there are so many occasions continually occurring, to which it may be applied, and it will be perused here by so many to whom it is properly belongs, as to the noble person to whom it was addressed, that it cannot fail of doing continual service.

(60) To WILLIAM-HENRY, Earl of BATH, &c. at the camp in Flanders, September 22d, 1710.

(60) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 184—187.

'Every living creature, my dear lord, is entitled to offices of humanity: the distress even of an enemy should reconcile us to him: if he thirsts give him drink; if he hungers give him food; overcome evil with good. It is with this disposition I would have you enter into the exercise of that authority with which her Majesty has honoured you over your countrymen. Let no-body inspire you with party prejudices and resentments. Let it be your business to reconcile differences and heal divisions, and to restore, if possible, harmony and good neighbourhood amongst them. If then there should be any left to wish you ill, make them ashamed and confounded with your goodness and moderation: Not that I would ever advise you to sacrifice one hair of the head of an old friend to your family, to gain fifty new ones; but if you can increase the number by courtesy and moderation, it may be worth the trial.

'Believe me, my dear lord, humanity and generosity make the best foundation to build a character upon: a man may have birth, and riches, and power, wit, learning, courage, but without generosity, it is impossible to be a great man: whatever the rich and powerful may think of themselves; whatever value they may set upon their abundance and grandeur, they will find themselves but the more hated, and despised for the ill use they make of it. You should look upon yourselves but as stewards and trustees for the distressed: your over-abundance, is but a deposit for the use and relief of the unhappy: you are answerable for all superfluities mis-spent: It is not to be supposed, that Providence would have made such distinctions among men; such unequal distributions, but that they might endear themselves one to another by mutual helps and obligations. Gratitude is the surest cement of love, friendship, and society.

'There are indeed rules to be observed, and measures to be kept, in the distribution of favours: we know who have both the power and inclination to do, but for want of judgment in the direction they pass only for good-natured fools, instead of generous benefactors.

'My Lord — will grudge a guinea to an honest gentleman in distress, but readily give twenty to a common strumpet; another shall refuse to lend fifty pounds to his best friend, without sufficient security, and the next moment set his whole fortune upon a card or a die: a chance, for which he can have no security. My Lord — is to be seen every day at a toy-shop, squandering away his money in trinkets and bangles, and at the same time leaves his brothers and sisters without common necessities.

'Generosity does not consist in a contempt of money, in throwing it away at random, without judgment or distinction, though that indeed is better than locking it up, for multitudes have the benefit of it: but in a right disposition to proper objects in proportion

(57) Duke of Buckingham's Works, Vol. II. p. 82.

(58) Examen, or an enquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended Compleat History, by the Hon. Roger North, Esq; p. 648.

(59) Welwood's Memoirs, p. 142.



The gentleness of his nature, in listening to every application that was made to him in every station of life; his willingness to oblige to the utmost of his power, and his condescension on some occasions, which added lustre to his good-nature; might be supported by various instances, if either necessity required, or the bounds of this article would permit (o). His candour in judging of the works of others (p); was the more extraordinary, considering the care he took of his own, for to them the severity of his criticism was confined. But his generosity in supporting, encouraging, and recommending men of genius, are qualities that must not be so slightly passed over. His friendship to Betterton and Dryden was always constant, and his expressions of it governed by their distress; for to them he gave the profits of his plays, which had never appeared upon the stage if their necessities had not required them (q). His affection and respect for Mr Wycherly, expressed in a letter, as is supposed, to Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, shew his true sense of merit in the strongest and in the most agreeable light. His zeal in bringing the last great poet this country has produced with that credit on the public theatre, which is so necessary to give spirit and courage to a rising genius, ought ever to be remembered with due praise [L]. The last years of his Lordship's life were spent in privacy and retirement. He

(o) See the Dedication to his Lordship, prefixed to the 2d Volume of Jacob's Lives of the Poets.

(p) See towards the close of his Lordship's Essay on Unnatural Flights in Poetry.

(q) See his Lordship's Preface to the British Enchanters, and the Prologue to the Jew of Venice.

tion to the merit, the circumstances, the rank and condition of those who stand in need of our service.

Princes are more exposed than any others to the misplacing their favours: merit is ever modest, and keeps its distance. The forward and importunate, stand always nearest in sight, and are not to be put out of countenance, nor thrust out of the way. I remember to have heard a saying of the late King James, that he never knew a modest man make his way in a court. David Floyd, whom you know, being then in waiting at his majesty's elbow, reply'd bluntly, pray, Sir, whose fault's that? the king stood corrected and was silent.

If princes could see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, what a happy situation it would be both for themselves and their subjects: to reward merit, to redress the injured, to relieve the oppressed, to raise the modest, to humble the insolent: what a godlike prerogative! were a right use made of it.

How happy are you, my dear lord, who are born with such generous inclinations, with judgment to direct them, and the means to indulge them: of all men most miserable is he, who has the inclination without the means. To meet with a deserving object of compassion, without having the power to give relief; of all the circumstances in life, is the most disagreeable: to have the power, is the greatest pleasure.

Methinks I see you ready to cry out—Good cousin, why this discourse to me? what occasion have I for these lectures? none at all, my dear lord, I am only making my court to you, by letting you see I think as you do.

But one word more, and I have done.

In trust, intimacy, and confidence, be as particular as you please: in humanity, charity, and benevolence, universal.

To my Nephew Mr Bevil Granville, upon his entering into Holy Orders (61).

When I look upon the date of your last letter, I must own myself blameable for not having sooner returned you my thanks for it.

I approve very well of your resolution of dedicating yourself to the service of God: you could not choose a better master, provided you have so sufficiently searched your heart, as to be persuaded you can serve him well: in so doing, you may secure to yourself many blessings in this world, as well as a sure expectation in the next.

There is one thing which I perceive you have not yet thoroughly purged yourself from, which is flattery: you have bestowed so much of that upon me in your letter, that I hope you have no more left, and that you meant it only to take your leave of such flights of fancy, which, however well meant, oftner put a man out of countenance than oblige him.

You are now become a searcher after truth: I shall hereafter take it more kindly, to be justly reproved by you, than to be undeservedly complimented.

I would not have you understand me, as if I recommended to you a four Presbyterian severity; that is yet more to be avoided. Advice, like physic, should be so sweetened and prepared, as to be made palatable, or nature may be apt to revolt against it.

Be always sincere, but at the same time always polite: be humble, without descending from your character; reprove and correct, without offending good manners: to be a cynic, is as bad as to be a sycophant; you are not to lay aside the gentleman with your sword, nor to put on the gown to hide your birth and good breeding, but to adorn it.

Such has been the malice of the world from the beginning, that pride, avarice, and ambition, have been charged upon the priesthood in all ages, in all countries, and in all religions: what they are most obliged to combat against in their pulpits, they are most accused of encouraging in their conduct. It behoves you therefore to be more upon your guard in this, than in any other profession. Let your example confirm your doctrine, and let no man ever have it in his power to reproach you with practising contrary to what you preach.

You had an uncle, Dr Dennis Granville, Dean of Durham, whose memory I shall ever revere; make him your example. Sanctity sat so easy, so unaffected, and so graceful upon him, that in him, we beheld the very beauty of holiness: He was as cheerful as familiar, and condescending in his conversation, as he was strict, regular, and exemplary in his piety: as well bred and accomplished as a courtier; as reverend and venerable as an apostle: he was indeed, in every thing apostolical, for he abandoned all, to follow his Lord and Master.

May you resemble him! may he revive in you! may his spirit descend upon you, as Elijah's upon Elisha! and may the great God of Heaven, in guiding, directing, and strengthening your pious resolutions, pour down his best and choicest blessings upon you.

You shall ever find me, dear nephew, your most affectionate uncle, and sincere friend, &c.

LANSDOWNE.

Besides the Reverend Mr Bevil Granville, to whom this Letter is addressed, Colonel Bernard Granville, his lordship's younger brother, who was also Lieutenant governor of Hull, had by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir Martin Westcomb, consul at Cadiz, Bernard his son and heir, and two daughters, Mary and Anne (62).

[L] Ought ever to be remembered with due praise.] The length of this letter, prevents our transcribing it, but the latter part of it which respects Mr Pope, and which shews that this noble person was among the number of his first patrons, and who, together with Mr Wycherley, introduced him to this other Mæneas, runs in the following terms (63). He shall bring with him, if you will, a young poet, newly inspired in the neighbourhood of Cooper's Hill, whom he and Waltham have taken under their wing, his name is Pope, he is not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, and promises miracles: if he goes on as he has begun in the pastoral way, as Virgil first tried his strength, we may hope to see English poetry vie with the Roman, and this Swan of Windsor, sing as sweetly as the Mantuan.

All the world knows in what terms Mr Pope addressed this great man in the opening of his Windsor Forest, and therefore it is unnecessary to repeat them; but with

(61) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 283, 284, 285.

(62) Collins's Supplement to the Peerage, Vol. V. p. 100.

(63) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. II. p. 113.



He had certainly talents enough to have raised him to the highest offices, and friends enough to have reconciled him to any party; but the mortifications he had met with in the middle part of his life, checked his ambition, and he had seen enough of the world to despise it. Yet he was not soured to a degree of becoming splenetic or cynical enough, either to refuse or to be ungrateful for royal favours. The late Queen having honoured him with her protection, the last verses he wrote were to inscribe two copies of his poems, one of which was presented to her Majesty, and the other to the Princess Royal, Anne, now Princess Dowager of Orange (r). His Lordship deceased at his house near Hanover Square, January 30, 1735, in the sixty-eighth year of his age (s). By his only wife, Lady Mary Villiers, who died a few days before him (t), he had no issue male, so that in him the title of Lansdowne became extinct. He had, however, by her Ladyship, four daughters, viz. Anne; Mary married on the 14th of March, 1729-30, to William Graham of Platten, near Drogheda in the kingdom of Ireland, who deceased (u) in the month of November, the same year with his Lordship; Grace married the 29th of March, 1740, to Thomas Foley, jun. Esq; son and heir of Thomas Foley, Esq; Member of Parliament for Hereford; and Elizabeth (w).

(r) Lord Lansdowne's Works, Vol. III. p. 203, 264.

(s) London Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 99.

(t) Historical Register, Vol. XX. p. 10.

(u) Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. V. p. 681.

(w) Collins's Supplement, Vol. V. p. 100.

At length we have finished our memoirs of this antient and noble family, upon whom, having dwelt more copiously than upon almost any other, it may not be improper to acquaint the public with the reasons. In the first place, there are few families that have produced persons more illustrious than this, and those in very different kinds, seamen, soldiers, senators, statesmen, and poets. In the next place, in treating their personal history, we have been obliged to state and examine some very curious and interesting facts in our civil history, which, to speak the truth, is the greatest service that performances of this nature can render to the republic of letters. We may add to these two reasons, that we were in possession of many materials; and though we will not pretend to say by any means, that we have erected a monument worthy of so many great men, yet sure we have spent our time very ill, if we have not done somewhat towards contenting the reader. We saw that most of these materials had lain too long unused, and that, certain circumstances considered, it might not be impossible they might continue in the same broken and distracted state, at least during our times, upon which we could not help reflecting with regret. Lastly, the males of the eldest line being extinct, we thought it more immediately our duty, as in the case of the Dudley's, to interpose in time, and to use our utmost endeavours to save from oblivion all the circumstances we could draw together, relative to this race of heroes: these which are our true and only motives, cannot but be thought sufficient to prove, that what we have done in this respect, is perfectly consistent with the nature and plan of our work; and it would give us great pleasure, if we could render the same justice to other noble families under the like circumstances.

with the private letter that accompanied that public inscription, the world may not be so well acquainted; and therefore, from its pertinence to our purpose, we must beg leave to bring it to their notice (64).

To my Lord LANSDOWN.

Binfield, Jan. 10, 1712.

'I thank you for having given my Poem of Windfor Forest, it's greatest ornament, that of bearing your name in the front of it. 'Tis one thing, when a person of true merit permits us to have the honour of drawing him as like as we can; and another, when we make a fine thing at random, and persuade the next vain creature we can find, that 'tis his own likeness, which is the case every day of my fellow-scribblers. Yet, my Lord, this honour has given me no more pride than your honours have given you, but it affords me a great deal of pleasure, which is much better than a great deal of pride; and it indeed would give me some pain, if I was not sure of one advantage, that, whereas others are offended, if they had not more than justice done 'em; you would be displeased if you had so much, therefore I may safely do you as much injury in my words, as you do yourself in your own thoughts. I am so vain as to think I have shewn you a favour in sparing your modesty, and you cannot but make me some return for prejudicing the truth to gratify you: this I beg may be the free correction of these verses, which will have

few beauties, but what may be made by your blots. I am in the circumstance of an ordinary painter, drawing Sir Godfrey Kneller, who by a few touches of his own, could make the piece very valuable. I might then hope, that many years hence, the world might read in conjunction with your name, that of,

'Your Lordship's, &c.'

We will close this note with a just stroke of censure on his Lordship and his writings, by his Grace the Duke of Buckinghamshire and Normanby (65).

(65) Duke of Buckinghamshire's Works, Vol. I. p. 191.

When Buckingham came, he scarce car'd to be seen,  
Till Phœbus desir'd his old friend to walk in;  
But a laureat Peer had never been known,  
The Commoners claim'd that place as their own.

Yet if the kind God had been ne'er so inclin'd,  
To break an old rule, yet he well knew his mind:  
Who of such preferment, would only make sport;  
And laugh'd at all suitors, for places at Court.

Notwithstanding this law, yet Lansdown was nam'd,  
But Apollo with kindness, his indolence blam'd;  
And said he would chuse him, but that he should  
fear  
An employment of trouble he never could bear.

E

GREGORY [JAMES] an eminent Mathematician, was born in 1639 (a), at Aberdeen in Scotland (b), where he likewise received his education. He made a good proficiency in the Latin tongue at school, but being chiefly inclined to the mathematics, it was not long before the success of his application to these sciences discovered a genius superior to most, and not much, if at all, unequal to the best of his time. This happened

(b) In the title page of his *Optica Promota*, and of his *Geometria pars universalis*, he styles himself *Abredonensis Scotus*.

(64) The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq; edit. 1737, Vol. VI. p. 57, 58.

(a) He died in 1675, at the age of 36. See note (w).



pened to be in the interval between Des Cartes and Sir Isaac Newton; when having the advantage of those improvements that had been made by the former, he struck a considerable part of that dawning light into the sublimer geometry, or geometry of curves, which preceded the rising of the latter. At the age of twenty-four years he acquired the distinguishing title of a first inventor, by his reflecting Telescope [A]; the construction of which was published in 1663, in his treatise intituled, *Optica Promota (c), seu abdita radiorum reflexorum & refractorum mysteria geometricè enucleata; cui subnectitur Appendix subtilissimorum Astronomiæ problematôn resolutionem exhibens (d)*. Leaving Scotland in a year or two after this, he came to London, in order to get his instrument executed by some able hand; and the work was performed according to the description given in the book, by the most skilful artist of that time (e). Notwithstanding this it did not succeed [B]; and though our author imputed the miscarriage chiefly to his own want of skill in the technical part (f), yet he declined the trouble of improving himself therein. Intent upon the study of speculative Geometry, he had taken up a resolution to make a tour to Italy, where mathematical learning chiefly flourished at that time (g), and hastening thither he seems to have fixed his residence at Padua, which University was then in high repute. Here pursuing a hint suggested by his own thoughts, he pushed the method of exhaustions into several new discoveries. The first of these was the invention of an infinitely converging (b) series, for the areas of the circle and hyperbola [C], which he printed at Padua in 1667,

(f) Phil. Trans. No. 83.

(g) Dominic, Cassini, Riccioli, Ricci, Renaldini, Stephano de Angelis, Manfredi, Bullialdi, Borelli, to name no more, were all alive at this time.

(b) He was the first who gave such series that denomination. Vid. Epist. Wallisi ad Leibnizium, Apr. 6, 1697, in Commercio Epistol. Jo. Collins, &c. No. LXXV.

[A] He acquired the distinguishing title of a first inventor by the reflecting telescope.] His only competitor in this invention, Sir Isaac Newton, tells us himself (1), That the first thought of such a telescope was indeed suggested to him by his discovery of the different refrangibility of the rays of light, but not till 1666; and that when he resumed this subject in 1668, he had Mr Gregory's book before him (2). In this book we find the particular remark which first put our author upon contriving his invention, was an inconvenience he foresaw from an hyperbolic (3) object-glass, which if sufficiently broad to receive light enough into a telescope that shall magnify very much, must, he observes, of consequence be very thick, and that then the clearest glass would hinder too much of the light from being transmitted (4). As this telescope is made at present with several alterations and improvements, we shall have but a very imperfect idea of the original invention, without seeing a description, which therefore it will be proper to insert in the author's words. Having described two other sorts, together with their defects, he proceeds thus: 'Tertium autem genus nulla habet incommoda & omnes priorum generum proprietates habere potest (5), &c. The third sort (which, from its value, we may very well call a golden one) has no inconveniences, and may have all the properties of the other sorts, provided the lenses and specula be rightly disposed, that is, if the last images, and the last but one, be produced by specula, and the rest by lenses: we shall therefore here, for example, describe a telescope of this most perfect kind. Let there be a parabolical concave speculum most exquisitely polished, near (6) whose focus is placed a small elliptic concave speculum, having a common focus and common axis with the concave parabolic speculum, and let it be fixed in that situation: now the said focus of that elliptic speculum must be very near to its vertex, and the other focus of it must be very far from that in the common axis, produced beyond the parabolic speculum; and through the vertex of the parabolic speculum must be made a round hole, in which hole must be placed a tube, having the same axis with the specula, and big enough to receive the rays of a visible reflected from the elliptic concave speculum, and let it be continued a very small matter beyond the farther focus of that speculum, and there let a lens of chrystal convex, towards the specula, with the convexity of a conoid, and the density of the chrystalline (7) [of the eye] be fixed, whose exterior focus must be the same with (that just mentioned) the further focus of the elliptic concave speculum, and must be plane towards the eye, and likewise have the same common axis as the specula and the tube.' After the description he concludes thus: 'This will be the way to make an excellent telescope for presbyta; for distant objects seen through the tube, will appear very distinctly magnified, very near in the ratio of the distances of the vertices from the common foci, and enlightened in the same manner as a visible would be, when seen under such an angle, provided the diameter of what produces the last

image be big enough to suffer the uvea of the eye to be filled with the rays: and how that may be done, we have taught in the scholium of the 5<sup>th</sup> of this book.' By this description it appears, that the rays from the object pass on the outside, or without the margin, of the lesser speculum to the concave face of the larger speculum, which reflecting them to the lesser, that returns them through a hole in the middle of the larger, to the eye-glass, placed behind the larger speculum. But here the construction is general, being built only upon theory, which was carried no farther than to the figures of the specula and lens. The particular magnitudes and distances of each are left to be determined by trial, or experience; and what was done in that way will be seen in the following remark.

[B] Being attempted by Mr Reive, it did not succeed.] Our author, speaking in his Optics of these instruments says, *De mechanica horum speculorum & lentium ab aliis frustra tentata, ego in mechanicis minus versatus nihil dico*: whence Sir Isaac Newton inferred, that there had been trials made of these telescopes, but in vain; 'And, continues he, I am informed that about seven or eight years since (8), Mr Gregory himself, at London, caused one of six foot to be made by Mr Reive, which I take to have been according to the aforesaid design described in his book, because, though made by a skilful artist, yet it was without success (9).' To this Mr Gregory answered (10), That as to the words cited (by Mr Newton) he spoke there only of the hyperbolic and elliptic glasses and speculum, which were attempted in vain. 'As for my experiment, continues he, with Mr Rives (11), he could not polish the large concave [or object speculum] upon the tool; and I not knowing any advantage of the catoptric telescope above the dioptric, save only the shortness, and similitude betwixt the circle and parabola (which is greater than that betwixt the circle and hyperbola), imagined that this great defect in the figure [being spherical] would easilie counterbalance these two petty advantages. Upon this account, and being about to go abroad, I thought it not worth the pains to trouble myself any further with it, so that the tube was never made; yet I made some trials, both with a little concave and convex speculum, which were but rude, seeing I had but transient views of the object, being so possessed with the fancy of the defective figure, that I would not be at the pains to fix every thing in its due distance.' Had not our author here given us his reasons, it would have appeared a little surprizing, that for the sake of his own invention, he did not make some trials himself to bring his metals to their desired form, especially when we consider that some of the greatest mathematicians at this time were employed in grinding glasses with their own hands, in order to reduce them to true conoidical forms.

[C] He found an infinitely converging series, &c.] This series is thus constituted: he proposes the terms of it to proceed by pairs, as A and B, C and D, E and F, &c. so that the difference betwixt A and B exceeds the

(8) The letter whence this extract is taken, is dated May 4, 1672. Phil. Trans. No. 83.

(9) Sir Isaac apprehended it had been made with very great diligence and curiosity. See No. VII. in the Appendix to Dr Gregory's Optics, edit. 1735.

(10) In a letter dated Sept. 26, the same year. See the said Appendix No. IV.

(11) Mr Cox another famous glass-grinder at that time, assisted in this trial. Ibid. p. 212.

\* Mr Reive, the Optician above-mentioned, was instructed in the manual operation by Sir Paul Niel, Sir Christopher Wren, and Dr Goddard. Phil. Experim. by Derham, ubi supra.

(c) At the 59<sup>th</sup> Prop.

(d) This piece is ranked with Dr Barrow's Optical Lectures, and the two authors quoted together, as the best writers upon the subject, by Dr Smith, in the 2d Vol. of his Optics, Remarks, p. 44. Lond. 1738, 4to.

(e) His name was Reive, he made better reflectors than either Durni or Campani. Derham's Phil. Experim. p. 390.

(1) In Phil. Trans. No. 80.

(2) Ibid. No. 83.

(3) As was proposed by Des Cartes.

(4) Optica Promota, prop. 59.

(5) Ibid. p. 93.

(6) His words are in cuius foco.

(7) In the original it is *densitatis chrystalline*.



(i) Viz. 159. Phil. Transf. No. 33. and the article GREGORY [JAMES] in the General Dictionary, Rem. [B].

(k) From this copy it was designed to be reprinted here, and the impression was begun; but soon after our author signifying in a letter to Mr Collins that it was re-printing at Venice, caused the design to be dropt. Phil. Transf. No. 35.

1667, 4to, with the following title, *Vera circuli & hyperbolæ quadratura in propria sua portio- nis specie inventa & demonstrata à Jacobo Gregorio, Scoto*; but he took off only a few copies for the use of himself and his friends (i), apparently with a view of having their judgment in a matter intirely new, before he should put it into the hands of the Public. Among others, he sent one copy to Mr John Collins, who communicated it to the Royal Society (k), and having received the commendations of Lord Brounker and Dr Wallis [D], it came abroad in 1668 (l), with an answer to such objections as either had been, or such as he could conceive might be, made against it. This answer was inserted in the preface to another piece annexed to the former, intituled, *Geometriae pars universalis inserviens quantitatum curvarum transmutationi & mensuræ*. Wherein he first of any one, exhibited a method for the transformation of Curves (m). Mr Collins read likewise an account of this treatise to the Royal Society [E] before it was published, and

(l) The impression contained 1000 copies, printed (not at Venice as he had before signified, but) at Padua, with the privilege of the States of Venice. See the title page of the book, and Gen. Dict. ubi supra.

(m) In the sixth Prop. of the book. Cardinal Cusa, in the XVth century, published a treatise with this title from the com- 1565, fol.

title, *De transmutationibus geometricis*, where he frequently speaks *de transformatione curvarum*, but proceeds no farther than derivation of polygons, to give some right-lined figures nearly equal to the circle. Inter Opera ejus, p. 951, & seq. Bafil.

the difference between C and D; and after the same manner that C and D are formed by an analytical operation from A and B, so E and F are formed from C and D, and so on continually; by which means the difference continually lessening, becomes less than any given quantity, and if the series be continued in infinitum, quite vanishes, and the two terms become equal, either of which is the quantity sought. He mentions also another form of converging series, consisting of simple terms, to which the foregoing may be reduced. Thus: let A, B, C, D, E, &c. be such a series, and of such a nature, that the third term C is compounded in the same manner from A and B, as D is from B and C, and so on. And let the difference of the antecedent A and B, be always greater than that of the immediately subsequent B and C, &c. This series continually approximates as the former, and therefore if continued in infinitum, the last term is the quantity required. To explain this a little more particularly, he shews, for instance, that any sector of the circle, hyperbola, or ellipse, is the termination of a converging series, whose two first terms are A and B, whereof A is a triangle which as to the circle or ellipse is inscribed but as to the hyperbola is circumscribed to the said sector, and B a trapezium, which contrariwise as to the circle or ellipse is circumscribed, but as to the hyperbola is inscribed to the said sector; the two second terms are  $\sqrt{AB}$  and

$\frac{AB}{A + \sqrt{AB}}$ ; the two third terms are in like manner

derived from the two second, as these are from the first, and so on infinitely. Hence it is evident, that Mr Gregory grounded his method upon that of Archimedes, wherein curves are considered as their inscribed and circumscribed polygons, whose difference decreases as their number of sides is increased. The use of this remark will be seen in the sequel, where something more shall be said concerning the nature of these series and their approximations. It is sufficient in this place to take notice of what the present occasion particularly suggests, viz. the manifest incongruity of our author's expression, in talking of the last or final term of an endless and infinite series, and declaring the circle to be equal to the last inscribed or circumscribed polygon in such a series. However, it may be said in his defence, that it is a negligence that seems not altogether unpardonable, in a point which no ways affects the truth or legality of his series, wherein he pretends expressly to nothing beyond an approximation as near as you please. We shall see in remark [G], that Sir Isaac Newton, in speaking of our author's method, did not scruple to use his words. In short, it was a manner of expression, which in his time had obtained a kind of establishment by custom, and which seems to have crept into the acceptance and even favour of the first modern improvers of the sublime Geometry, by representing them as having in some measure penetrated into infinity. But we have lately seen the bad consequence of this foible, concerning which consult the article of [MACLAURIN].

[D] Having the commendations of Lord Brounker and Dr Wallis.] In their account of it to the Royal Society (12), they observe that it was ingeniously and mathematically written, that it contained a new method analytical for giving the aggregate of an infinite or indefinite converging series, from which ground a method

was taught of squaring the circle, ellipse, and hyperbola, by an infinite series; and lastly, that by the same method, from the hyperbola, the author had calculated both the logarithms of natural numbers, and the numbers from the logarithms; that he found the logarithms of all primitive numbers under 1000 by one multiplication, two divisions, and one extraction of the square root; but for greater prime numbers much more easily. Dr Halley long afterwards shewing a method of deducing the logarithms (without the help of the hyperbola) from Sir Isaac Newton's binomial theorem (13), thought it requisite to advertise the reader (they are his words) that there is a small mistake in this last part of our author's work, at prop. 48, where in giving the computation of Lord Neper's Log of 10 to 25 places, he errs in the 18th figure, 'As I was assured, says the Doctor, upon my own examination of the number, for being desirous to be satisfied how this difference arose, I took the no small trouble of examining Mr Gregory's work, and at length found, that in the inscribed polygon of 512 sides, in the 18th figure, there was a 0 instead of a 9, which being rectified, and the subsequent work corrected therefrom, the result did agree to a unit with our number. And this, concludes he, I propose, not to cavil at an easy mistake in managing of so vast numbers, especially by a hand that has so well deserved of the mathematical sciences, but to shew the exact coincidence of two so very different methods of making logarithms, which might otherwise have been questioned.' The whole tenor of this remark by Dr Halley, shews the high esteem which he had of the latter part of our author's piece now under consideration, whence no one will doubt of it's real worth; and as to the former part, we are assured by Mr Collins (14), that the area of the hyperbola had not been given before by any man; and that gentleman therefore thought it of such importance as to deserve a particular explanation, which he accordingly gave of it, concluding with a remark of it's use in the business of gauging.

[E] Mr Collins read an account of this treatise to the Royal Society.] Besides what is mentioned above, this account relates from the preface, that our author, observing the defects of algebra to be most manifest in the mensuration of curved quantities, proposes in some measure to supply them, by the transmutation of curves, that is from some essential property of one figure, thereby to give a method of changing it into another figure equal thereto that hath known properties, and of that into another, and so forward, until at last you change it into some known quantity. And he modestly saith, That his own treatise hath so far pursued this method, that it refuseth no particular figure yet considered by geometers.—That to divide an angle in any given ratio, or square the circle organically, there is no way easier than by the common *linea quadratrix*, the properties whereof are elegantly handled by Leotand, in *Cyclomathia*, Lugd. 1663, 4to.—That all things concerning logarithms, and the composition of ratios, may be performed by help of a curve line, drawn through the tops of a rank of lines in continual proportion, standing as perpendiculars, on a right line and at equal distances\*, which, says he, ought not to be accounted *ageometrical*, because not performed by the sole aid of ruler and compass; as he suggests to be well observed by Car. Renaldini, in *Geometria sua nova, dum tractat de novis illis lineis quæ Medicæ appellat*: and for the confirmation

(13) Ibid. No. 216.

(14) In the same paper with the account of Brounker and Wallis just cited.

\* That is, by the logarithmic curve.

(12) Phil. Transf. No. 33. dated March 16, 1668.



(n) In the title to the account of the dispute between Manfredi and Stephano de Angelis, he is styled F. R. S.

our author, probably at his motion, being about the same time chosen a member of that body (n), communicated soon after, an account of the dispute that had then lately happened between Riccioli, supported by Manfredi, and Stephano de Angelis, about the motion of the earth [F]. Informing the Society, that notwithstanding the great name and astronomical merit of Riccioli, yet his arguments against that motion were as little esteemed in Italy as elsewhere. In the mean time a copy of the *vera circuli-quadratura* having fallen into the hands of Mr Huygens, that (o) gentleman, who had wrote upon this

(o) See his *Theoremata de Quadratura Hyperbolæ Ellipsos & Circuli*, &c. Leyden 1651. Also *De Circuli magnitudine inventa*, &c. Ibid. 1654, 4to.

(11) Which is called in practice the village of a cask.

confirmation of this, our author demonstrates, that no cubic equation that is irreducible to a quadratic, can be resolved by the sole aid of ruler and compass, or the intersection of a circle and a right line.—From the preface this account proceeds to the argument of the book itself, observing that it contains these several heads, (1.) The mensuration of sundry solids, with general methods to that purpose, concerning which the author saith, p. 123, *Totus namque Archimedis tractatus de sphaera & cylindro facile demonstratur ex hujus 3, ad modum hujus 46, & aliquot sequentium; liber de conoidibus & sphaeroidibus, & tota Lucae Valerii doctrina ex hujus 21. Tota Guldini, Johani de la Faille & Andr. Tacqueti doctrina ex hujus 35, & aliquot sequentium.* And as a corollary to prop. 62, he cubeth or measures either of the segments of a parabolic conoid cut with a plain parallel to the axis, which may be applied to the gauging of a cask part out (15). (2.) The mensuration or plaining of the surfaces of divers solids and spiral spaces, unknown to antiquity, and not treated of by any modern authors till of very late years, from whom the author differs in his method; particularly he finds a circle equal to the surface of a parabolical or hyperbolical conoid [spindle], resembling a cup or bowl when the revolution is about either axis, prop. 46, 49, and to that of a parabolical hour-glass, or solid, when the revolution is about a touch-line passing through the vertex, p. 52. To that of a long and broad [oblong and oblate] spheroid, p. 47, 48, and in prop. 67, he finds the surface of any segment of a cone. Lastly, he shews in general, prop. 36, the surface of every round solid to be equal to a rectangle whose base is the circumference of the figure, by the rotation whereof the solid is begot; and the height to be equal to the circumference which the center of gravity of the perimeter of the figure describes. (3.) He gives a method for straining of curved lines in the first six propositions, and in particular he finds a right line equal to a parabolic curve, p. 51. (4.) There are divers optic propositions towards the end of the book, concerning the imperfection of the eye and the confusion of the sight; the apparent magnitude of the sun low and high; the tails of comets; what proportion the earth's illumination, by the moon at the full, bears to it's illumination by the sun; and a like comparison between the sun and sirius; that vision by aid of a telescope or microscope is not deceitful; and an observation of the likeness between the earth and the moon (16).

(16) Phil. Trans. No. 35, dated May 18, 1668. The titles of his several heads are, (1.) *De siderum scintillatione & magnitudine apparente.* (2.) *Quod sol sit realiter & formaliter calidus.* (3.) *De solis humilis & sublimis magnitudinis apparente.* (4.) *De visibilitate pictura sub seculis obscura.* (5.) *De cometarum caudis.* (6.) *De stellarum fixarum distantia.* (7.) *Quod visio ope telescopii vel microscopii non sit fallax.* (8.) *Quod omne divisibile sit in infinitum divisibile.* (9.) *De observatione similitudinis inter terram & lunam.*

(17) See his Comptograph. p. 430.

In the proposition concerning the tails of comets, Mr Gregory maintains a comet to be a kind of humid body, emitting it's proper vapours, always wandering about the æther, and retaining almost the same situation in respect to the sun; which is also the opinion of Hevelius (17), who thinks the tail produced much after the same manner, namely, that the thinnest parts of the atmosphere of a comet are rarefied by the force of the heat, and from the fore part and each side of the comet are driven towards the parts turned from the sun. And then, according to our author's opinion, the half of the comet which is turned from the sun, and never warmed or enlightened by it, has very gross and very opaque vapours, which being continually supplied or fed with the vapour-like matter of the comet, and no way dissolved, by reason of the weak and oblique light of the sun, grow to an immense height, and every way reflect the sun's rays, which are not strong enough to expel the exhalations. This opinion of Mr Gregory agrees so far with that of Sir Isaac Newton, that he believed the tail of a comet to be nothing else but a very thin vapour, which the heat or nucleus of the comet sends out by reason of it's heat.

In the next proposition concerning the distance of the fixed stars, Mr Gregory having rightly observed, That this distance could not be determined by observations

made in different places of the earth's orbit, since the diameter of this orbit could not be found to bear any sensible proportion to that distance, he proposes to measure it by an optical method, wherein he first shews how to find the ratio which the earth's illumination by the sun bears to it's illumination by the moon or any of the planets, and likewise to it's illumination by any fixed star of the first magnitude. Then chuses a fixed star of nearly the same brightness with some planet, when it is at the full, in which case the earth is equally illuminated by these two stars. Whence the mutual distances of the sun, earth, and planet, at the time of the abovementioned observation, together with their magnitudes being known, the ratio of the illumination of the earth by the sun and by the fixed star becomes known. But the illumination of the earth by the sun, to the illumination of the same by a fixed star equal to the sun and equally lucid, is well known, by the manner in which light is diffused, to be in the duplicate ratio of the fixed star from the earth to the distance of the sun from the same: wherefore the ratio between the distances of the fixed star and the sun from the earth is known, and consequently the distance itself of a fixed star from the earth is known. By this rule Mr Gregory proposes, for instance, to find the distance of the fixed star Sirius. But the supposition of the sun's distance being known, and that likewise of it's being equal in magnitude to Sirius, upon which postulata the rule is founded, are both so uncertain, that this method was never in any esteem by the learned in Astronomy, notwithstanding it was, after our author, further improved in some measure by the celebrated Mr Huygens, in his *Cosmotheoros*.

[F] An account of the dispute—about the motion of the earth. This account was taken from the books printed on each side, and is in sum as follows: Riccioli, in his *Almagestum Novum*, pretended to have found out several new demonstrative arguments against the motion of the earth; but these being all grounded upon some of the phenomena of gravity in falling bodies not rightly understood, were fully answered by his antagonist. To go over the particulars in a matter so well known at this time of day, might justly be thought tedious; we shall therefore only observe, that a great part of the debate was about the nature of the line described by a falling body [viz. from the tower of Bononia], a point not well understood by any of the disputants. Mr Hooke, many years afterwards, endeavoured to shew (18) such a line would not be a spiral, but an eccentrical ellipsoid in case of no resistance, and supposing resistance an eccentric elliptical spiral, which, after many revolutions, would rest in the center at last. He likewise observed, that the fall of the body would not be directly east (as was then generally thought) but to the south-east, and more to the south than the east. Upon this last particular it may not be amiss to take notice of an experiment mentioned by Stephano de Angelis, in his Reply to Manfredi, which, he tells us, (as related to him by a Swede) had been made with all due circumspection by Des Cartes, to prove the motion of the earth. The experiment was: he caused to be erected a cannon perpendicular to the horizon, which being 24 times discharged in that posture, the ball fell 22 times towards the west, and only twice towards the east.—It is intimated that Ricciolus called his arguments, against the earth's motion from the effects of gravity, new ones. In that appellation he alludes to another and a much better argument, which he had brought before, being grounded upon the observation that the fixed stars had no [sensible] parallax (19). This was thought so formidable an objection, that to satisfy it was one motive of Mr Flamsteed's undertaking to find whether these stars had any parallax or no. But the reader will see more of this matter elsewhere (20).

(18) In a discourse read to the Royal Society in December 1679. Life of Dr Hooke, p. 22, by R. Waller.

(19) Gregory's Astron. lib. iii. prop. 55. schol.

(20) In the article MOLYNEUX [SAMUEL].

[G] A



this subject, though in a different way, with distinguished perspicuity, observing the perplexed and intricate nature of our author's invention, took notice of some imperfections in his book, whereby the legitimacy of his method in some things was called in question, and the whole censured as useless and unfit for practice. This occasioned a dispute wherein Mr Gregory, thinking his reputation injured, did not spare warmly to resent it, and at the same time explained and supplied what had been objected to as obscure or deficient in his work (p) [G]. I do not find that his doctrine of the transmutation of

curves

[G] *A dispute arose about his quadrature of the circle, with Mr Huygens.* In this dispute Mr Huygens conveying both his animadversions, which were written in Latin, by the canal of the Journal des Sçavans (21), our author made use of the Philosophical Transactions (22) to carry his two defences drawn up in the same language. In the first of these he acknowledges the justice of his antagonist's remark, in asserting the example in his 10th proposition to be no converging series; excusing himself by alledging, that he had tried it only in the first and second terms, without considering that the third coincided with the first; and having explained and defended the other things objected to, he concludes in these terms, *Gratias ago nobilissimo Hugenio quod meas examinare dignatus est hinc enim mihi data est occasio illas fusius explicandi & confirmandi Hugeniana methodus quadrandi circulum sitne præstantior mea, experientia relinquo judicandum: quod enim nostra hyperbolæ quadrandi illi etiam innotuerat, de hoc nihil habeo quod dicam, nisi quod mihi gratuler inventa mea ipsi Hugenio non æstimari indigna.* This was civil, and he seems to have entertained hopes of putting an end thereby to the controversy. But Mr Huygens printing a Vindication of his Examen, occasioned our author to send a Reply, wherein he further explains some things; and having complained of the severity of Mr Huygens as unreasonable, he concludes thus, *Ad reliqua ab Hugenio publicata cum a nostro instituto sint aliena. nihil dico, nisi quod ipsa Hugonii dicta, non obstante exactissima sua, ut ait, materiæ bujus examinatione, a meæ appendiculæ*

(23) *factis, ni fallor, longe superentur.* Mr Oldenburg, then publisher of the Philosophical Transactions, introduced this Reply of our author with the following preamble. 'The first occasion of the letters on this subject was given in the Journal des Sçavans of July the 2d, to which a civil return was made in No. 37 of these tracts, which have been judiciously animadverted on in another Journal des Sçavans of November 12, 1668. It was thought agreeable here to make public what Mr Gregory hath since imparted therein, out of a desire expressed by him farther to elucidate that controversy; which how satisfactory it is we leave the intelligent to judge, professing that we are no farther concerned in this contest, than to let the sagacious reader know the proceedings thereof, by referring him on one side to the French Journals, and to these papers on the other: which as it is intended to be done without any animosity or offence, so we desire the candid reader will pardon us for directing him thus much by this dispute, from what else he might justly expect in these philosophical occurrences.' A representation so much in favour of his antagonist as is here given, did not fail to kindle Mr Gregory's resentment, who having also been disturbed farther on this head by Mr Oldenburg and others, unburthened himself to his friend Mr Collins, in a letter dated Jan. 6, 1670, where he writes thus:

In April last I had an answer to Mr Oldenburg's queries from Mr Bruce, but being accidentally at Edinburgh at that time, and seeing the Philosophical Transactions [No. 44.] of February last, I was altogether discouraged, by the lines prefixed to my answer to Mr Huygens, from entertaining any such correspondence. I have since received an answer to the same queries from one Mr Gordon, but am not so much a Christian as to help those who hurt me. I don't know, neither do I desire to know, who calleth in that preface Huygenius's animadversions of November the 12th, 1668, judicious; but I would earnestly desire that he would particularize (if he be not an ignorant) in what my answer which is contradictory to Huygenius's animadversions is faulty: for in geometrical matters, if any thing be judicious, it's contradictory must be nonsense. I don't know what

need there was of any apology for inserting my answer, but to compliment Huygenius, and violently, if it be possible, to bear down the truth. I imagine such actions below the meanest member of the Royal Society: however, I may have permission to call to an account in print the penmen of that preface. I hope you will excuse my freedom in this particular, which concerneth me so near—I intreat you to advertise me upon what account my books are suppressed in Italy.' I don't find that Mr Gregory ever put this threat into execution; it is not impossible that the warmth of his zeal for his own series might be much abated, by the letters he received at this time from Mr Collins (24), with an account and some specimens also of those of Sir Isaac Newton, who therein it was seen had actually effected that which our author was with irreconcilable stiffness contending against Mr Huygens to be utterly impossible, that is, the ratio of the diameter of a circle to the circumference expressed in a series of simple terms independent of each other, and intirely freed from the magic vinculum of surds, in which they had till then been indissolubly held (25). Upon the whole, it must not be dissembled that Mr Gregory had not the better in this controversy; his method indeed was true, but so involved and tedious, as not to be easily understood, and absolutely irreducible to ordinary practice. Mr Leibnitz, who was far from being an enemy to his fame, having passed a handsome compliment to his memory in 1676, the year after his death, observes that the treatise now under consideration was very deficient. *Vellem, inquit ille, Gregoriana omnia conservari, fuit enim his certe studiis promovendis aptissimus, ceterum ejus demonstrationi editæ de impossibilitate quadraturæ absolutæ circuli multa baud dubie defunt* (26). Sir Isaac Newton also, in his celebrated letter of the same year, hints the tediousness of this method in respect of the calculus. His words are, *Quinetiam beneficio ejusdem methodi [mei] possunt series ad omnes figuras efformari Gregorianis ad circulum & hyperbolam editis affines, hoc est quarum ultimus terminus exhibebit quæsitam aream. Sed calculum hic onerosiorem nolim lubens subire* (27). The truth is, complication, tediousness, and intricacy, were faults complained of in all his series. Dr Halley having asserted his just merit as the first inventor of a certain remarkable demonstration observes, however, that it was performed not without a long train of consequences and complications of proportions, whereby the evidence of the demonstration is in a great measure lost, and the reader wearied before he attains it (28). 'Tis true, he made several improvements in his method during this controversy with Mr Huygens. In his first essay, the approximations, as is seen in remark [G], were made by a series of right-lined to the quadrature of curve line planes: he now proceeded to the invention of some linear ones, for the rectification, of curve lines, among which the following specimen, extracted from his Second Answer to his antagonist, was sent, as a proof how far he had then advanced his method, to Mr Leibnitz by Mr Collins, who takes notice that Mercator's Logarithmo-technia had been published before\*. Put  $r$  for the radius of a circle,  $d$  for half the side of the inscribed square, and  $e$  for the difference between them. Then the semiperiphery will be equal to

$$2d - \frac{e}{3} - \frac{e^2}{90d} - \frac{e^3}{756d^2} - \frac{23e^4}{113400d^3} - \frac{260e^5}{7484400d^4}$$

&c. in infinit. Notwithstanding the advantage hinted as above by Mr Collins, the intelligent reader, upon sight hereof, will perceive that our author's series, as he declares himself, still deserved the name of surds, that is, quantities held within a vinculum, from which he

26 P

was

(21) For July and November 1668.

(22) No. 37 and 44, for July 1668, and Feb. 1669, reckoning the year to commence on the 1st of January, as is done by Mr Gregory below, in citing this last number.

(23) He means his tract, entitled *Appendicula ad veram circuli & hyperbolæ quadraturam*, in his *Exercitationes geometricæ*, which were then printed, this letter being dated December 15, 1668.

(24) Commer. Epist. J. Collins, &c. No. XIV. to X. X. incursive.

(25) The chief part of this dispute turned upon several mistakes asserted by Huygens to be made by our author in his Demonstration (as he called it) of the absolute impossibility of the analytical quadrature of the circle; but at the same time his expressions shew that he thought it could not be reduced to an equation by infinite series without surds. See more in the article Dr WALLIS.

(26) Commer. Epist. No. LIII.

(27) Ibid. No. LIX.

(28) The Analogy of the Meridian Line to a Scale of Logarithmic Tangents, &c.

\* Com. Epist. No. XXXVII. In the Treatise here mentioned was inserted Lord Brouncker's series and a demonstration of it.



curves met with any antagonist in his life-time; yet after his death, his right to this invention was twice invidiously attacked, but as often defended by Dr David Gregory, who has put the justice of his claim beyond all dispute [H]. In this treatise he gave a general rule for the direct and inverse method of Tangents, which stands upon the same principles with that of Fluxions, and differs not much from it in the manner of application (q) [I]. In April, this year, Lord Brouncker having produced his *Series for squaring the hyperbola* (r), a demonstration of it was soon after given by Mr Mercator in the *Logarithmo-technia*, whereupon our author, before the end of the year, publishing his *Exercitationes Geometricæ* [K], did therein improve and enlarge Mercator's discovery, and gave a geometrical demonstration of it by means of summing up the secants of a circular arch. In this piece he likewise first of any one demonstrated the meridian line to be analogous to a scale of logarithmick Tangents of the half complements of latitude [L], and

(q) *Abiisdem in-nixa principiis* (Fluxionum methodo non multum abludebat, &c.) are Dr John Keil's words. Com. Epistol. No. LXXXI.

(r) In Phil. Transf. No. 36.

was not then able to extricate them. Infomuch that there was no advancing a single step forward in the approximation without recurring back to the first term, and taking in the whole series from the beginning. This, together with their slow convergency, chiefly occasioned that tediousness which we have seen objected to them, and which rendered them unfit for practice.

[H] *Dr David Gregory put the justice of his claim beyond all dispute.* In the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris for the year 1693, the Abbot Gallois asserted, That Mr James Gregory (as well as Dr Barrow) stole this proposition from Mons. Roberval (29). Dr David Gregory thought this assertion sufficiently refuted by observing, That his uncle had published his book at Padua in the year 1668, (and Dr Barrow his geometrical lectures in 1674) which though Mr Roberval must needs get a fight of before he died in 1675, yet he never complained of any injury done him. This answer was published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 214. Ten years afterwards, the same calumny was revived by the abbot, in the said Memoirs for the year 1703, wherein he maintained that the transformation of curves was invented by Roberval, and was known in Italy before the year 1668: for that Torricelli, who died in 1647, had testified in his letters, that it was communicated to Roberval; and, therefore, as it is entirely the same with his, it is very probable, says he, that Mr Gregory, when upon his travels in Italy, might learn it from the Italians; that, for the rest, Mr Roberval lived a retired life, and loved his ease, and consequently might either not know, or, if he did know it, not be disposed to give himself the trouble of engaging in a controversy. To this Dr Gregory replied (30), That there was no literary proof that Torricelli communicated this invention to the Italians; that it was not at all likely, that the letter pretended to be wrote by him to Roberval 60 years before, should lie hid in Mr Roberval's treasures all that time; that Mr Roberval was so far from living retiredly, and being unactive, that it was well known he constantly attended the assemblies of the Paris Academicians at the time when Mr Gregory's book was published, and was a very active member in those meetings; consequently it was not likely either that he should have heard nothing of Mr Gregory's inventions, which were then celebrated in France, and particularly known to Mr Huygens, another member of the Royal Academy, who was this very year eagerly disputing against (31) him; and if he did know it, his busy temper would not have suffered him to conceal the injury. Upon the whole, from these circumstances, added to the identity of the method ascribed to Roberval, with that of Mr Gregory, this defender lets the world see where the charge of plagiarism ought fairly to be laid. And it is observable, that this invention, and it's use for reducing the conic sections to infinite series by division, seems evidently to be first hinted to Mr Leibnitz by a fight of our author's performances (32); and the method being communicated to Sir Isaac Newton, he declared that it was new to him, and more than he expected, after three ways of attaining his series, which he had himself discovered \*.

[I] *Stands upon the same principles with that of fluxions, &c.* We do not mean that Mr Gregory considered geometrical lines as generated by continual motion, after the manner of fluxions, nor that he deduced his series as Sir Isaac did, from the extraction of roots, for it is certain he did not; on the contrary, his method is founded on the continual bisection of an arc,

and his equations here are reduced into infinite series, by the transformation of curves, but both methods are built, as to their demonstrative force, upon the same principle with that of exhaustions (33). And in the application it is evident, that Sir Isaac in his analysis, while he is investigating any truth, makes use of the supposition of an infinitely little quantity, as is done by Mr Gregory (and the same liberty is likewise assumed by Dr Barrow); but Mr Gregory, in expressing this infinitely little quantity by the letter *o*, (34) came nearer than Dr Barrow did (who represented it by the letters *a* or *e*) to the way of notation in the method of fluxions, where the same letter *o* in the business of investigation is used in the same sense, and in the application too of this letter there is little difference between the two methods; for if instead of Mr Gregory's *o*, we put Sir Isaac's *x*, we shall fall into the forms of the method of fluxions: and indeed as far as Mr Gregory's (and also of his rival Dr Barrow's) rule extends, his inverse method of tangents is the same thing with Sir Isaac's. The great difference lies in the different extent of the two methods in their application: for neither did Mr Gregory nor Dr Barrow ever know how to extend their methods beyond the bounds of first fluxions, nor were they able to apply it to such algebraical expressions as were involved either in surds or fractions; whereas Sir Isaac was far from being stoppt within these limits.

[K] *Exercitationes Geometricæ.* This book contains the following articles: (1.) *Appendicula ad veram circuli & hyperbolæ quadraturam.* (2.) *N. Mercatoris quadratura hyperbolæ geometricæ demonstrata.* (3.) *Analogia inter lineam meridianam planispherii nautici & tangentes artificiales geometricæ demonstrata, seu quod secantium naturalium additio efficiat tangentes artificiales.* (4.) *Item quod tangentium naturalium additio efficiat secantes artificiales.* (5.) *Quadratura conchoidis.* (6.) *Quadratura cissoidis.* (7.) *Methodus facilis & accurata componendi tangentes & secantes artificiales.*

[L] *Demonstrated the analogy of the meridian line to a logarithmic scale, &c.* Dr Halley observes (35), That 'the meridian line consisting of the sum of the secants of latitude, though called Mercator's, was undoubtedly Wright's invention, as he has made it appear in his preface to his Discovery of certain errors in Navigation, &c. that it was discovered by chance, and appears to be first published by Henry Bond, as an addition to Norwood's Epitome of Navigation, about 100 years since; that the meridian line was analogous to a scale of logarithmic tangents of the half compliments of the latitude; that the difficulty of proving the truth of that proposition seemed such to Mercator, that he proposed to wager a good sum of money against whoso should fairly undertake it, that he should not demonstrate either that it was true or false; and that Mr Collins holding a correspondence with the most eminent mathematicians of the age, did excite them to this enquiry: whereupon the first that demonstrated it was the excellent Mr James Gregory, in his *Exercitationes Geometricæ*.' The Doctor likewise in another place (36), having by a method of his own found this series,

$$\frac{2x}{\pi} + \frac{2x^3}{3\pi^3} + \frac{2x^5}{5\pi^5}, \text{ \&c. and recommended it as con-}$$

verging very fast, and therefore very proper for the practice of making the logarithms, observes that it was invented and demonstrated in the hyperbolic spaces, analogous to the logarithms, by the excellent Mr James Gregory, in his *Exercitationes Geometricæ*

[M] *Professor*

(33) Viz. That those quantities are to be deemed equal, which differ less than by any quantity that can be assigned.

(34) Probably borrowed from Mr Fermat, who had used it before. See his treatise De Maxim. & Minim. printed in a collection of Mathematical pieces at Paris, 1693. fol.

(29) A very eminent mathematician, and one of the seven who constituted the first meeting of the Paris Academy, in June 1666. Du Hamel's *Regiæ Scientiarum Academiæ Historia*, &c. lib. 1. Long after his death a method for the transformation of curves exactly the same with Mr Gregory's was published under his name, in the Memoirs of that academy for 1692.

(30) In Phil. Transf. No. 308.

(31) See the preceding remark.

(32) Commer. Epist. No. LI.

\* Ibid. No. LV.

(35) Analogy of the Meridian Line, &c. printed in *Miscellanea Curiosa*, Vol. II. London 1727. 2d edit. in 3 Vols 8vo.

(36) Phil. Transf. No. 216.



and he extended his method of infinite series to the mensuration of some mechanical curves, as the Conchoid and Cissoid of the Ancients. In 1670 he was appointed Professor of Mathematicks in the University of St Andrews in Scotland [M]. It was then a custom, in that country, for people of all ranks to apply to these Professors for the resolution of any difficulties they met with in the Sciences; so that the business which this occasioned, besides the reading of public lectures twice a week, left our author but little time after this promotion, to pursue such hints as were contained in his papers, towards further improvements. Yet that little time was not lost, for Dr Barrow's Geometrical Lectures being published this year, Mr Gregory, on perusing it, found out a general method of drawing Tangents to Curves geometrically, without any previous calculation, and drew it up in twelve propositions (s). The same year also having received several of Sir Isaac Newton's Series from Mr Collins, he repaid the favour with several of the like kind discovered by himself (t). One of these being sent among others, several years afterwards, to Mr Leibnitz, that eminent genius was so greatly pleased with it's elegance, that he put it into an arithmetical dress, and then adopted it as an invention of his own [N]. But Mr Gregory was so fully convinced of the superior excellency of Sir Isaac Newton's method, by the specimens he had received from Mr Collins, that in a great measure he dropt the pursuit, and never could be prevailed with afterwards to publish any thing in the way of infinite series [O]. In 1672, he was involved

(1) C. m. Epist. No. XVI.

(2) Ib. No. XX.

[M] *Professor at St Andrews in 1670.* This is collected from the following extract of a letter he wrote to Mr Collins, May 17, 1671, wherein he expresses himself thus: 'I am now much taken up, and have been so all this winter past, both with my public lectures, which I have twice a week, and in resolving doubts, which some gentlemen and scholars propose to me. This I must comply with, nevertheless that I am often troubled with great impertinencies, all persons here being ignorant of these things to admiration; so that I have but little time to spare in those studies my genius leads me to (37).'

[N] *Mr Leibnitz gave it out for his own invention.* Mr Gregory's is a general series, exhibiting the length of the arc of a circle from the given tangent. Thus  $a = t - \frac{t^3}{3r^2} + \frac{t^5}{5r^4} - \frac{t^7}{7r^6} + \frac{t^9}{9r^8}$ , &c. where  $a$  = the arc,  $r$  the radius, and  $t$  the tangent. This Mr Leibnitz applies to one particular case, where  $a$  being put for an arc of  $45^\circ$ , the tangent becomes equal to the radius, or  $t = r$ , whence supposing (as usual)  $r = 1$ ,

Mr Gregory's general form goes into this,  $a = 1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$ , &c. and since 4 times the arc of  $45^\circ$

= the semicircumference, the area of the circle (= to the semicircumference  $\times$  into the radius) will be equal to this last found series taken four times. Now as the square of the diameter (putting unity for the radices as here) is = 4, if both terms be divided by 4, their proportion will be as unity is to the last found series. Unde, to use Mr Leibnitz's own words, *posito quadrato circumscripto 1, erit circulus*  $\frac{1}{1} - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$ ,

&c. *quæ expressio haud dubie omnium possibilium simplicissima est, maximeque afficiens mentem* (38). It is true this was an easy step to take from the ground of Mr Gregory's theorem, yet it must be allowed that Mr Leibnitz was the first that took it; and it is observable, that almost all the improvements that were made in the analysis by infinite series before Sir Isaac Newton, grew by such small advances as this of Mr Leibnitz, where in viewing any particular invention, if we consider what had been already done for the inventor's use, one is not so much surprized that it was made at the time, as that it was not made before. Nor would Mr Leibnitz have lost the merit of this little improvement, had he not industriously concealed his prior knowledge of the improvement of his precursor Mr Gregory, which was much greater; but this he dissembled till the year 1716, when not long before his death he made a confession of it to the countess of Kilmansegg\*. After all the rapturous extasy into which Mr Leibnitz was transported at the first sight of this series, so beautiful in it's simplicity, yet Sir Isaac Newton, whose superior good sense was never deluded by the mere shew of an outside form, where there was very little or no real use, treats this same elegant series, by reason of the slowness of it's

convergency, with some degree even of contempt (39). Having shewn that it is no more than one particular instance of a general theorem found by him before Mr Gregory's invention of it, he proceeds to give other series as examples of the same theorem, which, says he, perhaps you will not dislike, because they are not inferior to your's in the point of simplicity, and at the

same time converge quicker, as  $1 + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9} + \frac{1}{11} - \frac{1}{13} - \frac{1}{15}$ , &c. *Sed ego, inquit, rem aliter æstimo.*

*Illud enim melius quod utilius est, & problema minore labore solvit. Sic quamvis hæc æquatio*  $x^3 -$

$x = 1$  *appareat simplicior hacce*  $44 - 24\sqrt{\frac{21}{25}} - \sqrt{20}$

$= \sqrt{20}$ ; *tamen in confesso est posteriorem revera simpliciorẽ esse, propterea quod radicem ejus y geometra facilius eruit, & ob hanc rationem series pro obtinendis arcibus circuli, vel (quod eodem recidit) pro obtinendis sectoribus conicarum sectionum, pro optimis habeo, quæ componuntur ex potestatibus sinuum. Nam si quis vellet*

*per simplex computam* (40) *hujus seriei*  $1 + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{5} - \frac{1}{7} + \frac{1}{9}$ , &c. *colligere longitudinem quadrantis ad viginti*

*figurarum loca decimalia, opus esset 5,000,000,000 terminis seriei circiter, ad quorum calculum milleni anni requirerentur & res tardius obtineretur per tangentem 45 graduum* (41), *sed adhibito sinu recto 45 graduum quinquaginta quinque vel sexaginta termini hujus seriei*

$\sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \times 1 + \frac{1}{12} + \frac{3}{160} + \frac{5}{896}}$ , &c. *sufficerent, quorum*

*computatio tribus, ut opinor, vel quatuor diebus absolvi posset.* Upon the whole, so particular a regard for our author's performances, as is constantly shewn by Mr Leibnitz, is apt to suggest an apprehension that there was some particular cause for it. This is certain, that Mr Gregory, as we have already observed, in his first method supposes the chord of a curve to be bisected to infinity, so that after an infinite bisection the inscribed polygon might be said to coincide with it. And it is no injury I conceive to Mr Leibnitz, to suppose him particularly inclined to this method (which indeed is raised out of that of Archimedes) and fond of every notable production from it at this time, since he afterwards grounded his own differential method upon the same *postulatum*, viz. that the infinitely small elements are right lines, or that a curve is a polygon of an infinite number of sides.

[O] *Could not be persuaded to publish any thing in the way of infinite series.* In a letter to Mr Collins, Feb. 15, 1671 (42), our author writes thus: 'As to Mr Newton's general method, I am in some measure possessed of it, I think, as well with regard to mechanical as geometrical curves; however, I thank you for the serieses you sent, please to accept these in return.' He then proceeds to give several series for the circle, ellipse,

(39) *Commerc. Epist. No. LX.*

(40) That is, without any compendia made use of to shorten the work.

(41) Sir Isaac reduces it to a series which converges very swiftly, by some improvements of his own.

(42) *Com. Epist. No. XX.*

(37) General Dictionary, ubi supra.

(38) *Commerc. Epist. No. LII.*

\* *Recessio libri qui inscriptus est Commerc. Epist. p. 15. edit. 1722.*



volved in the universal astonishment that struck the learned world upon the first news of Sir Isaac Newton's discoveries in the nature of light; and though he was very sensible of the change made thereby in every branch of Optics, yet he readily yielded to the experimental

ellipse, and hyperbola, and concludes thus: 'Your kindness in moving me to publish my things is very obliging, as is also the promise of your assistance on that occasion. But I should be loth give so much trouble, neither have I any thoughts of publishing any thing, except my quadrature of the circle revised, with some trifling additions.' Again, to the same purpose, Mr Collins, in a letter to Mr Strode,

(43) Ibid. No. XXIV.

dated July 26, 1672 (43), having informed that gentleman that both Mr Newton and Mr Gregory had a design to publish some improvements in the method of infinite series, says that Mr Gregory did not anticipate Mr Newton, the first inventor; and the same thing is repeated by Mr Collins, in another letter to Mr Oldenburg, dated April 15, 1675 (44), to be communicated to Mr Leibnitz. The same friend, in a letter also to Mr Oldenburg, dated June 14, 1676, after our author's decease (45), intimates that the reason of his backwardness in this matter was his opinion of the superior excellency of Sir Isaac Newton's method in these terms: *Hujus [Newtoni] methodi ea est præstantia ut cum tam late pateat, ad nullam hæreat difficultatem. Gregorium autem aliosque in ea fuisse opinione arbitror, ut quicquid uspiam antea de hac re innotuit, quasi dubia diluculi lux fuit si cum meridiana sua claritate conferatur.*

(44) Ibid. No. XXXVII.

(45) Ibid. No. XLV.

The same year Mr Collins, at the request of several gentlemen of the French Academy, drew up an account, which he also sent to Mr David Gregory, brother to Mr Gregory, of his inventions, extracted from the letters he had received from him (46). Among these there is one very extraordinary improvement mentioned in the method of series, which though it had been much desired by Mr Collins, and was promised by Mr Gregory, yet never saw the light. This was a way of finding the roots of affected equations by infinite series. Upon that subject we have the following observations, in a letter of our author already cited, of February 15, 1677: 'As to my method of finding the roots of all equations, one series produces only one root, but there are an infinite number of series for every root. Indeed there is some difficulty in beginning the series right, and in distinguishing to what root it belongs; but of this matter you may perhaps hear further from me hereafter. You need not scruple to communicate any thing I send you, for I am little concerned whether they come out in mine or another's name.' Again, in 1671, he writes thus: 'As to the matter of equations, either in taking away what terms may be taken away, or reducing all equations, when it is possible, to pure equations, or finding their limits, or reducing all of them to infinite series, I may entertain you [Mr Collins] with these things more at length afterwards. For your intelligence shewing me that so many persons of vast learning were upon that subject, hath engaged me to look over my notes to these purposes, where I find great improvements can be made.—I resolve, when the college riseth, to apply myself seriously to the doctrine of equations.' And that in some measure he executed this resolution, appears from what he wrote the year after to the same correspondent; for having sent him a solution of the famous Keplerian problem by an infinite converging series (47), which he observes might be much exacter for the uses of Astronomy than any table of sines, he goes on to acquaint him, that those infinite series have the same success in equations which they have in other problems, only that because in equations there are many indetermined quantities, the series become exceedingly tedious, but abundantly simple, when these are determined. In 1675 Mr Collins informs Mr Leibnitz (48), that our author had with great pains prepared an infinite series, to be applied in general to the respective powers of any affected equation whatsoever that should be proposed, so that the meanest algebraist, being furnished with this treasure, may be able presently to prepare any series for the finding of any root of a proposed equation, as soon as he knows on which side of the known limit the root will fall; but, says he, Mr Gregory has not communicated

(46) Ibid. No. XLVII.

(47) Probably not much different from that which is printed in Dr David Gregory's *Astronomy*, Vol. I. lib. iii. prop. 4. octavo edition; as also in his *Exercitatio Geometrica*, edit. 1684, 4to.

(48) Com. Epist. No. XXXVI.

this method to us. Mr Collins also observes, that by this method, without the help of logarithms, you may raise any number to any power, even *per saltum*; and, on the other hand, from any given power, how much soever affected, you may find the root, or any medium assigned between it and unity. Not long after this letter to Mr Leibnitz, Sir Isaac Newton likewise received one from Mr Collins upon the same point, intimating withal, that the publication of this method was deferred in respect to Sir Isaac, as appears by his answer, wherein he assures Mr Collins, That for his part he had never applied the doctrine of infinite series to extract the roots of affected equations in numbers, and therefore that Mr Gregory's method, though he knew nothing of it, yet could not interfere with his, or if it did, he could wish the public might not be hindered from enjoying a thing of so much value. We find also by Sir Isaac's letter, that Dr Pell had interested himself in this affair (49). Is it not now a little surprizing, that after all this bustle not the least specimen of any such thing by Mr Gregory should ever appear in public? Indeed Sir Isaac Newton observes, in the letter abovementioned, That as far as he knew any thing of infinite series, he accounted it of no great advantage for resolving affected equations in numbers; and Mr Leibnitz mentions several difficulties which to him at least appeared insuperable in this project. Is it not then most probable, that either our author did not live long enough to complete his design, or else left his papers so confused, and his thoughts so obscurely expressed, that neither Mr Collins nor Dr Pell, nor any other of the guardians of his fame, were able to unravel them?

Since the writing of this remark, we have met with a passage in a treatise wrote by a person (50), as appears, very well affected to Mr Gregory's reputation, which confirms our conjecture. Sir Isaac Newton, in his celebrated letter to Mr Oldenburg, of Oct. 4, 1676 (51), has the following passage. *Sub eo tempore [1671] Jacobus Gregorius ex unica quadam serie e meis quam D. Collinius ad eum transmiserat, post multum considerationem (ut ad Collinium rescripsit) pervenit ad eundem methodum, & tractatum de ea reliquit, quem speramus ab amicis ejus editam iri, siquidem pro ingenio, quo polebat, non potuit non adjicere de suo nova multa, quæ rei mathematicæ interesset, ut non pereant.* Here we have Sir Isaac giving a very candid testimony (grounded upon a letter of Mr Collins) that our author had discovered a method of quadratures of the same sort with his own, and had likewise wrote a treatise of it. But notwithstanding this, as well as the other appearances already mentioned, yet it is more than probable that Mr Gregory left no such treatise behind him. And, indeed, had there been any such, no doubt it would have been published by his nephew Dr David Gregory, who succeeded to the possession of his uncle's papers. But he declared that no such method could be found in them (52). In the year 1736, these papers being then in the custody of Dr David Gregory, Canon of Christ Church in Oxford, were perused by Mr Stewart and another Gentleman, with the hopes (as Mr Stewart says) of finding some such treatise as that mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton, but they could discover no such thing among these papers, though they saw several curious ones upon particular subjects which are not in print. On the contrary, some letters they saw made it evident, that our author had not compiled any treatise containing the foundations of this general method a very short time before his death. So that all that can be known about his method, can only be collected from his letters published in the *Commerc. Epistolic.* and the *Short History of his Mathematical Discoveries*, compiled by Mr Collins above taken notice of. And hence Mr Stewart conjectures, that the principles of his method were few and simple, which he could easily retain in his mind, and apply as occasion offered; and I am much mistaken, continues he, if they have not been [were not] the same, or nearly the same, with those of Sir Isaac Newton's method. This he collects too from the letters already mentioned, and having cited several extracts from

(49) Gen. Dict. Vol. VII. p. 787.

(50) Mr John Stewart, Professor of Mathematics at Aberdeen.

(51) Com. Epist. No. LVII.

(52) See the following article.



experimental evidence on which the truth of that theory is founded [P]. But at the same time, with respect to the reflecting Telescope, he disputed with Sir Isaac the force of his reasons for constructing it in a different way from that of his own [Q]. In the course of this dispute, our author described a reflecting glass-mirror for burning, which was then approved by Sir Isaac, and such I am informed are at this time very commonly made [R]; and had he lived to Sir Isaac's age, he might have seen his own telescope,

from them concludes upon the whole, that the method used by Mr Gregory after the year 1670, was in effect the same with that of Sir Isaac Newton (53). In this conclusion Mr Stuart must be understood to mean nothing more, than that after Mr Gregory had seen some of Sir Isaac's series, he improved his own method thereby, so as to produce several of the same kind, that is, such as consisted of simple rational terms separated from each other; and it is only in this sense that he is said by Mr Collins \* to have used Sir Isaac's method after 1671.

[P] *He readily yielded to Sir Isaac's theory of Light and Colours.* In a letter to Mr Collins, dated Apr. 9, 1672, he writes thus: 'I am much obliged to you for those excellent improvements of learning you advertise me of. I was exceedingly surprized with those experiments of Mr Newton, they will cause great changes throughout all the body of Natural Philosophy by all appearance if the matter of fact be true, which I have no ground to question. I would gladly see what Mr Hooke says against the doctrine raised upon them (54).' No doubt Mr Gregory embraced Sir Isaac's theory the more readily, as by those discoveries (they are our author's own words) [55] *he had made the catoptric telescopes preferable to the dioptric*; whereas before he was aware of no other advantage in the former, but that of their being shorter than the latter, and consequently more handy and manageable (56).

[Q] *He disputed the preference of his telescope against Sir Isaac.* Not long after Sir Isaac had sent his new telescope to the Royal Society, Mr Gregory having an account of it wrote his thoughts thereof in a letter (57) to Mr John Collins from Aberdeen, in these terms. 'It is like indeed that Mr Newton his telescope may have an advantage above that which I mention'd in my *Optica Promota*, because the eye glasse is so near the plain mirror, yet the obliquity of the mirror hindreth someqt; nevertheless my telescope hath one advantage also verie considerable; for the same concave mirror, together with the same plane convex eye glasse, may give the same object mirror any desired charge, &c. Your humble and obliged servant, J. Gregory.' At the same time Mr Cassegrain published a description of a catadioptric telescope as his own invention (58), which he pretended had three advantages above Sir Isaac's; alledging, (1.) That the mouth or aperture of the tube may be of any bigness, and consequently you may have many more rays upon the concave speculum than upon that of Mr Newton's. (2.) The reflection of the rays will be very natural, since it will be made upon the axis itself, and therefore more vivid. (3.) The vision of it will be so much the more pleasing, in that you shall not be incommoded by the great light, by reason of the bottom's hiding the whole face. In answer to this, Sir Isaac shewed the disadvantages of Mr Cassegrain's construction (which he observed was not unlike that (59) of Mr Gregory's) in these particulars: (1.) That there would be more light lost by reflection from the convex speculum than from the oval plane [in his own telescope], since light is most copiously when most obliquely reflected. (2.) That the convex would not reflect the rays so truly as the oval plane, unless it were of an hyperbolical figure, which is incomparably more difficult to form than a plane, and if truly formed, yet would only reflect those rays truly which respect the axis. (3.) The errors of the said convex would be much augmented by the too great distance, through which the rays reflected from it must pass, before their arrival at the eye-glasse; for which reason he had placed his eye-glasse as near as possible to the oval plane, without obstructing any useful light in it's passage to the object metal. (4.) The errors of the object metal would be more augmented by reflection from the convex than from the plane, because of the inclination or deflexion of the convex on all sides from the points, on which every ray ought to be incident. (5.) For these reasons, an extraordinary exactness is requisite in the figure of the little convex, which was much more difficult to give than in greater pieces of metal. (6.) Because the errors at the perimeter of

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the concave object metal, caused by the sphericallness of it's figure, are much augmented by the convex, it will not with distinctness bear so large an aperture, as in the other constructions. (7.) By reason that the little convex conduces very much to the magnifying virtue of the instrument, which the oval plane doth not, it will magnify much more in proportion to the sphere, on which the great concave is ground, than in the other design, and so magnifying objects much more than it ought to do in proportion to it's aperture, it must represent them very obscure and dark, and also confused, by reason of it's being overcharged; nor is there any convenient remedy for this, for if the little convex be made of a larger sphere, that will cause a greater inconvenience by intercepting too many of the best rays; or if the charge of the eye-glasse be made so much shallower as is necessary, the angle of vision will thereby become so little, that it will be very difficult and troublesome to find an object; and of that object, when found, there will be but a very small part seen at once (60). After this Mr Gregory in a letter (61) to Mr Collins from St Andrews, Sept. 23, 1672, replied to Sir Isaac's animadversions upon Mr Cassegrain's telescope, looking upon it as his own disguised; and proposes to use a plane speculum, instead of his concave or Cassegrain's convex, 'and then says almost the whole disadvantages vanish, except onlie the third, and for that there is an advantage as considerable if not more, in that the distance between the two specula groweth almost the one half less (by which means his telescope would be still shorter than Sir Isaac's by almost a half) and therefore the errors of the larger concave are also diminished upon the plane speculum by one halfe.' Nevertheless he thinks a little concave or convex worth trying, because different charges may be then given to the telescope with the same eye-glasse, which he thinks impracticable in Sir Isaac's. Sir Isaac's answer to these objections was sent to Mr Collins, which he communicated to Mr Gregory, who seems thereby convinced, that an oblique reflection is preferable to a direct one (62), but does not conceive how Sir Isaac can alter the charge of his telescope without changing the eye-glasse. Sir Isaac in his next letter (63) gives an account of his manner of varying the charge in his telescope, by making use of a glass prism with two convex surfaces and a flat one, instead of his small plane mirror. He also shews how the aperture of the eye-glasse ought to be limited in Mr Gregory's telescope, and for his own he lays all the stress of magnifying upon the eye-glasse. Mr Gregory in his last letter (64) to Mr Collins on this subject, commends Sir Isaac's way of the varying the charge of his telescope, but thinks it liable to some errors, owing to the refraction of the rays at their entrance into and emergence out of the convex surfaces of the little prism. He thinks it not worth while to look on terrestrial bodies with excellent telescopes, because they magnify the particles of the atmosphere as well as the object. But for celestial bodies he proposes a thin plate with a small hole in it to be placed in the focus of his eye-glasse next to the eye, to intercept all the spurious rays (65); and concludes with asserting, that if it appears by trials that common microscopes (that is, microscopes with two or three glasses) can be brought to exceed all improvements of a single lens, then it will follow from thence, that his telescope will exceed Sir Isaac Newton's.

[R] *He invented a burning glass.* See his letter above-cited, of March 7, 1673, No. 6, where he writes thus: 'Mr Newton's discourse of reflection puts me in mind of a notion I had of burning-glasses several years ago, which appears to me more usefull than subtle. If there be a concave speculum of glasse, the leaded convex surface having the same center with the concave (or, to speak preciselie, albeit perchance to little more purpose) let the radius of the convexitie be  $c$ , the thickness of the glasse in axis transitu  $f$ , the

radius of the convexitie equal to  $\frac{9c^2 + 18cf + 5f^2}{9c + 5f}$ .

this speculum shal have the foci of both the surfaces in the

(60) Phil. Trans. No. 83.

(61) No. IV. in the Appendix above cited.

(62) In this letter, dated March 7, 1673, his words are, I am almost convinced that oblique reflection causeth more light than the direct, but I am not fully persuaded that it is more regular. No. VI.

(63) No. VII.

(64) From St Andrews, May 13, 1673. Appendix, No. VIII.

(65) Without which, as it has appeared since in practice, this telescope would be of no use.

(53) Sir Isaac Newton's two treatises of the Quadrature of Curves, and Analysis by Equations of an infinite number of terms, p. 39. Lond. 1745, 4to.

\* Com. Epist. No. XXXVI.

(54) General Dictionary, Vol. V. p. 525.

(55) See No. IV, in the Appendix to Gregory's Optics, ubi supra, p. 263.

(56) See remark [B].

(57) It is dated Aug. 6, 1672. See Appendix to Gregory's Optics ubi supra, No. III.

(58) In the Memoirs of the R. Academy at Paris, No. VIII. for the year 1672.

(59) This differed from Mr Gregory, only in having the lesser speculum convex instead of concave.



(u) Particularly the smaller sort for viewing land-objects.

(w) Communicated by Mr Short the celebrated Optician, who had it from Sir Robert Stewart, some time Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh.

telescope, by the help of some improvements in regard to the workmanship taken from his competitor, brought to great perfection; inasmuch that it is at present generally preferred, and chiefly in use (u) [S]. But his life was cut short in December 1675, at the age of thirty-six years (w). He died in his professorship at St Andrews, which was all the preferment he ever obtained. For notwithstanding the great talk of a design that was once taken up by the French Academicians to recommend him for a pension to the Grand Monarch; yet the whole affair ended in a meer compliment, as it was understood by Mr Gregory himself, when the news reached his ears [T]. He seems, indeed,

not

' the same point, and not onlie that, but all the rays  
' which are reflected betwixt the two surfaces sal in  
' their egress come *quam proxime* to the common fo-  
' cus. The making of such an speculum requireth not  
' much more art than an ordinar plane glasse, seing  
' great subtiltie is not necessar here: so that I believe  
' they who make the plane miroir glasses, wold mak  
' one of these three foot in diameter, for four or five  
' L. ft. or little more: for I have seen plane glasses al-  
' most of that bignes fold even here for less money.  
' Now seing (as Mr Newton observeth) that all reflect-  
' ing metalls lose more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of their rayes, this con-  
' cave glasse, even *cæteris paribus*, wold have an great  
' advantage of a metall one; for certainlie an exactlie  
' polished thin miroir glasse of good transparent mater,  
' after a few reflexions, doeth not lose  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the rayes,  
' and upon other accounts this hath incomparable ad-  
' vantages, seing it is more portable, free from tar-  
' nishing, and, above all, hardlie  $\frac{1}{10}$  of the value.  
' The great usefulness of burning concaves, this being  
' so obvious, and as yet (for ot I know) untouched  
' by anie, makes me jealous, that there may be in the  
' practise some fallacie. Ye may communicate this to  
' intelligent persons, and especially to Mr Newton, af-  
' furing him that none hath a greater veneration for  
' him, admiring more his great and subtile inventions  
' than his and

Your Humble Servant,

J. Gregorie.

' If you please to let me hear with the first convenience  
' what may be judged the result of this burning con-  
' cave: for I am as much concerned to be undeceived,  
' if ther be any insuperable difficultie, as to be informed  
' of an most surprizing success. I have spoke of it to  
' severals here, but al wer as ignorant of it as my-  
' self, &c.

(66) Ibid. No. VII.

To this Mr [Sir Isaac] Newton returned the follow-  
ing answer (66).

' The design of the burning speculum appears to me  
' very plausible, and worthy of being put in practise.  
' What artists may think of it I know not; but the  
' greatest difficulty in the practise that occurs to me is,  
' to proportion the two surfaces so, that the force of  
' both may be in the same point, according to the  
' theory. But perhaps it is not necessary to be so cu-  
' rious; for it seems to me that the effect would scarce  
' be sensibly less, if both sides should be ground to the  
' concave and gage of the same tool.'

[S] *The Gregorian telescope is now chiefly in use.*  
Notwithstanding Mr Gregory (as we have said) pub-  
lished his invention so long ago as 1663, and was fol-  
lowed by Sir Isaac in less than ten years, yet both lay  
almost useless till the year 1719, when these Reflecting  
Telescopes were first brought to a useful degree of per-  
fection by Mr Hadley, Vice-President of the Royal So-  
ciety, Sir Isaac Newton's first, and Mr Gregory's soon  
after. The instruments he then made were about 5  
feet 3 inches long. He presented one of the first sort  
to the Royal Society, with a description both of the  
instrument and the apparatus for managing it, in 1723,

(67) Phil Transf. No. 376.

(68) Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 250, &c. seq. & Plate iv. fig. 7.

(69) Either both plano-convex, or that next the eye rather a meniscus or concavo-con-  
vex. Ibid. p. 253.

(67) and of the other in 1726 (68). The great diffi-  
culty in Mr Gregory's form was the conoidal figures  
of his specula and eye-glass, in every attempt to form  
and polish which there was found insuperable difficul-  
ties. Wherefore, instead of these, Mr Hadley made  
use of spherical surfaces (as Sir Isaac Newton had done)  
which by several experiments were found to answer the  
purpose in practise as well, he says, as the other; and  
to prevent the object being coloured at the edge of the  
aperture, he introduced a double eye-glass (69), instead  
of the single one proposed by Mr Gregory; whose re-  
mark, concerning the advantage of his instrument for  
long-sighted persons, called *presbytae*, was improved  
also by Mr Hadley, who, by means of a skew fixed  
to the arm of the little concave, to remove or bring it  
forward upon occasion, fitted this Telescope not only  
for common eyes, but made the rays which enter the

eye to converge a little for the *presbytae*, or diverge for  
the *myopes*, or short-sighted persons. And he observes  
that these telescopes were easier to manage than those  
of Sir Isaac's form. After Mr Hadley, these tele-  
scopes were further improved by Mr Short, a very in-  
genious Optician then at Edinburgh, who about 20  
years ago, instead of metal specula, applied spherical  
glasses quicksilvered over on the convex side (70). His  
speculums of this kind were made so true, as to give the  
image perfectly distinct (71). However, finding the  
light in these glass speculums fainter than he expected,  
he applied himself to improve those of metal, which  
he made of several focal distances, as of 2, 3, 4, 6, 9,  
and 15 inches. This last, by experiment, was found  
to magnify 60 times in diameter, and, by the time of  
the transits of the stars over the visible area, to take in  
an angle of 19 min. at the naked eye; therefore the  
magnified angle of vision was  $60 \times 19' = 19^\circ$ . But in  
this construction of Mr Gregory's form, the angle of  
aberration being two or three times greater than those  
of Sir Isaac Newton, would cause an intolerable degree  
of indistinctness, were it not diminished by correcting the  
spherical figure of the larger speculum, and inclining it  
towards a *parabola* (72); which Mr Short (now at Lon-  
don) takes constant care to do. Some useful tables for  
constructing Mr Gregory's telescope, are given both by  
Mr Hadley (73), and by Dr Smith (74), and these tele-  
scopes are now made in such perfection, that one of five  
feet is equivalent to the best refracting ones of 123, so that  
nothing seems to be wanting, only the contrivance of such  
a micrometer as can be usefully applied to them. This  
we are told by Dr Desaguliers some artists were endeav-  
ouring to do in 1735 (75). But no such micrometer  
has been hitherto completed, and the advantage of the  
present micrometer is so much greater in the Dioptric  
Telescope than in the reflecting sort, that the former is  
still used for astronomical observations. However,  
a micrometer applicable to the reflectors was invented  
by the late ingenious Mr G. Graham, some time before  
his death; and since that, another of a better contri-  
vance has been very lately so well adapted to them by  
Mr Dollond of London, as even to give them the ad-  
vantage of the refractors in this respect\*. Several ob-  
servations for a trial were made with both the men-  
tioned instruments, by Mr Short and Dr Bevis, in  
1753; an account of which may be seen in the Philo-  
sophical Transactions for that year. And while I am  
writing this, Mr Dollond informs me, that this year  
1755, he sent one of his to Mr Bradley at Oxford,  
with instructions how to manage it, at the Professor's  
request, from whom he has lately received an account,  
that he found it to answer much better than Mr Dol-  
lond had out of modesty promised; and that for in-  
stance, he had taken the diameter of the Sun's disk with  
it to a second. So that there seems to be some grounds  
to expect, that as to all the purposes of the micrometer,  
astronomical observations will be made more accurately  
with this improvent by the reflecting, than can now be  
done by the refracting telescope.

[T] *When the news reached his ears.* The story  
seems to be this, Mr Vernon, an English gentleman  
studious in the mathematics, being at Paris in 1671,  
fell frequently into the company of the French Aca-  
demicians. Among whom the conversation sometimes  
turned upon the improvements lately made by Mr J.  
Gregory. In one of these interviews, some of the  
French gentlemen, knowing that their Monarch had  
then formed a design of granting honorary pensions to  
learned foreigners, proposed to recommend our author  
to his Majesty on that occasion; and Mr Huygens be-  
ing in company did not think proper directly to op-  
pose it, though, he said, he had reason to think him-  
self disobliged by Mr Gregory, on account of the con-  
troversty then between them (76). Soon after several  
of those members wrote about this affair to Mr Olden-  
burg, Secretary of the Royal Society at London, de-  
siring him to acquaint that Society with it, as also that  
their Monarch was disposed to allow pensions to one or

(70) As was first recommended by Sir Isaac. See his Optics, p. 94.

(71) One of these of 15 inches focal distance was in the hands of the Duke of Argyle, with which it was easy to read in the Phil. Transf. at the distance of 230 feet.

(72) Sir Isaac Newton also mentions this figure as the best if it could be obtained. Phil. Transf. No. 80.

(73) In the Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 253, 254, 288.

(74) In his Optics, Vol. II. Remarks, p. 105.

(75) Appendix to Gregory's Optics, p. 255.

\* Besides being easier managed, they are made upon a larger scale, and may be used in all directions of the Telescope.

(76) See remark [H].



not to be endued with an ambitious turn of mind, his temper being such as disposed him to enter with high delight into the little amusing occurrences of a college life [U]. After his decease his papers came into the hands of Dr David Gregory, who published the most material of them in a treatise mentioned in the following article.

two learned Englishmen whom they should recommend. But as no answer was ever made to that proposal, the Royal Society declining, for many reasons (too obvious to mention) to concern themselves about it, here that design dropped, and our Professor's projected pension dropped with it. In the mean time Mr Collins (as his manner was) with great pleasure acquainted our author with what he had heard from Mr Vernon at Paris. But Mr Gregory (who had been abroad) saw more clearly into the full and true meaning of the French compliment, as appears by his very sensible and modest answer in these terms. 'I have not so much vanity,' says he, as to persuade myself that you are serious, having never heard any thing relating to that before. 'I have sufficient experience of the uncertainty of things of that nature before now, which maketh me, since I came to Scotland, however mean and despicable my condition may be, to rest contented; and satisfy myself with this, that I am at home in a settled condition by which I can live. I have known many learned men, far above me upon every account, with whom I would not change my condition (77).'

[U] Highly delighted with the little occurrences of a

college life.] In 1672, our author wrote a small tract in octavo, entitled; *The great and new Art of weighing Vanity; or a Discovery of the Ignorance and Arrogance of the new Artist, in his Pseudo-philosophical writings. To which are annexed, some Tentamina de motu penduli & projectorum.* The book is published under the name of Patrick Mathers, Arch Beadle of the University of St Andrews. In a letter to his friend Mr Collins, our Professor gives an account of the particular occurrence which furnished his professorial dignity with an occasion of writing this arch piece of drolery. 'There is, says he, one Master Sinclair, that writ the *ars magna & nova*, a pitiful ignorant fellow, who has lately written horrid nonsense in hydrostatics, and against Mr Boyle, for weighing water in water; and has in print abused Mr Sanders, a master in the University here, a person very knowing in the Mathematics, and who is resolved to get the beadle of the University to write against him; and upon this account hath desired me to write to you for Stevinus's mathematics, which I intreat you to send. We resolve to make excellent sport with him (78).'

P (78) Idem ibid.

(77) General Dictionary, ubi supra.

\* See the inscription upon his monument below.

(a) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 225.

(b) Dr Smith files him *Subtilissimi ingenii Mathematicus.* Vita Edw. Bernardi in vitis illustrium virorum, &c. p. 47. Lond. 1704, 8vo.

(c) Several of these had been communicated by Mr John Collins to our author's father Mr David Gregory. Com. Epist. No. XLVII.

GREGORY [DAVID], nephew of the preceding, had his birth June 24, 1661 \* at the same place where he received the first rudiments of his learning, and was afterwards put to the college there, whence, in order to compleat his education, he was removed to Edinburgh, and applying closely to his studies, was in a few years admitted to the degree of Master of Arts, or Doctor in Philosophy (a). Being well fitted for mathematical studies by the natural subtilty of his genius (b), he soon became sensible of the advantage given him that way in his uncle's papers (c), and early made himself master of the improvements he found therein, in the method of infinite series. These he published with some additions of his own under the title of *Exercitatio Geometrica de dimensione figurarum, five specimen methodi generalis dimetiendi quasvis figuras* [A], in 1684 at Edinburgh in 4to.

[A] *Exercitatio geometrica de dimensione curvarum &c.* It would be but little satisfaction to the reader to be sent for an account of this treatise to the Philosophical Transactions, No. 163, since that paper, no less than the book itself, is so scarce as very rarely to be met with, and is omitted in all the abridgments, as not falling within the compass of their design. We shall therefore insert the substance of that account: and the rather, because it will be found of use towards clearing up a point controverted in the preceding article, of some importance to the character of Mr James Gregory. For having taken notice of his piece, printed at Padua in 1667, *de vera circuli et hyperbole quadratura*, and exhibited the particular construction of the infinitely converging series invented by him for those quadratures, and having discoursed of some other things relating to the same, and to other such like approximations. It proceeds in observing, 'that another method (different from the former) had been published the year following, (viz 1668) by Nic. Mercator in his *Logarithmotechnia* for squaring the hyperbola by an infinite series, proved also and demonstrated by James Gregory apogogically, or by a *deductio ad absurdum* [the only kind of demonstration of which such quadratures are capable]: but that a general method for such cases was yet wanting. That about the beginning of the year 1670, he [James Gregory] understood from Mr Collins, that Mr Newton of Cambridge had before that time a general method of quadratures; whereof, as an instance, Collins sent him an example of such a series, accommodated to a circular zone, That James Gregory was in pursuit of a like method of infinite series, but was prevented by death; and except some particular examples left nothing in his papers yet come into his [David Gregory's] hands, that might declare his method and way of finding such examples. That himself therefore, [David Gregory] doth in his treatise make it his business to explain a method, which may suit such examples of his uncle assuming the doctrine of indivisibles, and the arithmetic of infinites, as already known and received by Geometers as sufficiently demonstrated; and applies it to particular cases in this man-

ner. Suppose a straight line, or the axis (called *X*) of a curve cut into parts infinitely small, and the respects of each part *L*, (which he calls elementum) or small part of the curve, which is to be measured, answer to each of these particles of *X*, or at least somewhat so near the values of *L* that the difference may be neglected, as when a short subteuse or tangent is taken as coincident with a curve, he doth according to the doctrine of infinites collect the aggregate of all such *L*'s, which aggregate is the magnitude sought. Of this he gives divers examples in the parabola, hyperbola, ellipse, spiral, cycloid, conchoid, cissoid, and some other curves, as to their areas or curve lines, or solids and curve surfaces made by the rotation of them, or otherwise derived from them, and proposing diverse expedients or preparative observations, by division and extraction of roots in species, for reducing of implicated quantities when need requires into infinite series, thereby rendering them capable of having the method of infinites applied to them; he concludes, with expressing his hopes and expectations, that Mr Newton's method to this purpose long since invented, but they not yet published, shortly may be made public. From this account, the intelligent reader will easily perceive, that our author's method in this treatise is nothing else but that of Dr Wallis and Dr Barrow, extended to some more cases than had been done before, by the help of his uncle's papers; and so much of Sir Isaac Newton's method as was to be found among them. However, it is apparently on account of such an improvement, that several years afterwards in a letter to Dr Wallis (1), he speaks of the method in this tract as his own, in the following terms. *Methodus mea cujus ope series deteguntur, quibus infinite numero curve et spatia iis contenta et rectis, nullius methodi hactenus cognite legibus subiecta mensurantur.* And hence an observation occurs, which seems not unreasonable in this place; that it was usual among the Mathematicians in those times, to give any method the title of general, for finding the dimensions of all curves whatsoever, when there was laid down a rule in general terms for that purpose, comprehending all curves in an algebraical expression, notwithstanding any number of cases whatsoever

(1) Dated July 21, 1692, inter Wallisi Opera, Vol. II. p. 351.



(d) We have no account of the exact time when he obtained this place, but none of his lectures yet published were read before 1684, and he was then only 23 years of age.

(e) See Whiston's Life by himself, Vol. I. p. 32. Lond. 1753.

(f) The college does not rise 'till Midsummer, and he was at London in the latter end of July. See Remark [B].

(2) See remark [O] in the preceding article.

(3) See Com. Epist. No. XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XX. Mr Leibnitz also about the same time seems to have copied this method of James Gregory's. Ibid. No. XXX, & Recensio lib. &c. p. 13. edit. 1722.

(4) Memoirs of his life, p. 32. Vol. I. edit. 1753.

not long after he had been promoted to the mathematical chair in that university (d). In the execution of this office he was the first who introduced the Newtonian Philosophy into the schools (e) [B], and he read lectures with great applause 'till 1691; but after the breaking up of the college for the long vacation that year, he left Scotland and went to London (f); where he was introduced to Sir Isaac Newton, then intent upon bringing his theory of the moon to a greater perfection (g). That great man according to his native modesty and candour presently conceived a good opinion of our author's skill in his profession, and admitted him afterwards to some share of his friendship. He likewise recommended him to Mr Flamsteed [C], who gave him all the assistance that lay in his power in the affair that had brought him to England. This was a view of the Savilian Professorship of Astronomy at Oxford, in which preferment he succeeded Dr Edward Bernard, who resigned it this year (h). Upon that occasion he was first admitted of Baliol-College, and incorporated Master of Arts of that university on the eighth of February, and was created Doctor of Physic the eighteenth of the same month (i). He had been chosen into the Royal Society soon after his arrival at London, and to shew that he was no unworthy member of that body, he sent them a *solution of the geometrical enigma* [D] which they

whatsoever might be produced, to which no practicable method of applying the rule for use was either taught or known. Lastly, after a declaration so full and express, as we see here of David Gregory, that his uncle did not live to discover Sir Isaac Newton's method of infinite series, nor any general method like it, and left nothing in his papers intimating what way he found some particular examples therein, it is a little surprising that Mr Stuart, if he had seen this declaration, should entertain any hopes of finding such a method among these papers; was it not rather a handsome pretence made use of, in order to procure a sight of those papers, in hopes of meeting, as he tells us he actually did meet, with some things which would be acceptable to the public (2). We find Dr David Gregory mentioning Sir Isaac Newton's series for squaring the circular zone, which was sent to his uncle about the beginning of the year 1670; and it is remarkable, that it was then so much above every thing he comprehended in this way, that after having in vain endeavoured by comparing it with several of his own, and combining them together to discover the method of it, he concluded it to be no legitimate series; till being assured of his mistake by his friend Mr Collins, after almost a whole year's indefatigable pains spent therein, he discovered at last, that it might be deduced from one of his own upon the subject of the logarithms, wherein he had given a method of finding the number to a given logarithm, or of turning the root of any pure power into an infinite series; and in the same manner, viz. by comparing and combining his own series together, or else by deduction therefrom he discovered several more of Sir Isaac's, as well as others like them (3), in which he daily became more ready by continual practice; and this seems to have been the utmost he ever actually attained in the progress towards discovering any universal method for those series. For to speak ingenuously, he was not of a temper to conceal such a discovery, as is evident from the haste he was in to print his book, *De vera circuli & hyperbolæ quadratura*.

[B] *He first of any one introduced the Newtonian Philosophy into the schools.* This is asserted upon the authority of Mr William Whiston, which in such a point will not be controverted. That gentleman informs us (4), that after he had taken holy orders in 1693, returning to the college, he went on with his own studies there, particularly the Mathematics and the Cartesian Philosophy, which was alone in vogue at that time. 'But, continues he, it was not long before I with immense pains, but no assistance, set myself with the utmost zeal to the study of Sir Isaac Newton's wonderful discoveries in his *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, one or two of which lectures I had heard him read in the public schools, though I understood them not at all at that time. Being indeed greatly excited thereto by a paper of Dr Gregory's, when he was Professor in Scotland, wherein he had given the most prodigious commendations to that work, as not only right in all things, but in a manner the effect of a plainly divine genius, and had already caused several of his scholars to keep acts, as we call them, upon several branches of the Newtonian Philosophy; while we at Cambridge, poor wretches, were ignominiously studying the fictitious hypotheses of the Cartesian.'

[C] *Sir Isaac conceived a good opinion of our author's skill, and recommended him to Mr Flamsteed.* Among Mr Flamsteed's papers, there is a letter of Sir Isaac to him, dated August 10, 1691, wherein having observed, that he had intended, together with some other friends, to have given Mr Flamsteed a visit at Greenwich about a fortnight before, but upon enquiry found he was not there. He proceeds thus, 'The bearer hereof Mr Gregory, Mathematical Professor of Edinburgh-college in Scotland, intended to have given you a visit with us; you will find him a very ingenious person, a good mathematician worthy your acquaintance;' and afterwards expressing his desire to have the observations which Mr Flamsteed should make of Jupiter and Saturn, for four or five at least of the ensuing years: he continues, 'but I had rather have them for the next twelve or fifteen years; if you and I live not long enough, Mr Gregory and Mr Halley are young men (5).'

[D] *A solution of the geometrical enigma.* This enigma was sent from Italy by way of challenge, in the following terms: 'Among the venerable monuments of ancient learned Greece, there is still in being, and for ever will endure, a most august temple dedicated to divine geometry of a circular ichnography, which is covered by a cupola perfectly hemispherical within; but in this, there are the equal areas of four windows disposed about and above the base of the hemisphere, of such a configuration and of so much ingenuity, that these being taken away, the remaining curve superficies of the cupola adorned with curious mosaic work, is capable of a true geometrical quadrature: now it is required, which is that quadrable part of the curved hemispherical superficies, which is like a distended nautical sail: and by what art or method the geometrical architect found it; and lastly, what quadrable geometrical plane it is equal to?' the problem was sent from Florence, by a person who stiled himself *D. Pio Lisci pusillo Geometra*, to Mr Bridgman at London, and by him to Dr Wallis, in a letter dated August 30, 1692. The doctor presently found it to be nothing more than the quadrature of Hippocrates's Lunula, and sent his solution to the Royal Society, who published the whole in their Transactions No. 196. But soon after there appeared an Italian treatise written by the proposer of the enigma, on the formation and mensuration of all vaults and cupola's, dedicated to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, wherein having converted his former problem into this, *upon the superficies of a hemisphere, to assign a portion equal to a given square*, he gave an ingenious and ready construction of it. This piece coming to the hands of our author, he considered the whole, and not only found that the Florentine sail was equal to four figures of right lines of the quadrantal arch, and that the periphery of the superficies was equal also to the same, and that the parabolical Roman boat-like cupola, was equal to the Florentine veli-form one; but in general, that the consideration of the figures of right lines (the parts of which are easily turned into squares) was sufficient to the demonstration of all those things, which were delivered concerning other solids wrought by the turning lathe, or perforated by a cylinder, and their superficies mentioned in that treatise by the author, who now giving the two initial letters of his name V. V. Dr Gregory interprets these to signify Vincentio Viviani

(g) This appears from several letters wrote by Sir Isaac about that time, for which see his article.

(h) See more of this matter in the article of Dr HALLEY.

(i) Wood's Fasti ubi supra, whose account being mistaken by Dr Desaguliers, he tells us our author was admitted to the rectory of Brightwell near Wallingford in Berkshire this year. Preface to Dr Gregory's Elements of Catoptrics, &c. p. 3. Lond. 1735, 8vo.

(5) This whole letter is inserted under remark [D] of our author's article in the General Dictionary.



had received from Florence, and published in the Transactions for the year 1693 (k). (4) No. 107. Two years after that he printed his *Elements of Optics* at Oxford [E], and in 1697 he gave

This gentleman had before published a treatise *De Maximis & Minimis*, which is several times referred to by our author in his *Elements of Optics*.

(6) The Doctor has also added an introduction, shewing the discoveries made by catoptrics and dioptrics, and an account of microscopes and telescopes from Mr Huygens; together with some observations made in the former by himself, where among other things he tells us, he once saw one of the eels which swim in vinegar big with four young ones, which being put into a tub of water, it was in some hours delivered, and every one afterwards swam by itself. P. 77, 78.

viani \*, the last disciple of Galilæo and Mathematician to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

[E] His *Elements of Optics*.] The title is *Catoptrica & Dioptrica sphaerica Elementa*, Oxon. 1695, 8vo. In the preface he informs us, that these elements are the substance of some of his public lectures at Edinburgh eleven years before. In the book he considers these branches of optics, chiefly with a view to the construction of telescopes, and particularly the two reflecting ones, that of his uncle James Gregory and Sir Isaac Newton, giving the preference to the latter. He has brought his design into a small compass, and the demonstrations being very neat and easy, the book was in so much esteem, that several geometrical demonstrations as well as analytical calculations purposely omitted for the sake of brevity, were supplied after his death in a second edition published in 1705, 8vo, by Dr William Brown, Physician at Lynn-Regis in Norfolk (6), with the recommendation of William Jones, Esq; and Dr Desaguliers; and this last gentleman published a third edition in 1735, 8vo, with an appendix, containing an account of the Newtonian and Gregorian Telescopes, together with Mr Hadley's tables for constructing each of them; and likewise, several letters which passed between Sir Isaac Newton and Mr Gregory, in defence of their respective constructions: upon reviewing a piece finished with so much geometrical elegance, one cannot help being a little chagrined to find any of the rubbish of the old vanity of philosophizing mingled in the foundation. Surely the dignity of the science of Optics is sufficiently preserved in resting the proof of a few simple properties of light wholly upon experiments, without suggesting any further demonstration of the cause of such properties, from a supposed fitness in the nature of things, made apparent as is pretended by certain ill established physical rules, and ill applied geometrical reasoning. Thus for instance, that from every lucid point in a medium, that is homogeneous, rays are diffused in right lines, is assumed as a property of light, not only on account of it's being simple enough, and confirmed by experiments, but also because such lines are the *shortest*. The doctor expressly declares, that in laying down his *postulata* he followed *Kepler*. Let us see then how that remarkable optical writer introduces the same property in his celebrated treatise, intitled *Paralipomena ad Vitellionem*, which is particularly quoted more than once in the piece now under consideration. The fourth proposition of the first chap. is drawn up in the following terms. "Lineæ ejaculationum lucis rectæ sunt, dicuntur radii," which he expounds or demonstrates thus, "Nam diximus attelari a luce figuram sphaerici. Ejus vera genesis vera geometrica consistit in æqualitate intervallorum, per quæ punctum medium in superficiem diditur. Ille vero sunt rectæ lineæ, quod si curvis lex uteretur nulla esset indidendo æqualitas, nihil igitur simile sphaerico. Idem etiam hoc modo probatur, seu potius declaratur: motus diversi sunt fines. Aut enim natura affectat unitatem partium, aut separationem, utrumque fit per motum rectum compendiosissime. Namque quia quo brevius quæque distant hoc magis unita intelliguntur, & rectæ sunt omnium linearum inter eadem puncta brevissimæ, motum ergo qui unit res ut motum ponderum ad terram chalybis ad magnetem in lineam rectam fieri necesse est, alias non omnes partes ad eundem finem tenderent, sed in medio itinere alicubi, quod erat uniendum alteri desisteret ab hac unionis affectione. Eadem de contrario motu separationis, qui in rebus naturalibus violentus dicitur, intelligenda sunt. Nam ei etiam contrarius motus unionis motui competit, rectus igitur, quia recto non nisi rectus contrarius." In English thus, "Prop. The lines in which light is ejaculated are right ones, called rays. Demonstr. We have shewn that the spherical figure is attracted by light. But the true geometrical genesis of that, consists in the equality of the intervals through which the middle point is propagated to the superficies. And these intervals are right lines. For if the law observed curves, there would be no equality in the propagation. Therefore no figure is comparable to the spherical. The proposition is also proved or rather expounded in this manner. The ends of motion are different. For nature affects either a conjunction or a separation of parts, each of which is effected most com-

pendiously by a straight forward or rectilinear motion. For as things are observed to be so much more united [i. e. to be so much nearer together] as the distance between them is lesser, and right lines are the shortest of all between the same points; hence it becomes necessary, that the uniting motion, as that of weights to the earth, of steel to the magnet, &c. (7) should be made in a right line, otherwise all the parts would not tend to the same end; but that which was to be united to another, would somewhere in the mid-way deflect from this [inclinative] affection of unity. The same reasoning likewise holds in the contrary separating motion, which in natural things is called violent. For to this there is adapted a suitable contrary motion to the uniting one, and consequently a straight forward motion, because [by a known rule in logic] only straight to straight is contrary. This will be allowed, I suppose, to be perfectly in the sublime way, but even this dwindles infinitely, when we read the passage here referred to concerning the proof of the spherical figure of light. 'Tis in the beginning of chap. I. intitled, *Lucis Origo*, and runs in the following terms. "Primum omnium rerum natura Deum Conditorum, quantum quæque suæ essentiae conditione potuit, representare debuit. Nam cum conditor sapientissimus omnia studuerat quam optima ornatissima præstantissimaque efficere, nihil se ipso melius ornatiusque nihil præstantius reperit. Propterea cum corporeum mundum, agitare animo formam ei destinavit sibi ipsi quam simillimam. Hinc ortum totum quantitatum genus, & in eo curvæ rectæque discrimina, præstantissimaque omnium figura, sphaerica superficies. Nam in ea formanda luit sapientissimus Conditor adorandæ suæ Trinitatis imaginem. Hinc centri punctum est sphaerici quædam quasi origo, superficies puncti intimi imago & via ad id inveniendum, quæque infinito puncti egressu ex seipso usque ad quandam omnium egressuum æqualitatem gigni intelligitur, puncto se in hanc amplitudinem communicante, sic ut punctum & superficies densitatis cum amplitudine commutata proportionem, sint æqualia: hinc est undique punctum inter & superficiem absolutissima æqualitas, arctissima unio, pulcherrima conspiratio, connexus, relatio, proportio, commensurus. Cumque tria sunt plane centrum superficies & intervallum, ita tamen unum sunt, ut nullum ne cogitatu quidem abesse possit quin totum destruat. — First of all, the nature of things ought to represent God their Maker, as much as every one is capable, by the condition of it's essence; for when the omniscient architect had studied to frame all things upon the very best, the most beautiful, and most excellent model, he found nothing better, nothing more beautiful, nothing more excellent than himself. Whereupon meditating the corporeal world in his mind, he decreed it a form most like to himself. Hence sprung the origin of all kinds of quantity, and in them the discriminations of curve and right-lined forms, and particularly that which is the most excellent figure of all, the spherical superficies. For in forming this figure, the all-wise builder alluded to the image of his own most adorable Trinity. Hence the central point is the fountain head as it were of the spherical form, the superficies being the image of that inmost point, and the way to find it, is conceived to be generated by the infinite egression of that point out of itself, even to a certain equality of all the egressions, that [central] point communicating [diffusing] itself into this amplitude; in so much, that the centre and superficies, by a commuted proportion of the density with the amplitude are equal. Where it comes to pass, that between this point and the superficies, there is every way the most absolute equality, the closest union, the most beautiful conspiracy, connexion, relation, proportion, commensuration. And as the center, superficies, and interval between, are evidently three, yet are they so perfectly one, that none of them can be wanting separated, or even in thought, without destroying the whole." Having thus profoundly demonstrated that the world was made round after the image of the Triune-God; he slides with great ease and dexterity into the inference, that light must necessarily be cast in the same mould; these are his words in English: "This then being the image of the corporeal world, what wonder is it, that light, the most excellent thing in the world, is made after the same image? Wherefore the Sun is in the center of the world, and diffusing this

(7) This rule is proved by *Kepler* (who also follows *Kepler*), because the order in forming his web which a circular makes it up of straight threads. *Ana-campse acta*, pars secunda, Theorem I. in a piece intitled *Ar-Mora lucis & umbrae*, Vol. II. Rome 1646, f. 1.



gave the first demonstration of that curve, which is well known since by the name of the *catenaria*

• See the beginning of his Introduction.

'this principle called light every where in orbem equally, all things consequently which participate light imitate the Sun.' This he calls the geometrical nature of light, and from hence he demonstrates several propositions from Euclid, Albazen, and Vitellio, just in the same metaphysical way as those authors had done before him. Thus philosophized that eminent mathematician. And though Dr Gregory seems \* to have been very sensible both of the vanity and prophane insolence of such researches into the nature of light; yet besides the instance already mentioned, we find him proceeding after the example of this master, in the idle attempt to establish its properties upon geometrical reasoning as antecedent to experiments. In this spirit he concludes his introduction with the two following propositions which are assumed for axioms, because they agree both with geometrical reasoning and experiments. 'Axiom 1. A ray of light falling perpendicularly upon a reflecting surface, either proceeds directly forward, or is reflected back upon itself. For since the direction of the ray to the inflecting surface, is of all that can be drawn from the radiant point either the least, if the inflecting surface be a plane, or perhaps where this circumstance is wanting the greatest, and in both cases a determinate and only one of its kind, the ray will still persist in the same direction, either proceeding forward or returning backward. For there are innumerable right lines inclined to this only one in any given angle, no one of which can consequently claim to itself the direction of the ray with greater justice than the rest. Axiom 2d is, that every inflexion is made in a surface that is perpendicular to the inflecting surface. For since this surface (called the plain of inflection) is either the least or greatest of all that can be produced through the radiant point to the inflecting surface, and consequently an only one; the proposition is demonstrated in the same manner as the former.' To refute this pretended demonstration by a just one, would be to run trifling after our author, and in this point making him a greater compliment than he deserves, since nothing can be more evident than that these abstract geometrical considerations a determinate line, and only one of its kind, either the least, or the greatest, that can be drawn, &c. have no manner of physical efficiency at all; and notwithstanding these, a perpendicular ray might be either reflected or refracted in any other direction, or even be intirely absorbed and lost in the several inflecting bodies. In short, this visionary art of demonstrating the properties of light, is learned in the same school with the just mentioned demonstration of Kepler concerning its nature; and as that represents the Almighty creating light in the geometrical form of a sphere after his own image displayed in the Trinity, whence it is inferred to be geometrical in its nature; so this supposes the same all-wise artist in giving to light some of its properties, to have been determined by geometrical considerations, whence it is concluded to be likewise geometrical in its properties; and thus the scholar's presumption is a copy of the master's arrogance, though indeed but a faint one. For to speak ingenuously, this argument à priori to prove the properties, besides that it rises not to such a daring height, is rather insinuated by our author, than openly avowed, as Kepler had done in demonstrating the figure of light; and in the application, we find the Doctor sometimes declaring no more in express terms, than that the action of light, as discovered by experiments, is frequently reducible to the rules and reasonings of geometry, or that some geometrical considerations are applicable thereto. A sound and sober sense enough, and which comprehends all that is necessary to the plan of a mathematical treatise of optics. But he was plainly too much devoted to his master's manner, to confine himself always within these limits. For instance, under his first proposition, that from a plane surface, the angles of incidence and reflection are equal, having in compliance to that manner demonstrated (as he calls it) or rather expounded it geometrically, he could not forbear superadding another specimen of the argument à priori, as a farther proof of the proposition. It is introduced in the form of a scholium, where he observes, that in laying down this law of reflexion, great respect is had to the maximum and minimum. For that by making the mentioned angles equal, the sum of the in-

cident and reflected rays becomes a minimum, that is less than the sum of any others drawn from the same points, to any other point of the reflecting plane, and vice versa, or this is the shortest passage from the radiating to the radiated point. For, says he, it is requisite that its course should be the shortest of all, because nature ever acts by the most easy and expeditious methods. But, as he goes on, if the reflexion be from a curve surface, the aforementioned sum of the rays (or perhaps their difference) is sometimes a maximum. For mathematicians know how near the relation is between a maximum and a minimum, between the sum and the difference, and how easy the transition is from one to the other. That is, whether the ray is found to take the shortest or the longest, or any middle course between them, still nature therein ever acts by the most easy and expeditious method. What egregious trifling! but there was no other possible way of keeping up the semblance of an argument, à priori, to suit with the fact, since in reflexions from curve surfaces, the ray is frequently observed to pass through several intermediate distances between the least and the greatest. Yet so fond is he of the argument from this unmeaning law of nature, that in passing to dioptrics, he trifles with it at the entrance (8) exactly in the same manner, demonstrating with the like waste of geometry, that nature acts in the easiest and quickest way, whether the rays pass in proportion slower as the refracting media are denser, which he then, after Barrow and Fermat, imagined they did contrary to Des Cartes's opinion; or faster, as Sir Isaac Newton discovered by experiments to be really the case. But such a ridicule was the unavoidable consequence of carrying geometry beyond its proper subject. Our author however is countenanced in taking up this maxim, chiefly upon the authority of Mr Leibnitz, who maintained the same in print a few years before these lectures were read at Edinburgh in 1684 (9), asserting that both the direct reflected and refracted motion of light, might thereby be accounted for to a degree of mathematical exactness. This is proposed by him, first to be determined in plain surfaces, and then to be accommodated to concave and convex ones, by considering the planes that are tangents to those surfaces. Hence in plain or simple optics, the direct ray proceeds from the point illuminating to the point illuminated, in the shortest direct way, (the same medium continuing all along) that is, in a straight line. In catoptrics, the angle of incidence and reflection are equal. In dioptrics, the sines of the angles of incidence and refraction are to each other respectively, as the resistance of the mediums. Here to find the radiated point the course must be taken such, that the way which the ray takes may be of all ways the easiest; but now in different mediums, the difficulties of the way or progress are in a ratio compounded of the length of the way, and of the resistance of the medium. Whence by arguing mathematically, he finds the sine of incidence in air, will be to the sine of refraction in glass, as the assumed ratio of the resistance in glass, to the resistance in air. This is Mr Leibnitz's theory, who tells us further, that the catoptrical demonstration, which he gives, was insisted on by Ptolemy and other Ancients, and is extant in Heliodorus Lareffæus, and elsewhere. But had he proceeded the least step further than he did, to accommodate this principle to concave and convex surfaces, as he talked of doing at first, he might soon have perceived the insufficiency of it, and that a ray takes several other courses from one point to another besides the shortest. As to the dioptrical demonstration, where Leibnitz says the difficulty of the way which the ray makes, will as be the rectangle under the length of that way and an assumed ratio, his notions of difficulty and resistance are not easy to be understood. In all known cases, the motion of a body and the resistance it suffers, do constantly decrease together, action and re-action being always equal, and therefore the difficulty of the way can scarce be rightly expressed by the rectangle under that way, and a constant resistance; but be the difficulty and resistance what you please, no doubt they must be nothing at all in vacuo, and therefore the easiest way for a ray to pass from a given point in any resisting medium into a vacuum, is to go in a perpendicular to the refracting surface, as being the shortest way through any difficulty or resistance whatsoever; which being quite over at the reflecting surface, it may then take any

(8) Prop. XI. and Prob. annexed.

(9) In a tract published in the *Lipsic Acts* for 1682, p. 185, which is quoted with approbation by Mr Mollinæus in his *Dioptrics*, p. 192. Lond. 1692, 4to.



*catenaria* [F], or the curve that is formed by a chain fastened at each end. In considering that property of this curve whereby all the parts support each other, he fell first of any one

any other course in vacuo, without any further difficulty; and, on the contrary, in returning back from the vacuum into the dense medium, it must take the shortest course through the same perpendicular as before. And thus, when the sun shines on the atmosphere, all his rays would be refracted into lines tending to the earth's center, as being the shortest and easiest way through the atmosphere; and then we should see the sun exactly over our heads in all places and at all times. But what wonder is it, that strange consequences should follow from an arbitrary hypothesis. I shall only observe further (10), that all these theories for resolving reflection and refraction of light before Sir Isaac Newton's, do also suppose that it strikes upon bodies, and is resisted by them, which yet has never been proved by any deductions from experience. On the contrary, it appears by Mr Molyneux's and Mr Bradley's observations upon the parallax of the fixed stars (11), that their rays are not at all impelled by the rapid motion of the earth's atmosphere, nor by the object glass of the telescope through which they pass; and by Sir Isaac Newton's theory of refraction, which is grounded upon experience only, it appears, that light is so far from being resisted and retarded by refraction into any dense medium, that it is swifter here than in vacuo, in the ratio of the sine of incidence in vacuo to the sine of refraction into the dense medium, and vice versa (12). We see Sir Isaac was careful to take the rule observed by nature from experience, and from that alone, as the only method of discovering it; and we have been the more studious to expose this idle way of attempting to reduce the properties of light from metaphysical rule, *à priori*, which we see retained by our author after Sir Isaac Newton had shewn him a better, even upon his very subject \*) because it was indeed a long time the bane of all improvements in the science that depended upon experimental inquiries. And of this there is a remarkable instance in the treatise now under consideration, where Dr Gregory speaking of the fundamental theorem of dioptrics, that the sine of the angle of incidence is in a given proportion to the sine of the refracted angle, having observed that the invention of it by Des Cartes, was only a small step from that of Snellius, that the secants of those angles were in a given proportion, subjoins the following remark: 'Since we have happened to speak of secants, it is worth the taking notice how near the inquisitive Kepler was towards finding out this theorem, who at Prop. V. and VI Chap IV. *Paralipom. ad Vitellionem*, lays down those secants for the respective measure of refractions.' Thus the scholar always studious to promote the honour of his master. But it is at least equally worth notice, that Kepler was apparently averred from the discovery, by employing his eyes too much in looking after the causes, instead of considering and examining the facts and phenomena of refractions. In his fourth chapter here referred to, which is intitled, *De mensura refractionum*, notwithstanding he sets out with observing, that all our knowledge upon this subject proceeds from experience. Sect. I. yet he immediately applies himself to the causes of refractions, as the only proper method to settle their just measure. Sect II his words are, *Causa refractionum est densitas & obliquitas incidentiæ junctim*. The density of the medium, and obliquity of the incidence, are jointly the cause of refractions. For, continues he, that density is one cause I have proved *à priori* in Prop. the 14th, Chap I. *Et quod incidentia concurreret ad causam supra quoque*, Prop. 20. Chap I *à priori deducere sum conatus*, and in Prop. 20. Chap I. I have likewise endeavoured to prove *à priori*, that incidence concurs to that cause. This lemma being compleated, that there are two, and only two, causes of refractions: the business of apportioning to each cause its due share in producing the effect, becomes the subject of several propositions, of which the 6th is as follows: *Angulorum incidentiæ secantes concurrere ad mensuram refractionum qui constituuntur ad superficiem in medio densiori*.—The secants of the angles of incidence concur to the measure of refractions made at the surface of a denser medium; that is, these secants are (not as our author represents the whole and adequate measure but) the measure, as he explains himself, of that part only which is owing to the supposed increase of the resistance from the density

in proportion to the increase of the obliquity of incidence; the other part, arising simply from the density being in proportion to the angles of refraction. These are his words, *Si medium ipsum causa sua densitatis consideraretur solitarie, anguli refractionum proportionales fierent angulis incidentiæ, sed cum lux obliquius incidit major fit resistentia ab eodem medio quam in rectiori incidentiâ respectu ipsius etiam medi*. Due cause refractionum solæ concurrunt, ergo altera causa est inclinationibus proportionalis, altera crescit cum stantibus inclinationum, Prop 2, 3. & corol. In short, it was a meer mistake that led Kepler to apply the secants for any part of the measure of refractions. For having observed, after his master Tycho, that the angles of refraction increased faster than they should do, by the meer obliquity of incidence, especially near the horizon in the atmosphere \*, if that was uniformly dense, as he by mistake supposed it to be, and his geometry teaching him that the secants of these angles increased in the like manner, he applied these secants to that part only of the increased refraction, which for want of considering and examining the state of the atmosphere, he imagined to arise from the meer obliquity of incidence.—But if Dr Gregory has exceeded the bounds of strict justice in favour of Kepler, he has fallen as much short of those bounds in the case of Des Cartes; whom he represents upon this occasion in his dioptrics, asserting a flat contradiction to some other parts of his works. Cartes, says he, taking up the same theorem, that the sine of the angle of incidence is in a given proportion to the sine of the refracted, and (though in other cases he affirms the propagation of light to be instantaneous) would have it in his dioptrics, that a ray of light is carried with a greater celerity, &c. But in justice he should have informed his readers, that this eminent philosopher had provided a general salvo for any such seeming inconsistency in the following remark. *Haud difficile credi potest actionem aut propensionem ad motum, quam jam dixi pro lumine habendam iisdem legibus cum ipso motu obnoxiam esse* † It is not hard to conceive that the action or propension to motion, which I have said is to be taken for light, should be subjected to the same laws with motion itself.

[F] He gave the first demonstration of the catenaria.] In order to a right notion of our author's merit in this point, it will be necessary to run over the following short history concerning the first invention of the catenaria. This curve was sought after in Galileo's time, but nothing done in it till Mr James Bernoulli, of Basil, had discovered the method of Mr Leibnitz's analysis, or calculus differentialis. Soon after which, he applied by the mediation of his brother John Bernoulli (who had already entered pretty far into these matters) to Mr Leibnitz, requesting him to consider, whether by the same analysis it was not possible to arrive at the solution of some problems which were difficult, and had been attempted by others without success; and in particular the curve which a chain will form, supposing it flexible every where. [This Galileo imagined to be the parabola, though they did not know that he had engaged in the enquiry.] Mr Leibnitz accordingly, as he says himself, considered this point and executed it; but instead of publishing his solution, he encouraged Mr Bernoulli likewise to undertake it. His success was undoubtedly the occasion that the two brothers [Bernoullies] applied themselves with great vigour to it, and that the younger John Bernoulli, (who was afterwards professor of mathematics at Groningen) had the honour of succeeding intirely in the discovery. In the mean time Mr Leibnitz observing to them, that to be able to gain this by means of what he had communicated of his analysis, shewed an extraordinary sagacity and application. The two brothers were very ambitious to distinguish themselves upon the method of Mr Leibnitz, so that it was from this beginning upon the catenaria, that they found how to make a proper use of the calculus differentialis; after which they were capable of proceeding much farther. Thus far Mr Leibnitz (13). Two years after the publication of Dr Gregory's performance, some animadversions were made upon it by Mr Bernoulli, who among other things asserted the first discovery of the catenaria to Mr Leibnitz and himself (14). These were immediately answered by our author, who acknowledges the claim

\* His fourth and fifth propositions are, *Refractionum anguli crescent majus rationem incrementis, quam obliquitas incidentiæ. Et refractiones crescent circa horizontem præ ipso incrementorum proportionibus*.

† Cartes. Dioptr. p. 23. edit. 1649, 4to.

(13) In a letter to Mr Bernard, published in the *Nouvelles de la republique des lettres*, for November 1706. Art. iii.

(14) In the *Acta Eruditorum*, Lipsiæ, for February 1699.

(10) From Dr Smith's Optics, Vol. II. in the remarks, Art. 413.

(11) See Phil. Trans. No. 406.

(12) Principia Mathematica, lib. I. prop. 95

\* Ibid. & seq.



(1) Ibid. No 231. prop. ii. corol. 6. This property is transcribed from our author into the Builder's Dictionary, and taken notice of likewise by other

one upon the discovery, that this figure inverted is the form of a true and legitimate arch or *forrix*; whence he observes, that when arches of other forms are supported, it is because in their thickness some *catenaria* is included (1). But his most celebrated performance appeared in 1702, intituled, *Astronomiæ Physicæ & Geometricæ Elementa* [G]. As this piece was

claim of those gentlemen to the first solution of the problem; but since it was communicated by them without any demonstration, he asserts his right of precedence in that part, which he declares is all the merit that he pretended to (15). Our author addressed this tract to Dr Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church in Oxford, and it was inserted in the *Miscellanea Curiosa* (16), as one of the noblest discoveries, that had been at that time presented to the Royal Society.

[G] *Astronomiæ Physicæ & Geometricæ Elementa.* The chief and the most useful part of his design in this treatise, is to explain Sir Isaac Newton's geometry of the centripetal forces, as far as his discoveries in astronomy were built upon it, and to throw the astronomical part of the *Principia* into a new form, wherein the dryness of the geometrical part should be relieved with historical accounts properly interspersed concerning the state of this science before Sir Isaac's time, both in that and the physical part (17). The uncouth absurdity that is seen in the philosophical opinions, not only of *Kepler* and *Cartesius*, who preceded that æra, but even of *Leibnitz*, *Bernoulli*, and others, the most celebrated for their knowledge in these matters, who were contemporary with Sir Isaac, is very entertaining, at the same time that it serves to display to great advantage, the superior abilities of that first founder of the true system of the heavens. It is by means likewise of these histories which inform us of the actual advances that were made in this subject, previous to his discoveries, that we come to a just knowledge of his real merit. But our author seems to stretch the point a little too far, when in this view he attempts to trace the physical part of Sir Isaac's astronomy up to the original of that science, and thinks he has discovered, that the most ancient philosophers knew that the celestial bodies gravitate towards each other, and are retained in their orbits by the force of gravity, nay that they were also apprized of the particular law or rule of that force. Thus, because *Anaxagoras*, and his scholars *Archelaus* and *Euripides*, called the sun and stars fiery or red hot stones, or iron, or gold, and supposed the moon to be of an earthy substance, while his master *Anaximenes* maintained the stars to be of a fiery nature, and that there are certain terrestrial bodies that are invisible carried together about them (18). Hence the Doctor would seem to infer, that they understood these to be so many systems like that of the solar, and each supported by gravity. And since *Anaximenes* received his notions from *Anaximander*, as this last did his from *Thales*, the founder of the Ionic philosophy, he will have it that *Thales* himself spread this opinion of gravity among his sect; whence, says he, it spread itself through the *Italic* philosophy. And indeed the argument in favour of the Pythagoreans, brought to evince that they had some conception of the celestial bodies gravitating to each other, stands upon the same ground as the former, viz. That it was affirmed by those philosophers, that every star is a world in the infinite ætherial space, wherein are contained earth, air, and æther (19), and that the moon was not only of a like nature with the earth, but inhabited as our earth is, though by animals of a larger size, and furnished with the same kind of plants, though much more beautiful than ours (20). Now an impartial enquirer will be apt to ask, where lies the hint in all these expressions of any mutual gravitation among these bodies. On the contrary, the wisdom of these Ancients has not the least appearance of being grounded upon any just reasoning from analogy, as the Doctor's argument requires, but was the genuine growth of a narrow knowledge, which with regard to celestial matters suggested nothing better than a meer jumble of conceits, and these taken from what they found immediately before them on this earth where they were fixed, and where they saw no appearances of any such mutual gravitation; notwithstanding it be true enough what our author observes, that it is from this principle of gravity, that all bodies do actually gravitate mutually to each other, a consequence which was not discovered till long after the original of astronomy. However the argument from *Lucretius*, it must be owned,

carries a more promising countenance, and therefore deserves to be particularly considered. The philosopher's words cited by the Doctor, are:

Suppose they all had bounds, suppose an end,  
Then bodies which by nature must descend,  
And from eternity pursu'd the race,  
Had long e'er this time reach'd the lowest place (21).

This is one of his arguments to prove his doctrine, that nature is infinite and the only Deity, viz. from the absurdity of a contrary supposition, that it should be finite, since in that case as bodies naturally descend, the place or center to which their descent is directed, would be at some finite distance from them, and therefore by eternally descending, they must have reached that center long ago, and so the world, i. e. the system of the world, would have been destroyed, which we see it is not. But now as nature is infinite, there can be no such point or center for them to descend to, by which means they remain in their proper places. The force of this reasoning is, that in finite systems, where there is a center, bodies naturally descend; but nature being infinite and without a center, they do not naturally descend, that is, they have naturally no tendency to a center, or no principle of gravity from nature. Thus notwithstanding *Lucretius* talks very well concerning the action of gravity upon earth (22), yet with regard to the mundane system he denies both the action and the principle. And indeed to suppose him, as the Doctor does, assigning an adequate cause in the mutual gravitation of these bodies, for supporting his infinite worlds or systems, is making him a better reasoner than his words imply. Having after this manner proved that the Ancients had a notion of the heavenly bodies gravitating to each other, he proceeds to shew with equal success, that these same Ancients did not only think this was performed by the power of the whole matter in the terrestrial globe attracting all things to itself, and not by virtue of any point; as a center in the earth to which heavy bodies tended; but likewise understood, that the gravity towards the whole earth, resulted from the gravity toward each single part of it. But here he has left the Ancients first mentioned, and descends as low as *Plutarch*, who undoubtedly was well acquainted with the Ptolemaic system, and clearly intimates his opinion, that the other planets and the sun also gravitate toward the earth (23); but still has said nothing in the places cited by our author, whence it can be fairly inferred that he had any such thought as this of the mutual gravitation of the celestial bodies to each other, unless he meant by it no more than a tendency of all the rest to the earth, as the center of the system, whereby indeed they do consequentially tend to each other, or to meet together by a tendency of all the rest to one. But our author goes yet a great way farther, and asserts that even the exact rule of this mutual gravitation, or the duplicate proportion in which the force of gravity decreases in receding from the sun, was not unknown to *Pythagoras*. This he finds in the old story told by *Macrobius* (24), who relates the manner in which that philosopher found out the harmonic proportion of musical strings, viz. by observing the variety of sounds acute and grave, made by a smith's hammers in proportion to their weights; whence having found, that the weights which generate tones in strings of an equal thickness, are reciprocally as the squares of the lengths of those of an equal tension, producing the same sound in a musical instrument; he afterwards applied this proportion to the heavens, and from thence learned the harmony of the spheres. And by comparing these weights with the weights of the planets; and the intervals of the tones produced by the weights with the intervals of the spheres; and lastly, the lengths of the strings with the distances of the planets from the center of their orbs; he understood, as it were (these are the Doctor's words) by the harmony of the heavens, that the gravity of the planets toward the sun (according to whose measures the planets move) was reciprocally

(15) Phil. Transf. No. 259. for Dec. 1699.

(16) Vol. II. Lond. 1706. in 3 vols 8vo.

(17) There is an account of it in Phil. Transf. No. 283. It was published likewise in 4to. and translated into English by Edmund Stone, F. R. S. The second edition of which was printed in 1726 in 2 vols 8vo. with the addition of Dr Halley's Synopsis of the Astronomy of comets.

(18) Lærtius in Anax. & Democritus. Plato in Apolog. Socratis. Stobæus Eccl. Phys. c. 25. Plutarch. de placitis philosoph. lib. ii. c. 13 & 20.

(19) Plutarch, c. 13.

(20) Ibid. c. 30.

(21) Creech's *Lucretius*, lib. i. ver 986, & seq.

(22) Lib. i. ver. 415, and lib. ii. ver. 178; and ver. 228.

(23) In his tract *De facie in orbe lunæ*, the passages which are too long to be inserted here may be seen in the Doctor's preface.

(24) In *Somn. Scipion.* lib. ii. c. 1.



(m) He has likewise interspersed several ingenious inventions by Dr Halley, who in his turn commends our author's explication of Sir Isaac's method to construct the orbit of a comet by three accurate observations. *Synopsis of the Astronomy of comets, versus finem.*

(n) Schol. to prop. xxix. lib. iv.

(o) See his article in this work, Vol. II. p. 754.

(25) A late writer observes, that it is more than probable that Pythagoras was not the inventor of the system which goes under his name, but that it grew up by degrees afterwards among his followers. *Coffard's Letters to M. Folkes, Esq; concerning the rise and progress of Astronomy, p. 120, & seq. Lond. 1746, 8vo.*

(26) Prop. 71 to 75 inclusive.

(27) Ibid. prop. 67. lib. i.

(28) Idem ibid. prop. 66.

(29) In his *Cosmical System*.

(30) These are inserted into our author's preface.

was wrote to explain and defend that part of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy, so our author's merit in the performance received it's most distinguished lustre from the particular attestation given to it by that incomparable person, who communicated to him his Theory of the moon (m), after he had improved it into so great an exactness, as thereby to correct Mr Flamsteed's best observations (n). The following year our Savilian Professor published at Oxford an edition in folio of Euclid's works in Greek and Latin [I]. The undertaking had been begun by his predecessor Dr Bernard (o), as the best specimen that could be given of that noble design he had formed of printing the works of all the ancient Mathematicians. And in pursuit of the same design our author engaged not long after with his colleague Dr Halley to publish Apollonius's Conics, but was prevented from completing his share of the work (p) by his death, which happened on the tenth of October 1710, being then retired to Maidenhead in Berkshire in the parish of Bray, where his body was probably interred, being not carried to Oxford. But a handsome marble monument with an inscription (q) [I] is erected to his memory in St Mary's church there. He was succeeded

(p) Our author's share was to prepare the first book for the press, the materials of which were among his predecessor's manuscripts. *Ibid. rem. (P). col. a No XV.* See also mention of this undertaking in Dr Halley's article.

(q) In this monument, if I mistake not, the figure of his executed Shakespeare's bust in two figures representing Patience smiling at Grief.

cally as the squares of their distance from the sun. Thus argues our Professor, 'whereas the utmost that can fairly be inferred from this application by Pythagoras, of the musical to the solar system is, that he fancied the respective weights of the planets independently, to be proportional to the weights which produce harmonic sounds, but without once thinking of any gravitation of the planets towards the sun.' 'Tis true indeed, that if Pythagoras really held what is since called the Copernican system (25), he must believe that the planets in their motion respected the sun; but there is no good reason to think he ever went so far as to imagine that this respect was caused by gravity. Our author himself has shewn in the first book of his treatise (26), that a different cause from that of gravity was assigned for the production of the harmonical measures by *Des Cartes*. It avails nothing to say, that *Des Cartes*'s vortices are by no means a cause adequate to the effect, since neither is it pretended that Pythagoras demonstrated gravity to be such a cause: any assertion of that kind must needs be very far from our author's thoughts, whose chief view in these histories (and in that of Pythagoras among the rest) is to shew, that no-body was able to effect that before Sir Isaac Newton. 'Tis true the decrease of the force of gravity in proportion to the increase of the distance, is a necessary consequence of the harmonic measures in the planets, and seems, at this time of day at least, not very difficult to conjecture, nay was actually supposed long before Sir Isaac Newton's time. But yet as Pythagoras never, that we know, expressly made the conjecture, so neither is there any likelihood, that he ever thought of the consequence. Even *Kepler* (who first founded the harmonic measures of Pythagoras upon astronomical observations) explains the sesquialterate proportions from other principles than that of the duplicate ratio of gravity (27). Nay, if we may believe our author, he was so far from attributing this to the action of gravity, by which the planets tend towards the sun, that he supposes there is a natural *sluggishness* in the planets to all motion, which inclines them by reason of their matter to continue where they are (28). In reality, all this which makes up the main of our author's preface must not be looked on as a philosophical essay, but as a popular discourse, and in that light it would appear well enough, had it not been prefixed to a treatise strictly mathematical. However, so much must be said in his favour, that in ascribing such a degree of knowledge in the law and direction of that force, which supports the Philolaic system to the first founders of it, he is preceded by *Gallileo* (29), who asserts something like it of *Plato* from some passages in his *Timeus*, and another in *Diogenes Laërtius* (30) in *Platone*, which are to this effect. *These [the celestial bodies] at first were moved in a confused and irregular manner, but when they were duly adjusted and rightly settled, then the world was established by God in just order and proportion.* Again, *he gave it a motion altogether agreeable to it's nature as a body (that is a direct one).* And a little farther, *therefore he afterwards made it continue it's course in a circle.* Here indeed we find the divine philosopher asserting that the mundane system was established at first upon such motions direct and circular, as were agreeable to the nature of the great bodies which compose it. But to what particular principles in that nature these motions are agreeable, there is not I apprehend the least intimation; nor can *Plato*, I am persuaded, be discerned herein to point at gravity, for instance, as the immediate cause of the circular course by any other

light, than that which springs intirely from the discernment's fond prepossessions.

[H] He published an edition of *Euclid's works*.] This edition contains the following pieces. (1.) *Elementorum libri xv.* (2.) *Data cum praefatione Marini.* (3.) *Introductio Harmonica.* (4.) *Sectio Canonis.* (5.) *Phaenomena.* (6.) *Optica.* (7.) *Catoptrica.* (8.) *De divisionibus Liber.* (9.) *De levi et ponderoso, fragmentum.* In the preface, after a short summary of Euclid's life, such as could be extracted from the Ancients, who as he observes seem by the little they have said of him, to have thought it needless, if not ridiculous, to give a particular account of a man whom every body knew. The Doctor proceeds to inform his reader, that, agreeable to his plan of the life, he has inserted into this collection every thing that had been ascribed by any considerable mathematician to that author. He has here also given a particular description of each, notwithstanding he was very sensible that some of the pieces are spurious; concerning which he has given us his opinion, among others condemning the *Catoptrics* especially as a mean performance, not at all suitable to Euclid's character (31). He had in another place before (32), taken notice of one egregious mistake therein (33). *Kepler* had also animadverted (34) upon part of the same mistake contained in theor. 16. as well as the 17th and 18th, which is also inserted from him by our author, though without naming him in cor. 2. prop. 2. as follows: In a plain speculum, the image of any radiant point is seen in that place where the reflected ray, which passes through the center of the eye, meets with the perpendicular let fall from the radiant point upon the speculum; whence, though every part of the speculum, except that which reflects the ray be covered or taken away, the image would nevertheless be visible; and if that point of the speculum be covered, though all the rest be open, the image will not be seen. *Kepler* observes farther, that the axiom, upon which Euclid builds the contrary doctrine, that the image is seen in the perpendicular from it to the speculum is true enough, but falsely applied, through a persuasion of the real ascent of the image along that perpendicular, which, says he, differs not much from the *species intentionales* of Aristotle. And Dr *Smith* remarking another mistake in the same piece, makes the following animadversions upon the whole, 'considering, says he, that catoptrics were known and cultivated by the Ancients long before dioptrics; 'tis surprizing they could not account for burning by reflexion from a concave metal. Euclid in catoptric. prop. ult. says, the center of a catoptric concave metal is the burning point, because all the rays which pass through that point are returned directly back (and the same is said by Vitellio, lib. 9. prop. 37). But as the sun's diameter is so small, these rays are but very few, and the consequence would be, that a very broad speculum would burn no better than a very narrow one, which is contrary to experience. It is found, continues he, from this and many other blunders in that book, that Euclid the geometer was not the author of it, and also that the Ancients made very gross experiments (35).'

[I] A monument with an inscription.] The inscription is in these terms:

P. M.

DAVIDIS GREGORII M. D.

Qui

Aberdenia natus Jun. 24. 1661.

26 S

In

(31) There is an account of this book in Phil. Transf. No 289.

(32) In his Elements of Catoptrics, prop. 7.

(33) In Theor. 17 and 18.

(34) Paral. ad Vitell. cap. iii. part 2.

(35) Remarks, art. 93, at the end of Vol. II. of Smith's Optica.



(r) Aylliffe's Catalogue of the Savilian Professors, in his State of the university of Oxford.

(s) In remarks [K].

(t) Vol. VI. by Martyn and Eames in the chapter of Mechanics.

in the Savilian professorship by Mr John Caswell, A. M. of Hart-Hall (r) now Hertford-College in Oxford. He left a widow and several children; and his eldest son David Gregory, D. D. was first a student, and is now a Canon of Christ-church, and was appointed Regius Professor of Modern History in that university at the institution thereof by King George I. Besides the Commentary upon Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* mentioned below (s), our author left a Treatise upon Fluxions; another of Trigonometry both plane and spherical; and a third upon Mechanics and Hydrostatics. He published in his life-time several papers in the Philosophical Transactions, the chief of which are taken notice of above; the subjects of the rest may be seen in remark [K]. Since his death there has been published in an Abridgment of the same Transactions (t) a small tract, intitled, *E prælectionibus de motu a Davide Gregorio in academia Edinburgensi Matheseos Professore dictatis, An. Dom. 1686.* And in 1745 Mr Colin Maclaurin, a successor of our author in the mathematical chair at Edinburgh, published another piece of his in 8vo, with the title of *A Treatise of Practical Geometry in three parts, translated from the Latin with additions [L]*; the second edition of which, printed also at Edinburgh, came out in 1751, 8vo.

In Academia Edinburgensi  
Matheseos Prælector Publicus  
Deinde Oxonii  
Astronomiæ Professor Savilianus  
Obit Oct. 10. A. D 1710  
Ætatem Illi heu brevem Natura concessit  
Sibi Ipse longam prorogavit  
Scriptor Illustris.  
Desideratissimo Viro  
ELIZABETHA UXOR.  
M. P.

We chose to insert the whole (which is short) as a pattern worthy of imitation, where full justice is done to all the distinguished merit of the deceased, without any of that fulsome flattery which so often disgraces these monumental inscriptions.

[K] An account of the rest.] These are, (1.) *A scheme of the phases with his observations on the sun's eclipse, Sept. 13, 1699. No. 256.* (2.) *Some improvements relating to the quadrature of the parts of Hippocrates's Circle's Lunula, in a letter to Dr Wallis, No. 259. for December 1699.* (3.) *A paper de ORBITA CASSINIANA, No. 293, for Sept. and Oct. 1704.* This was a very eccentric elliptical curve that had been assigned by that celebrated astronomer, in his treatise on the origin and progress of astronomy, for the orbit which a planet describes about the sun placed in one focus, so that the angles at the other focus are proportional to the times. The invention was ingenious, and thereby Cassini intended to support the common opinion at that time after Copernicus against Kepler, that there was a point within the orbits of the planets, round which they described equal angles in equal times. Our author had considered this Cassinian curve in his *Elements of Astronomy* (36), and shewn after Mercator (37) several reasons why it could not be retained in that science, as it neither agrees to the observations of the heavens, because of the brevity of it's shorter axis, nor do physical reasons correspond, since for the description of this, a centripetal force toward the sun is required, greatly deviating from that which nature makes use of. But now having considered the subject still farther, he found that this curve must necessarily be thrown out of astronomy for another most irrefragable reason, viz. it's absolute impossibility. 'It being impossible, says he, that any species of this figure can be described by a planet, so that the angles at the other focus where the sun is not, may be proportional to the times. For thus the area described by the radius that carries the planet, would not be proportional to the time. For it is not true, that increasing the angle of one focus by equal increments, the increments of the area made at the other, at the same time, will also be equal, as I thought not long ago;' and to demonstrate the truth of this discovery, is the business of the paper here mentioned.

[L] *A Treatise of Practical Geometry, &c* ] In the preface, dated at the College of Edinburgh May 1, 1745, Mr Colin Maclaurin tells us, that this treatise was composed in Latin about sixty years before by our author, then professor of mathematics at Edinburgh, where it has been constantly taught since that time, immediately after Euclid's elements and the plain trigonometry, as proper for exercising the students in the application of geometry to practice. He observes also, that several additions had been made to the treatise to render it more useful at this time. Some of these additions are expressly said to be taken from a manuscript of Sir Robert Stewart, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the same college (38); the rest are probably made by Mr Maclaurin. One of these last is inserted at Prop. 7. Part II. where our author having proved the proportion of the square of the circle, to that of the diameter, to be nearly as 14 to 11, adds the following words: *If greater exactness be required, you may proceed to any degree of accuracy, for the square of the diameter is to the inscribed circle, as 1 to 1 - 1/3 + 1/5 - 1/7 + 1/9 -*

*1/11 + 1/13, &c. in infinitum.* Now this series was first discovered by his uncle James, as is mentioned in his article (39), where we have particularly shewn from Sir Isaac Newton, the exceeding slowness of it's convergence, which rendering it of no use in practice, we have also inserted another series produced from it, by some improvements of Sir Isaac, which converges very quick. To the same purpose is the following remark to this paragraph of our author, which then had not fallen under our observation. 'This series, says the remarker, will be of no service for computing the circle accurately without some further artifice, because it converges at too slow a rate.' Upon the whole it is somewhat surprizing, that our author's knowledge in the nature of infinite series should be so very imperfect, as this instance gives room to suspect it was, at the time of his reading these lectures in the college at Edinburgh, and after he had published his *Exercitatio Geometrica*. But his knowledge in this branch of analytics, it seems, was never thought to be very great by some good judges. Mr Cotes, for instance, about the time of his writing the preface to the second edition of Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, speaks slightly of our author's abilities upon this point in a letter to Mr Collins, where mentioning his own differential method of interpolation (40), he writes thus, Dr Gregory, in Lib. V. Prop. XXV. of his *Astronomy*, refers his reader to a book of Gabriel Mouton, *De observationibus diametrorum solis & lunæ apparentium* (41). Though I do not much rely upon the Doctor's recommendation, yet, &c. To conclude, we learn from Mr Flamsteed, that our author's countrymen gave out, that he had found a great many errors in Sir Isaac's *Principia* (42). If so, it may help us to guess what kind of a commentary that is, which was found among the Doctor's papers after his death.

(38) For instance the greatest part of the table in p. 5, and all intirely from p. 54 to 67.

(39) In remark [O].

(40) Printed at the end of his *Harmonia mensurorum*, published by Dr Smith in 1722, 4to.

(41) See the whole letter in Gen. Dict. Vol. IV. p. 444.

(42) See notes upon a letter from Dr Wallis, ibid. Vol. X. p. 100.

(36) Lib. III. prop. 8.

(37) Phil. Transf. No. 59.

(a) Posthumous Works, p. 152.

(b) English Baronetage, Vol. III. p. 113.

GRESHAM, the surname of an antient, worthy, and opulent family, derived, as that most learned Antiquary Sir Henry Spelman tells us, from a town so called in the hundred of North-Erpingham, or Orpingham, in the county of Norfolk (a), from whence many eminent and honourable persons have descended (b) [A]. John Gresham of Gresham flourished under

[A] From whence many eminent and honourable persons have descended ] In the introduction to a very

curious and accurate pedigree of the Greshams, in the possession of the late Sir Marmaduke, and now in that of



(c) Pedigree of the family, in the hands of Sir Charles Gresham, Bart.

(d) Le Neve's M.S. Vol. II. p. 297.

(e) Pedigree of the family.

under the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second (c). His son James Gresham settled at Holt in the same county, about four miles from Gresham, and was Lord of the Manor of East-Beckham (d). He married Margaret, the daughter of William Billington, of Blackford, Esq; by whom he had a son named John, who resided at Holt (e), and married Alice, the daughter of Alexander Blyth of Stratton, Esq; with whom he had a large fortune, by the demise of her three brothers, who all died without issue (f). By this lady he had four sons; William, who succeeded to the family estate at Holt, and who was the last of the Greshams who made it the place of his residence (g) [B]; Thomas, who entered into Holy Orders, and became Rector of South-Reppes in Norfolk, Prebendary in the Church of Winton, and Chancellor of Lichfield (h), to whom, if to any of this family, a certain very extraordinary story is thought to refer (i) [C]. Of the younger sons, Richard and John, we shall speak more particularly in the following articles.

of Sir Charles Gresham, the present Baronet; we are told that this family was at once seized in Norfolk of thirty-five manors; in Suffolk of five; in Cambridge-shire of one; in Kent of three; in Sussex of two; in Surry of nine; in Middlesex of two; in Somerset of two, in Derbyshire of three; in Yorkshire of nine; and of twelve granges, and several other *villatae*, and considerable possessions in the same county, and of three manors in the Bishopric of Durham, as appears by several letters-patents, fines, deeds enrolled, inquisitions *post mortem*, wills and private evidences now in the hands of some of that family. And out of which family, within the compass of an hundred and fifty years last past, there has been one Baronet, nine Knight Bachelors, whereof one knighted in the field; one Baronet's wife, and nine Knight's wives of the name and family of Gresham, and have issued from them in that time, two Viscounts, seven Baronets, twenty-four Knights, two Countesses, five Baronet's wives, and twenty-two Knight's wives (1). Particulars honourable in themselves, and useful also in the circumstance of preserving the memory of them.

[B] *Who made it the place of his residence.* This gentleman, who was styled William Gresham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Esq; married Ellen, the widow of one Mr Copeland, and the daughter of Richard Bodley, by whom he had issue two daughters, both named Alice, one of whom married Mr March, and the other Mr Middleton (2). Their father sold this estate to his younger brother Sir John Gresham, founder of the family at Titey, as we shall see hereafter; and the year after he had parted with his estate, viz. 1547, William Gresham departed this life (3). But notwithstanding this, some branches of the Gresham family still remain in Norfolk.

[C] *Is thought to refer.* This very strange story we have from that famous traveller George Sandys, Esq; and therefore it is just the reader should see it in that light in which he thought proper to place it, speaking of Strombolo and other islands in the Mediterranean, in which there are burning mountains, he proceeds thus: 'These places (says he) and such like, are commonly affirmed by the Roman Catholics to be the jaws of Hell, and that within, the damned souls are tormented.' It was told me at Naples by a countryman of ours, and an old pensioner of the Pope's, who was a youth in the days of King Henry, that it was then generally bruited throughout England, that Mr Gresham, a merchant, setting sail from Palermo (where there then dwelt one Anthonio called the Rich, who at one time had two kingdoms mortgaged unto him by the King of Spain) being crossed by contrary

winds, was constrained to anchor under the lee of this island. Now about mid day, when for certain hours it accustomedly forboreth to flame, he ascended the mountain with eight of the sailors, and approaching as near the vent as they durst, amongst other noises they heard a voice cry aloud, *Dispatch, Dispatch, the rich Anthonio is a coming.* Terrified herewith they descended, and anon the mountain again evaporated fire. But from so dismal a place they made all the haste that they could, when the winds still thwarting their course, and desiring much to know more of this matter, they returned to Palermo, and forthwith enquiring of Anthonio, it was told them that he was dead; and computing the time, did find it to agree with the very instant that the voice was heard by them. Gresham reported this at his return to the King, and the mariners being called before him, confirmed by oath the narration. In Gresham himself, as this gentleman said (for I no otherwise report it) it wrought so deep an impression, that he gave over traffic, distributing his goods a part to his kinsfolks, and the rest to good uses, retaining only a competency for himself, and so spent the rest of his life in a solitary devotion (4). The learned historian of this family, who has likewise copied this relation, assigns his reason in these words. 'It is not said that this Mr Gresham went into Orders, but only that he retired from secular affairs. However as the story suits with the time of Thomas Gresham, who died in the year 1558, for that reason I have placed it here (5). We have said in the text, that if this story related to any of this family, it must be to him. But it is more probable that the tale, such as it is, was rather fathered upon John Gresham, merchant of London (6), who resided long in those parts, and in whose favour King Henry wrote a letter to John, King of Portugal, dated from his court at Waltham, October the 15th, 1531, desiring that justice might be done to him against one Diego Perez, a subject of his Majesty of Portugal. Some stories of the like kind have been propagated with great boldness of Mount Hecla in Iceland, and an appeal made to the inhabitants for the truth of them, which it might be well presumed by those who made it, would never reach their ears; but unluckily it did, and offended them so much, as to produce a natural and general history of this country, written under the direction of it's Bishop, in which the lye is in direct terms given to all these reports, only it is admitted that the waves of the sea impelled by boisterous winds, creep through the caverns at the bottom of this mountain, with a hollow murmuring noise, that a fanciful mind might mistake for mourning (7). E

GRESHAM [Sir RICHARD], an eminent Merchant, a great promoter of trade, and a worthy member of the city of London (a). He was the third son, as we have already shewn, of John Gresham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Esq; by Alice, the daughter of Alexander Blyth, of Stratton, Esq; (b). It does not appear at what time he was born; but his father being desirous that he should have an opportunity of enriching himself by his own industry, placed him as an apprentice with Mr John Middleton, Merchant of London, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh (c); and the first date that occurs with regard to his transactions, is that of his being admitted to the freedom of his company, which was in 1507 (d). He married, not long after he was settled in business, Audrey, the daughter of William Lynne, of Southwick in Northamptonshire, Esq; who lived with him to the twenty-eighth of December, 1522; and at her decease was interred in the church of St Lawrence Jewry (e): after which he married one Mrs Taverfon, a widow, whose maiden-name was Worpfall, with whom he spent the remainder of his life (f). He was very fortunate in the management of his commerce abroad, by which he acquired great wealth, and purchased considerable estates in land in different counties. He was

(f) English Baronage, Vol. III. p. 114.

(g) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. B. I. p. 160.

(h) Wallis's Survey of Churches.

(i) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 1.

(1) From the pedigree of the family.

(2) Visitation of Norfolk, M.S. in Caius College, Cambridge.

(3) From the pedigree of the family.

(4) Sandys's Travels, b. iv. p. 194. Clarke's Mirror, chap. xxxiii. Wanley's History of the little World, b. vi. chap. xix.

(5) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 2.

(6) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 96.

(7) Brevis Commentarius de Islandia, per Angimum Ionum, sect. vii.

(a) Stowe, Holmfirthed, Grafton.

(b) Pedigree of the family.

(c) Le Neve's M.S. Vol. II. p. 297.

(d) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 2.

(e) Stowe's Survey of London, b. iii. p. 46.

(f) Pedigree of the family.



(g) Stype's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 265.

(b) Grafton's brief Chron. fol. 129. b.

(i) Pedigree of the family.

(k) See the article of G R E S H A M [Sir THOMAS].

(l) Grafton's Chronicle, fol. 129. b.

(m) Fox's AEs and Monuments, edit. 1610. p. 939.

(n) Weaver's Funeral Monuments, p. 200.

(o) Grafton's brief Chronicle, fol. 143. b.

was also Agent for King Henry the Eighth in foreign parts, chiefly for the management of money-affairs, during his wars abroad, which engaged him to visit Antwerp and other places; and in this office he gained so high a reputation for abilities and integrity, that he was continued in that employment through this whole reign, and so long as he lived under that of Edward the Sixth (g). His favour at court, and his credit in the city, kept an equal pace, so that in 1531, being chosen Sheriff of London (b), he received the same year the honour of knighthood from King Henry the Eighth (i). He signalized himself while in office by an application to Sir Thomas Audeley, then Lord Privy-Seal, for procuring two grants; one for the general benefit of commerce, in which he happily succeeded, and the other for the particular honour and emolument of the city of London, which as he wisely contrived, so his son Sir Thomas nobly achieved (k). The first respected the liberty of banking, then granted by patent, which he represented to his Lordship as a great hardship and inconveniency, shewing at the same time how necessary it was, that all Merchants, foreigners as well as subjects, should be allowed to exercise exchanges and re-changes, without any restraint for the benefit of trade, and as the most effectual means for the preventing the exportation of specie out of the kingdom; and this he requested might be done by the King's issuing his royal proclamation for that purpose, and this it appears was attained (l) [A]. While he was yet in this office, James Bainham, Esq; of the Temple, was, through the spirit of persecution which reigned in that time, delivered into his custody, and committed to Newgate, and was afterwards carried to Smithfield and burnt as a Heretic, April 30, 1532 (m). The hospital of St Thomas of Acon, or Acars, being surrendered into the King's hands, October 21, 1538, it was, by the means of Sir Richard Gresham, purchased by his company, and has been since known by the name of Mercers Chapel in Cheapside (n). In 1537 he executed the high office of Lord-Mayor of London with great spirit and dignity (o); and shewed upon that occasion, as far as any prudent man could think it proper to shew in such perilous times, his favourable sentiments for the Protestant Religion, and his steady concern for the interests of the city he governed, by demanding of the King certain religious foundations, which about

[A] *And this it appears was attained* They are much mistaken, who believe that in ancient times there was no care taken by the government of foreign trade, or that it was in those days either precarious or insignificant (1). On the contrary, it was the great object of our King's and of our Parliament's consideration. They went for a long series of time upon this maxim, *that Commerce could not be beneficial to a country, unless it was carried on uniformly and under proper regulations* (2). Upon this principle the notion of a staple was founded, at what time is not easily assigned, but certainly before the reign of Henry the Third, since from his time down to Henry the Seventh, we meet with a multitude of laws on this subject (3). This word staple was applied to the principal commodities of this island, such as wool, leather, lead, tin, cloths, butter, cheese, &c. The ports from whence these commodities might by law be transported, viz. London, Hull, Boston, Bristol, Southampton, Newcastle, &c. were tiled staple ports, the laws made for the direction of trade, by those who managed it, were called Staple Laws, and the principal magistrates of this society were the Mayor and Constable of the Staple; this was then reputed, instead of a restraint upon trade; the only method for preserving it's freedom, since all the King's subjects that would bring their goods to the staple, and conform themselves to the laws and ordinances thereof, might be admitted merchants. At these staples the King's customs were duly collected and paid into the Exchequer twice a year. By the Mayor and Constable of the Staple, the rate of exchange was settled according to certain tables posted up at Dover and elsewhere, that no frauds might be committed by suffering either our commodities or our money from passing into foreign countries for less than their real value. In those days there was no such thing as bankers. It was King Edward the Third, who may be justly stiled our English Justinian, settled these points by various good laws, and caused those tables to be set up, declaring the true value of the several species of coin in all countries, the inhabitants of which, had any dealings with his subjects (4). In his time there was not only a mint in the Tower of London, but in several other places, as at Canterbury, Kingston upon Hull, Newcastle, Bristol, and Exeter. The King had also his exchanger, who had his deputies in the several ports, and these made whatever remittances were necessary, value for value, with a very small allowance; and when any want of money was perceived in the kingdom, orders were sent to the Mayor of the Staple to procure a certain proportion of the value of goods exported to be paid in Bul-

lion, which was afterwards sent to the nearest mint (5). In process of time things took another course, and the Lombards coming over and settling in that street which still bears their name, drew most of this business into their hands, but managed it in such a manner, as turned very little to the account of the English merchant; and therefore, after various acts of parliament made in the reign of Henry the Seventh, to remedy these mischiefs, but with very small effect, this new method was fallen upon in the reign of his son, to confine the business of banking to those who should be empowered by the King's Patent (6). This, instead of curing the old, brought in new evils, of which Sir Richard Gresham complained to the Lord Privy-Seal, putting him in mind that Bartholomew-fair was near at hand, when by taking off this restraint, a great many cloths and kersey's might be sold that would be otherwise left in the makers warehouses (7). He farther observes, that the factors were about to proceed to Bourdeaux, and to purchase wines, and that if things remained as they were, in all probability they would take gold with them, which might be prevented, by issuing such a proclamation as he desired; he adds upon this head, that what he wrote was purely to discharge his conscience out of duty to the King, and for the benefit of his subjects, by promoting the exportation of our commodities, laying it down as a maxim, that merchants can no more be without their exchanges and re-changes, than ships in the sea without water. He then passes to the house for merchants to meet in, which it was intended should be built in Lombard-street, the expence of which he calculates at two thousand pounds, and desires the King's letters may be addressed to Sir George Moneux, to dispose him to sell certain houses upon the ground of which this building might be erected; and for the money, he thought he could collect one thousand pounds before he was out of his office. In a postscript to this letter, which is dated July 5th, (1531) he tells this great minister that he had received his letter, by which he understood it to be the King's desire, that the Monastery of Walsingham should be dissolved, and assures his Lordship, that he had wrote to the Prior to further that design; he adds a request, that he might be permitted to purchase from the Crown certain lands which had been part of the Bishopric of Norwich, at the rate of twenty years purchase, provided the sum of one thousand pounds, advanced to the Duke of Buckingham by order of Cardinal Wolsey, on the King's account, were taken in part; and some of these lands were granted him about twelve years afterwards, as the reader will be informed in the text (8).

(5) Malynes's Lex Mercatoria, P. III. chap. i.

(6) The Maintenance of Free Trade, p. 95.

(7) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, Appendix, No I.

(8) Batisford in Com. Suffolk.

(1) Miffelten's Circle of Commerce. Malynes's Lex Mercatoria. Hakluyt's Voyages.

(2) Malynes's Maintenance of Free Trade, A. D. 1622, 8vo.

(3) Madox's History of the Exchequer, p. 532.

(4) Stat. 27. Edward III.



about that time were dissolved, not for himself or his family, but for the reception of lame and diseased persons, that were burthenome to this corporation, as the reader may see more at large, the nature of the subject requiring it, in the notes [B]. The same year he had a grant from the Heralds Office to him and his posterity for additions to his arms, which grant has been since published (p). In 1541, Sir Richard and Sir John Gresham, Knights, were put into the commission for heresies done in the city and diocese of London, in virtue of that sanguinary law, so well known to posterity by the title of *the Six Articles* (q). His favour with his master was so great, his services so many and acceptable, and his interest so considerable, that he obtained several grants of abbies and abbey-lands to a very large amount. In the thirty-second year of that King, he had the site of the famous abbey of Fountains, or *de Fontibus*, in Yorkshire, formerly belonging to Monks of the Cistercian order (r); in the thirty-fifth, of the hospital of Carbroke in the county of Norfolk, to himself and Sir Richard Southwell; and the same year he had the hospital or præceptory of Batisford in the county of Suffolk, granted to himself alone (s). In the thirty-seventh of the same King, he had, in conjunction with Richard Billingford, a grant of the house of the White-Friers, between the west gate and the side of the river Tyne in Newcastle; as also the religious house of Walknol near Pandon-Gate in the same town (t); and in the thirty-eighth year of the same monarch's reign, the priory of Benedictine Monks at Hoxne or Hoxon in the county of Suffolk (u). His ordinary place of residence was at Bethnal Green near London, where dying on the 21st of February, 1548, his corpse was removed to the church of St Lawrence Jewry, and there some years afterwards a tomb with an inscription was erected to his memory (w), which remained standing till the Fire of London in 1666, when that church was consumed. He left issue by his first wife, as the pedigree of the family bears, two sons and two daughters; but the monumental inscription, if faithfully copied says, three sons and one daughter (x). A very judicious author prefers the pedigree, and we yield willingly to his judgment in that respect (y). His sons then were Sir John Gresham, of whom some particulars are preserved at the

(p) *Gresham's Arms*, p. 175.

(q) *First Acts and Monuments*, p. 1095.

(r) *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*, p. 613. *Monast. Anglican. Tom. I.* p. 713.

(s) *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*, p. 322, 350.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 397, 398.

(u) *Ibid.* p. 563.

(w) *Stowe's Survey of London*, book III. chap. iii. p. 46.

(x) In this inscription the names are William and Margaret.

(y) *Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors*, p. 3.

[B] *In the notes* It is very remarkable that this letter is not directed either to the Chancellor or the Lord Privy-Seal, who at this time had great power in matters of this nature, but to the King himself, which is a clear proof of the great interest he had with that monarch, to whom otherwise he would not have addressed it. His hearty zeal for the public service, which he solicits with as much earnestness as he could possibly have done any suit of his own, and his good sense in urging the most proper arguments for obtaining his purpose, render this letter one of the most remarkable pieces extant, with respect to his personal history, thus it runs (g):

"Most redoubted puissant and noble prince, my most dread beloved and natural sovereign lord, I your poor humble and obedient servant, considering and ever more and more perceiving by your virtuous beginnings and charitable proceedings in all your causes, your person and Majesty Royal, to be the elected and chosen vessel of God: by whom not alone the very and true word of God is and shall be set forth, and according to the truth and verity of the same; but also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordained to redress and reform all crimes, offences, and enormities, being repugnant to his doctrine, or to the detriment of the commonwealth, and hurt of the poor people being your natural subjects; and further to foresee and vigilantly to provide for the charitable reformation of the same, which thing hath, and yet doth encourage me; and also my bounden duty obligeth me in special, being most unworthy your Lieutenant and Maior of your City Royal of London, to inform and advertise your most gracious Highness, of one thing in special, for the aid and comfort of the poor, sick, blind, aged, and impotent persons, being not able to help themselves, nor having no place certain where they may be refreshed or lodged at, till they be holpen and cured of their diseases and sicknesses.

"So it is most gracious Lord, that near and within the city of London, be three hospitals or spittals, commonly called St Mary Spittal, St Bartilmew's Spittal, and St Thomas's Spittal, and the new Abby of Tower Hill; founded of good devotion by auncient faders, and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the relief, comfort, and helping of the poor and impotent people, not being able to help themselves, and not to the maintenance of Chanons, Priests and Monks to live in pleasure, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in every street, offending every clean person passing by the way, with their filthy and nasty favours.

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"Wherefore, may it please your merciful goodness, enclined to pity and compassion for the relief of Christ's very images, created to his own similitude; to order by your high authority as supreme head of this Church of England, or otherwise by your sage discretion, that your Maior of the City of London, and his brethren the Aldermen for the time being, shall and may for henceforth have the order, disposition, rule, and governance, both of all the lands, tenements, and revenues appertaining and belonging to the said hospitals and every of them, and of the ministers which be, or shall be within every of them. And then your Grace shall plainly perceive, that where now a small number of Chanons, Priests, and Monks, be found for their own profit only, and not for the common utility of the realm, a great number of poor, needy, sickly, and indigent persons shall be refreshed, maintained, and comforted, and also healed and cured of their infirmities frankly and freely, by Physicians, Surgeons, and Potecaries: which shall have stipend and salary only for that purpose. So that all impotent persons not hable to labour, shall be relieved; and all sturdy beggars not willing to labour, shall be punished.

"For the which doing, your Grace shall not alone merit highly towards God, but shew yourself to be more charitable to the poor, than your noble progenitor King Edgar, founder of so many Monasteries, or King Henry III. renewer of Westminster, or King Edward III. founder of the new Abby, or King Henry V. founder of Shene; but also shall have the name of Conservator, Protector, and Defender of the poor people, with their continual prayer for your health, wealth, and prosperity, long to endure."

Your humble and most obedient servant,

RYCHARD GRESHAM.

What reception this letter met with, we are now where informed, but from it's consequences we may gather, that it made a great impression upon the King's mind, since towards the end of his life, he shewed a desire that these hospitals should be put into the hands of the city; which in the reign of his son, with respect to three of them, it may be not without the interposition of Sir Thomas Gresham, was actually brought about upon easy terms, which ought to be remembered to the honour of him, who first formed the project of preserving them for that good purpose which they have since answered (10).

(10) *Stowe, Survey, Maitland.*



(z) Collins's  
Peerage, Vol.  
III. p. 317.

(a) Le Neve's  
M.S.S. Vol. II.  
p. 297.

the bottom of the page [C]; Sir Thomas Gresham, of whom in a subsequent article; and the daughters, Margaret married to Sir John Thynne of Longleate, from whom the noble family of Weymouth are descended (z); and Elizabeth, who died unmarried the same year with her father (a). As for his widow, Dame Isabella Gresham, she deceased in the year 1565 (b).

(b) Pedigree of  
the family.

(11) Pedigree of  
the family.

(12) Le Neve's  
M.S.S. Vol. II.  
p. 291.

(13) Pedigree of  
the family.

[C] *At the bottom of the page.* We find in the pedigree of the family, but few particulars relating to this gentleman, which is the reason that we have chosen to digest these in a note. He was born in the year 1518, and brought up to business under his father (11). He was knighted by the Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, September the 28th, 1547, upon the memorable victory gained over the Scots in Musselburgh-field (12), and admitted a member of the Mercers company in 1550 (13). In the reign of Queen Mary, he is thought to have complied with the times, of which this is reported as an instance, that in 1556, twenty-two persons being sent out of Essex to London, in the month December, in compliance with the proclamation against heretics, in order to their examination before Dr Edmund Bonner, then Bishop of London; the populace as they passed through the streets shewed such evident tokens of compassion, or as the prelate understood of approbation, that he sent Sir John, who happened to be with him, to complain of this terrible insult to the then Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs, with which, whatever his private opinion might be, it was certainly prudent in him to comply. The matter in truth was no more than this, that numbers who abhorred persecution and had a charitable tenderness for persons of good fame and credit, exposed to such ill usage for obeying the dictates of their conscience, went

out of town to meet the poor sufferers, and to comfort them, which being a circumstance very few chose to communicate, and there being also many of this disposition, their attendance swelled in such a manner, that by the time they entered London, their train was grown to a thousand men, which Bishop Bonner thought should have been prevented by the vigilance of the city magistrates (14). A certain historian adds the title of alderman, to that of Sir John Gresham (15), which if it had been so, would have rendered him a very improper messenger; but the truth is, that Sir John Gresham, Knight and Alderman, had been about two months dead, and therefore this must have been his nephew (16). He married Frances, the daughter and heir of Sir Henry Thwaites, of Lownd in Yorkshire, who survived him twenty years. By her he had his only daughter Elizabeth, who married Sir Henry Neville (17), Knight, gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Edward VI. who made him very large grants of Church lands, which were resumed by Queen Mary, and restored to him by Queen Elizabeth; by the daughter of Sir John Gresham, he had a son Henry, whose lineal descendants are still in possession of their ancestor's estates in Berkshire. Dame Elizabeth Neville, died November the 6th, 1573, and her mother, Dame Frances Gresham, in October 1580. E

(14) Fox's A&A  
and Monuments,  
p. 1863.

(15) Oldmixon's  
History of Eng-  
land, p. 266.

(16) See his mo-  
numental in-  
scription, and  
Stowe, Holinf.  
Strype.

(17) Morgan's  
Sphere of Gen-  
try, lib. II. c.  
vi. p. 57.

(a) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 4.

(b) Baronetage  
of England, Vol.  
III. p. 12.

(c) Aubrey's An-  
tiquities of Sur-  
ry, Vol. III.  
p. 12.

(d) Grafton's  
Brief Chronicle,  
fol. 134.

(e) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 4.

(f) Grafton's  
Brief Chronicle,  
fol. 143.

(g) Stowe's Sur-  
vey of London,  
b. i. p. 256.

(h) Maitland's  
History of Lon-  
don, p. 152.

(i) Hakluyt's  
Voyages, Vol. I.  
p. 269.

(k) Philpot's Vil.  
Cant. p. 359.

(l) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 4.

G R E S H A M [Sir JOHN], a very eminent Merchant, a beneficent patron to learning, and a most worthy magistrate in the city of London. He was the youngest son of John Gresham of Holt, in the county of Norfolk, Esq; beforementioned, and succeeded his brother Richard as an apprentice to Mr John Middleton (a). He was admitted a member of the worshipful company of Mercers in 1517, and by his great industry in trade acquired a very large fortune (b). This singular success put it into his power to purchase several fair estates in the county of Norfolk, as also the manor of Titsey in the county of Surry, which had been granted by King Henry the Eighth to Sir John Bouchier, Knight of the Garter, and Lord Berners, who dying without heirs male, his daughter Catherine married Edward Knyvet, Esq; from whom it was purchased by Mr Gresham (c). In 1537, his elder brother Sir Richard Gresham being then Lord-Mayor, he served the honourable office of Sheriff of London, and was the same year knighted (d). He afterwards purchased from his eldest brother, William Gresham, Esq; the capital messuage of Holt in the county of Norfolk, as appears by a deed, dated October 14, 1546 (e). In the succeeding year, Sir John Gresham himself was chosen Lord-Mayor of London (f). There had been an antient immemorial custom, of causing what was called the marching watch to parade through the city at Midsummer, which, on account of several very expensive musters, made at the King's command some years before, had been forbidden in 1539 (g), and had ever since been laid aside; but Sir John Gresham revived this pompous shew in his mayoralty, and appointed it both on the eve of St John the Baptist and on that of the Apostle St Peter, causing it to be executed both times with the utmost splendour (h). It was laid aside again the very next year, and a standing watch, for the security of the city, substituted in it's room. In the charter granted by King Philip and Queen Mary, for incorporating the Merchants concerned in the Russia trade, and for establishing and securing their privileges, he is the first named to be of their Court of Assistants (i), which does him no small honour, considering, that as this has been one of the most profitable, so it is also one of the best regulated companies ever erected in this nation. But though this may seem a mark of respect, yet he suffered in this reign a considerable loss, by the resuming of the manor of Westerham in the county of Kent, which had been granted to him on the dissolution of the abbey of Westminster by King Henry the Eighth. It was however restored by Queen Elizabeth to his family (k). As he was a person of great generosity and magnificence, he was also strictly pious, and much disposed to encourage useful learning. With this view he resolved to convert the antient mansion house of his family into a free-school, and endowed it with the manor of Holt Hales, and all it's members. By an indenture bearing date October the 16th, 1556, he settled the revenues and government of this school upon the worshipful company of Fishmongers in London, by whom it has been managed with singular integrity and reputation to this time, and is now in a very flourishing condition (l) [A]. This provision was very happily made, since he

[A] *And is now in a very flourishing condition.* It was not easy for this worthy person to devise a method more significant of his love for learning, than by

converting the ancient seat of his family into that of the Muses, and settling for it's support that estate, which for this purpose he acquired by purchase; an under-  
taking



he died that day sev'nnight on which this indenture was executed viz. on the twenty-third of October (*m*), of what in those days was stiled a burning ague, which seems rather to have been a kind of malignant fever, which in the space of ten months had carried off seven Aldermen, five of whom had been Mayors, and seems now to have been at it's greatest height, since in this month there died likewise Sir John Champney, Alderman and Skinner, who was but just out of his mayoralty; Sir Henry Hobbblethorn, Merchant-Taylor of London, who had been likewise Lord-Mayor; Sir John Oliff, Surgeon to King Henry the Eighth, who had been Sheriff of London, and would have been Mayor if he had lived 'till the next year, besides many other persons of distinction (*n*). At the time of his demise, we find this worthy person thus entitled, viz. Sir John Gresham, Knight, Merchant and Merchant of the staple at Calais, Merchant-Adventurer, late Mayor and Alderman of London (*o*). He was interred with great funeral solemnity at the church of St Michael Bassishaw, not only his house but the street being hung with black cloth. The funeral sermon was preached by the famous Dr Nicholas Harpsfield, after which there was an extraordinary fish dinner, to which all who came were admitted (*p*). By his last will he left many charitable legacies, which are deservedly remembred to his honour [*B*]. At the same time we mention this, it may not perhaps be thought trivial to observe, that it was in those days thought not a little strange, that two sons of the same man should be Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Mayors of London (*q*). This Sir John Gresham had two wives; the first was Mary, daughter of Thomas Ipswell, Esq; by whom he had five sons and six daughters, viz. William Gresham of Titsey, Esq; of whom and of whose posterity something more will be said at the bottom of the page (*r*) [*C*]. John Gresham of Fulham in Middlesex and Mayfield in Suffex, Esq; Edmund Gresham of Thorp-Market in the county of Norfolk, Esq; but as for the other two their names are not known. As for his daughters, Mary married Sir Thomas Roe, by whom she became the mother of another Sir Thomas Roe; Helen, to William Udall of Hampshire; Ursula, who became the wife of Thomas Leveson, or Luson, in Kent, Esq; Cicely, to German Cyoll, a Spaniard;

(*m*) Pedigree of the family.

(*n*) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 263.

(*o*) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 263.

(*p*) Willet's Synopf. Papism. p. 1224.

(*q*) Stowe's Survey of London, b. i. p. 263.

(*r*) Pedigree of the family.

taking so full of beneficence and piety, that it seems to have merited the peculiar protection of Providence. In this famous free-school of Holt, provision is made for the instruction of thirty boys of that county in grammar learning, to be chosen by the assignees of the company (1). And by the appointment of the founder, the master was to have twenty pounds, and the usher ten pounds a year salary. But that of the master has been since increased to thirty pounds a year. He has likewise a large and commodious house, with liberty to take as many other scholars or boarders as he pleases. There is also a writing master and an usher, the former of whom has ten pounds, and the latter six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence a year, both of them appointed by the upper master. And such has been the generosity of the governors, that in the year 1729, they purchased a library consisting of the best classic writers, with a handsome pair of large globes, to near the value of an hundred pounds, for the use of the school. The present master is Mr John Holmes, who has recommended himself to the public by his Latin and Greek Grammars, and by several other useful and practical treatises, which not only do him honour, but those also by whose choice he was fixed in that place which he so worthily fills, and in a manner so suitable to the donor's intention.

[*B*] Which are deservedly remembred to his honour.] We have given a brief account in the text of this great man's burial, which seems to have been beyond the standard of those times, as we find it recorded by more than one author, but the description by John Stowe, may perhaps seem not unworthy the reader's notice (2). 'He was buried with a standard and a penon of arms, and a coat armour of damask, and four penons of arms, besides an helmet, a target, and a sword, mantles, and the crest, a goodly hearse of wax, and ten dozen of pensils, and twelve dozen of escutcheons. He gave an hundred black gowns of fine cloth unto poor men and women; he had four dozen of great staff torches, and a dozen of great long torches; he gave moreover an hundred of fine black gowns, two unto the present Mayor, and the old Mayor, likewise other to Sir Rowland Hill, and to Sir Andrew Judd, and to the Chamberlain, to Mr Blackwell, to Mr Common-Hunt and his man; to the porter that belonged to the Staple, and to all his farmers and his tenants. The church and the streets were all hung with black, and arms in great store, and on the morrow three goodly masses were sung; one of the Trinity, another of our Lady, and the third of Requiem.' In respect to his charitable legacies, he gave ten pounds to the poor of every ward in London, which are twenty-four in number; and to one hundred and twenty poor men and women, to each three yards of

cloth for a gown; of eight or nine shillings a yard; to maids, marriages, and the hospitals in London, above two hundred pounds (3).

[*C*] At the bottom of the page.] William Gresham of Titsey, in the county of Surry, Esq; married Beatrix, daughter of Thomas Guybon, of Lynn in Norfolk, Esq (4); by whom he had Sir William Gresham of Titsey, Knight, as also Sir Thomas Gresham of Titsey, who for want of issue male, became heir to his brother; he married Mary, widow of Mr Walsingham (5), and by her had issue three sons, Sir John Gresham of Titsey, who died without issue; Sir Edward Gresham, and Thomas (6). Sir Edward Gresham, Knight, married Mary, daughter to Mr Clark, by whom he had a son Thomas, whom he disinherited, and who left no male issue (7). Sir Edward's second lady was Mary, widow of Mr Wright, by whom he had Marmaduke Gresham of Titsey, Esq (8); who was advanced to the degree of a Baronet by Letters Patents under the Great-Seal, bearing date July 31, 1660, in the twelfth year of King Charles the Second (9); he married Alice, daughter of Dr Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich, by whom he had six sons and three daughters, all of whom, except those hereafter mentioned, died without issue (10). His second son, Sir Edward Gresham, Baronet, married Martha, daughter of Sir John Maynard, Knight, Serjeant at Law, of Gunnersbury in the county of Middlesex, but dying without issue male, he was succeeded in his title and estate by his brother Sir Charles Gresham, Baronet, who married the daughter of Mr Godfrey, and had by her three sons and five daughters (11). He died in the month of April, 1718, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. Sir Marmaduke Gresham, Baronet, his eldest son, married Anne, daughter of William Hoskins, of Barrow-green near Godstone, in the county of Surry, by whom he left two sons and a daughter, dying at Bath, January 2d, 1741-2 (12). His eldest son Sir Charles Gresham is the present Baronet, and is possessed of the seats and estates of his ancestors, at Lympsfeld and Titsey in Surry, and near Westerham in Kent. Before we close this note, it will be proper to observe, that Charles, the fifth son of Sir Marmaduke Gresham, the first Baronet, who was bred in Trinity-College, Oxford, upon the resignation of Mr King, was unanimously chosen Rhetoric Professor in Gresham College, August 20th, 1686, being at that time a person in great reputation for his learning and abilities; upon the 30th of November, 1688, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal-Society, and in 1696, he married Mary, the daughter of Dr Godfrey, of Ongar in Essex, which obliged him to quit his professorship, and in 1699, he withdrew himself from the Royal-Society (13). E

(3) Willet's Synopf. Papism. 1224.

(4) Aubrey's Antiq. of Surry, Vol. III. p. 13.

(5) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(6) Pedigree of the family.

(7) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(8) Philpot's Vill. Cant. p. 359.

(9) Julii 31. 12 Car. II. A. D. 1660.

(10) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(11) Pedigree of the family.

(12) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 126.

(13) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 331.

(1) Ward's Lives of the Professors, p. 4. Mr Holmes's Dedications.

(2) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 258, 267.



(s) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 113.

(t) Pedigree of the family.

(u) Baronetage of England, Vol. III. p. 113.

(w) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 33.

(x) Pedigree of the family.

(y) Baronetage of England, Vol. IV. p. 337.

(z) Aubrey's Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 33.

Spaniard; Elizabeth, to James Elliot; the name of the youngest is not mentioned (s). His second wife was Katherine, the widow of Edward Dormer of Fulham, in the county of Middlesex, Esq; and daughter to Mr Sampson, who survived him, and died in the year 1578 (t). Besides the principal house of the Greshams of Titsey, there sprang two other families of considerable note from this Sir John Gresham, one in Surry, the other in Norfolk (u). His second son, John Gresham, of Fulham in Middlesex and Mayfield in Suffex, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Edward Dormer of Fulham, by whom he had two sons who married, and one who died a bachelor. The eldest of these, Thomas Gresham of Fulham, had for his second wife, Judith, the daughter of Sir William Garrard, by whom he left two sons; John Gresham settled at Albury in Surry, and left no issue male (w); and James Gresham, who lived at Haslemere in Surry, and was styled from his great knowledge of the history of his country, by way of eminence, the Antiquary (x). We find his name in the list of those who were to have been honoured with the order of the Royal Oak, after the Restoration, and he at that time had an estate of eight hundred pounds a year (y); he married Anne, daughter of Sir Robert More of Losely in Surry, but left no male issue; he died in 1687 at the age of twenty-two (z), Edmund Gresham, the third Son of Sir John, settled at Thorp-Market in Norfolk, and having married Joan, the eldest daughter of Alderman Hind of London, had by her a son and three daughters, and died in 1586 (a). His only son was Sir Richard Gresham of Thorp-Market, who married Anne, daughter of Thomas Crofts of Saxmundham in the county of Suffolk, by whom he had a son and two daughters (b). Besides this, there is a more ancient family of the Greshams in Norfolk, seated at Wilsingham-Parva, descended from William Gresham, Esq; second son of James Gresham of Holt, Esq; who was the grandfather of Sir Richard Gresham, mentioned in the last article, and of Sir John Gresham, of whom we have been speaking (c).

(a) Pedigree of the family.

(b) Account of ancient families in Norfolk.

(c) Pedigree of the family.

G R E S H A M [Sir THOMAS], an eminent Merchant of London, Agent for King Edward VI. Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, in the Low-Countries, and a glorious benefactor to the public. He was the younger son of Sir Richard Gresham, Knight, Alderman, Sheriff, and Lord-Mayor of London, the nephew of Sir John Gresham last mentioned, and the younger brother of Sir John Gresham, Knight, who received that honour in Musselborough-Field. He was born at London in 1519 (a), and having attained the rudiments of learning under proper masters, he was removed to Gonville-Hall in Cambridge, where he spent some years in his studies (b); notwithstanding which, he resolved, as trade had been so fortunate in the hands of his family to embark therein; for which his father had made provision, by binding him apprentice to his uncle Sir John Gresham; in consequence of which prudent measure he was admitted a member of the Mercers Company in 1543 (c). In a short time after this he married his wife Anne, the widow of William Read, of Fulham in the county of Middlesex, Esq; and the daughter of William Fernley, of Westereting in the county of Suffolk (d). He seems to have lived at home, and to have pursued the business of a Merchant with great diligence during the life of his father, and had very probably a view of succeeding him in his employment of managing the King's money affairs at Antwerp, a matter of great consequence, since the time of King Henry the Eighth, whose ambition had drawn him into great difficulties both at home and in foreign parts; for here he had been obliged to debase his coin, and had run there into great debts, which were heightened by exorbitant usury as well as by a variety of artifices, which were familiar to the dealers in money in those times (e). It appears, however, that Mr Gresham was disappointed in his expectations; for, upon the demise of his father, Sir William Danfell was appointed the King's Agent at Antwerp, by those who had the direction of public affairs in the minority of Edward the Sixth (f). But his management was such, that the King finding himself under great difficulties sent for him home, in order to enquire more strictly into the nature and amount of his debts; but Sir William thinking Antwerp the safer place declined his return (g); and upon this, amongst other Merchants, Mr Gresham was sent for to Council, and his opinion asked about the management of these affairs, which he delivered so freely and clearly, that a resolution was immediately taken, without any suit of his, to send him thither; and he was accordingly sent in the close of the year 1551, according to our style as it then stood, or in the beginning of the succeeding year as we now write (h). He found this a very perplexed and troublesome business, and attended with circumstances equally oppressive and dishonourable. The King owed very large sums of money to different persons, for which he not only gave his own security under the broad seal of England, but likewise joined that of the city of London; and after doing all this abroad, entered into recognizances to indemnify the city at home (i). The interest was very high, seldom under ten per cent. sometimes twelve; besides which, other great advantages were taken, by varying the exchange, to the great prejudice of the nation, and by constraining the King to take jewels or goods at their own prices, to his extreme detriment (k). All these obstacles Mr Gresham had to struggle with, besides some opposition the proposals he made met with from some of the Council at home, who it is probable did not clearly conceive his meaning (l). For he seems at first to have sought the confidence and good opinion of the usurers he had to deal with, by following the practice of his predecessors, and recommending their goods to a good market (m), at the same time that he offered a scheme to be secretly managed

(a) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 6.

(b) Annales de Gonville & Caius.

(c) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 6.

(d) Pedigree of the family.

(e) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 325.

(f) Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce.

(g) Memorial of T. Gresham.

(h) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 324.

(i) King Edward VIth's Journal. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 318.

(k) King Edward VIth's Journal.

(l) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 325. from Gresham's Letters.

(m) Idem ibid.



managed at home for discharging the King's debts, and bringing him out of them gradually, without feeling any of those difficulties with which payments had been formerly embarrassed, and this was by receiving twelve or thirteen hundred pounds a week from the Exchequer, which Mr Gresham took up daily in bills at Antwerp in his own name, so that the remittances were made without sinking the exchange; and thus in the space of about two years, he discharged this monstrous loan, raised the King's credit to high, that he might have borrowed whatever sums he would, and at the same time rendered a very great service to the nation (*n*) [*A*]. In the course of this negotiation, he had frequent occasion to meddle with political affairs, as well as those immediately committed to his charge, through the application of the Emperor's sister, then Regent in the Low-Countries, as well as of the King his master, so that he made at least forty journies to and from Court, during the remainder of that short reign (*o*). It is certain that this service of his was very acceptable to the young Monarch; who, as it appears from the most authentic memorials, those under his own hand, looked at least as carefully into these matters himself, as any of the Privy-Council, and in all probability was the best support Mr Gresham had in bringing his wife project to bear (*p*). As a mark of his favour, about three weeks before his death, the King granted him one hundred pounds a year to him and his heirs for ever, promising him at the same time a more suitable reward, adding these remarkable words, *You shall know that you have served a King* (*q*). He obtained besides this in the course of that reign, the grant of a house of Grey-Friers, in the county of Carmarthen (*r*); and in the very last year of it, the reversion of Westacre, a Priory of Black-Canons, in the county of Norfolk, after the demise of Mary, Duchess of Richmond, to whom King Henry VIII. had granted it, of the value of about three hundred pounds a year (*s*). But notwithstanding his good services, and the loss of all his furniture coming by sea from Antwerp, he was removed from his post of agent in that city for the Crown, without any reason assigned (*t*). Mr Gresham however was not of a disposition to sit still and suffer without speaking, on the contrary, he remonstrated to the Queen roundly, what he had done for the Crown while worn by her brother, of which she reaped all the advantage; he represented the losses he had sustained, and hinted the hardship he laboured under in being shut out from her Royal presence and favour, who had brought her brother out of his difficulties, while he saw some carested and preferred who had no small hand in bringing him into them (*u*). At the same time he made a tender of his service to the Queen, and desired her favour with respect to a debt that was due to him of four hundred pounds from the Duke of Northumberland. This method, though a little unusual, had a good effect, and he was soon after restored again to his post, in which he remained during the rest of her reign (*w*), and towards the close of it was obliged to borrow money in a manner, and upon terms that must have been very disagreeable to him, since he was obliged to give fourteen per cent. exclusive of brokerage, and at the same time a collateral security (*x*). The only favour that it appears he received during this reign, was the grant of an hospital at Massingham-Parva in Norfolk, which had been united to the priory of Westacre, which was in his hands before (*y*). Queen Elizabeth at her accession found things at home and abroad in a very broken and distressed condition, which imputing rather to the circumstances of the times, and the consequences of her sister's marriage, than to the want either of integrity or ability in her ministers, she retained as many as it was possible of them in her service (*z*). Amongst these was Mr Gresham, whom she immediately employed in providing and buying up arms, bestowed upon him the honour of knighthood, and engaged him

(*n*) Memorial of T. Gresham.

(*o*) King Edward's Journal. Strype's Memorials, vol. 1. of T. Gresham.

(*p*) Haynes's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 132. compared with the King's Journal.

(*q*) Memorial of T. Gresham.

(*r*) Tanner's Notitia Monast. p. 703.

(*s*) Idem ibid. p. 362.

(*t*) Memorial of T. Gresham.

(*u*) Asserted in the same Memorial.

(*w*) Rymer's Fœdera, Tom. XV. p. 371, 486.

(*x*) Cotton's Discourse of a foreign war, p. 56.

(*y*) Tanner's Notitia Monast. p. 362.

(*z*) Camden. Annal. p. 26. Stowe, Holinshed, Speed, Strype, Burnet, &c.

[*A*] *Rendered a very great service to the nation.*] We learn most of these particulars with great certainty from Mr Gresham's own memorial hereafter mentioned (*1*). In that he informs us, that at the time he was appointed agent, the King owed two hundred and sixty thousand pounds Flemish, that the exchange was sunk so low as sixteen shillings Flemish for a pound sterling; that the interest was ten per cent. and the loss by exchange a great deal more, besides the additional imposition of jewels and goods, which under such circumstances could not well be avoided. But by the method that Mr Gresham advised, and in consequence of his advice, the Duke of Northumberland ordered to be pursued, and that twelve hundred and twenty pounds should be paid to his assigns every week (*2*); the remittances were made with so much care and address, that the exchange was raised to twenty, and even to two and twenty shillings, and at these rates the King's debts were discharged, by which one hundred thousand pounds were saved to the nation. This wise practice of his was also felt in the price of commodities, by which he computes the nation could not profit less than four hundred thousand pounds. Another advantage was, that the money which had been carried out, was brought back again. It raised the King's credit highly abroad, so that from being undervalued and treated with an air of diffidence and contempt, which the bankers at Antwerp would use even to their own sovereign, he came to be respected in the highest degree, so that he might have bor-

rowed what sums he pleased. In the performance of these services, Mr Gresham often stretched his own credit, and kept up the exchange at his proper risk, by which he lost two or three hundred pounds at a time more than once; and on a particular occasion took up fifty thousand pounds for the King's service. If it had not been for this management, the debt might have been continued and growing, and would have swelled to fifteen hundred thousand pounds by the time in which he made this representation. But after all, it was the young King's scheme of retrenching in his expences, and taking various methods, such as keeping the lead in his own hands, by Mr Gresham's advice; selling superfluous church plate, putting penal laws in force, and commuting all felonies for money, &c. which arts were of Northumberland's devising, that enabled him to comply punctually with those weekly payments, as this was the grand instrument for removing this incumbrance (*3*). One or two particulars more we must not omit, the merchants of the Hanse or, as called here, of the Steel-yard, for some misconduct, received a severe check, and this was so acceptable to the merchants of the Staple, that they lent King Edward forty thousand pounds (*4*) at one time, which seems to have been Mr Gresham's first experiment of serving the crown in the way of voluntary loans by its own subjects, and from the facility with which this was done, Mr Gresham entertained hopes of all that he afterwards accomplished (*5*).

(*3*) See the King's Journal, and the second volume of Strype's Memorials.

(*4*) King Edward VIth's Journal, October 3, 1552.

(*5*) See farther in note [*B*].

(1) This Memorial, which on account of its length is omitted here, the reader may find printed at large by Dr Ward in his Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 8.

(2) Haynes's Collection of State-Papers, &c. Vol. I. p. 132.



(a) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 11.

(b) See Holinshed, Stowe, and Speed.

(c) Camden. Annal. p. 223.

(d) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 11.

(e) Strype's Life of Sir T. Smith.

(f) Cotton's Discourse of a foreign war, p. 56.

(g) Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, p. 39, 40.

(h) Camden, Stowe, Strype, &c.

(i) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1603. p. 174.

(k) Lombard's Dictionary, p. 174.

(l) Stowe's Survey, edit. 1720. b. ii. p. 135.

(6) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1598. p. 150.

him to borrow a sum of money for her at Antwerp, upon the security of the city of London, for obtaining of which, she directed her letters to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and thereupon her Majesty's request was very readily granted (a). The conduct of Sir Thomas Gresham in this and in other points of the like nature, seems to have been so acceptable to the Queen his mistress, who was an excellent judge of men's abilities, and knew how to employ them in the way most to her advantage; that it is probable she advanced him about this time to the highest charge of which a person in his station was capable, by constituting him her merchant (b). That he was so afterwards, is on all hands acknowledged (c), and that he became so early, appears extremely probable for several reasons; it was about this time that he built his spacious and magnificent house in Bishopsgate-street, which is still remaining, which as a judicious writer well observes, he must have been moved to erect, by his thinking it necessary to place himself in a situation most convenient and suitable to his character, which shews that he must have altered his condition, and have acquired a settlement at home (d). Accordingly in 1562, we find that Sir Thomas Smith, who was sent into France to execute a commission of great importance on the part of the Queen, had his credit upon him, which makes it highly likely that he was then the Queen's merchant (e). It is also certain that the care of borrowing money abroad, was committed to William Herle, as appears by his instructions dated August 16th, in the year last mentioned, upon the security of the city of London as before (f). In 1563, the Duchess of Parma then Regent for King Philip in the Low-Countries, under pretence of the plague which then raged in England, prohibited the bringing of English commodities to Antwerp, though the real cause of that strange step was an act of parliament passed a small time before, for prohibiting pins, knives, hats, girdies, ribbons, and other small manufactures, from being brought into this kingdom, our own people by the encouragement of some eminent English merchants, and amongst them Sir Thomas Gresham, having lately set them up (g). But it being quickly found that the inhabitants of Antwerp suffered more by this prohibition than the subjects of England; a negotiation was set on foot the next year for restoring things to their former state, in which, as Sir Thomas Gresham had no share, it amounts to a full proof, that except in extraordinary cases his agency in those parts was at an end (h). In 1564, he lost, to his great affliction his only son Richard Gresham, whose corps was interred in the church at St Helen's (i), and Sir Thomas, like a wise man, to alleviate the sense of his private misfortune, elevated his thoughts beyond the narrow sphere of a family, and resolved to place his future-satisfaction in things of a public nature. This in all probability induced him to revive that glorious design which first entered into the mind of Sir Richard Gresham his father, of building a Bourse or public edifice in which the merchants might assemble, without being exposed to the injuries of wind and weather, as in Lombard-street where they had hitherto met (k). He therefore made his intentions known to the city, that if they would procure him a proper piece of ground at their charge, he would erect such a structure at his own expence (l), which offer was thankfully accepted and punctually performed [B]. Sir Thomas had scarce entered upon the execution of this grand

[B] Which offer was thankfully accepted, and punctually performed.] The best account we have of this matter is from John Stowe, and indeed we need not wish a better; for in matters relating to this capital, and which happened in his own time, none could be more diligent in observing, or more faithful in recording. His words are these (6): 'In the year 1566, certain houses upon Cornhill, and the like upon the back thereof in the ward of Broad-street, with three allies, the first called Swan-alley, opening into Cornhill; the second called New-alley, passing through out of Cornhill into Broad-street ward, over against St Bartilmew-lane; the third called St Christopher's alley, opening into Broad-street ward, and into St Christopher's parish, containing in all fourscore households, were first purchased by the citizens of London, for more than three thousand five hundred thirty-two pounds, and were sold for four hundred seventy eight pounds, to such persons as should take them down, and carry the stuff from thence; also the ground or plot was made plain at the charges of the city, and then possession thereof was by certain aldermen in the name of the whole citizens, given to Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight, agent to the Queen's highness, thereupon to build a Bourse or place for merchants to assemble in at his own proper charges; and he, on the seventh of June, laying the first stone of the foundation, being brick, accompanied with some aldermen, every of them laid a piece of gold; which the workmen took up, and forthwith followed upon the same with such diligence, that by the month of November in the year 1567, the same was covered with slate, and shortly after fully finished. This noble building was a long square with walks on every side, supported by pillars of marble, after the manner of the famous bourse at Antwerp, and not at all inferior

to it in any respect, either of utility or magnificence; the upper part of this edifice was divided into shops, which were let out by Sir Thomas at a yearly rent. The size of these shops was seven feet and a half long, and five feet broad, which being so small, it often happened that the same person rented more than one of them. And there were likewise at first, other shops fitted up in vaults below, but these being found very inconvenient by reason of their dampness and want of light, the vaults were soon let out to other uses. The upper shops were in all one hundred and twenty, twenty-five on the east side, and twenty-five on the west, on the south side thirty-five and an half, and thirty-four and an half on the north, which when the others were laid aside, paid one with another a rent of four pounds ten shillings a year upon leases of twenty-one years. The persons placed in them by Sir Thomas, were of different trades, chiefly young men of small fortunes but industrious, who by their diligence brought great business to their shops, and employed some thousands of poor people in working our manufactures.' Dr Ward has caused a very fine print of this structure to be inserted in his work, engraved from a draught made the very year it was finished, on which was the following inscription (7) *Porticum hanc Londinensem, quam tanto artificiorum spatio hic absolutam vides, a fundamentis ad suam extruendam curavit; Thomas Greshamus eques, aere Regiæ urbis ornamentum, et usum publicum. Anno 1566, die 7, mensis Junii* But this glorious ornament of the capital of the British empire, could not resist the powerful flames of that dreadful conflagration in 1666, yet was speedily rebuilt by the city and the Mercers company, with a magnificence worthy of their trust, of the public use for which it was designed, and the place in which it stands. We are told, and that from good information,

(7) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 12.



grand design, when the Queen's affairs called him abroad. For in the same year 1566, he was sent over to Antwerp to take up money for her Majesty, which he did, to the sum of fourteen thousand six hundred sixty-seven pounds six shillings and eight pence Flemish, payable at Antwerp the twentieth of February following. And there was then prolonged from the 20th of August, the sum of thirty-four thousand three hundred eighty-five pounds thirteen shillings and four pence Flemish, due likewise from the Queen, and payable the twentieth of February. These sums amounted together to forty-nine thousand and fifty-three pounds. And in December the same year, there was another debt of the Queen's prolonged, being the sum of eight thousand five hundred thirty-two pounds Flemish, for six months (*m*). This must have been a matter of necessity, and in a particular manner convenient to the Queen's service, who wanted to make use of that money abroad; for otherwise Sir Thomas Gresham would hardly have been employed therein, since it was directly against his own principle, that it was more for the Queen's honour, and at the same time much more for her advantage, to borrow of her own subjects than of foreigners, and upon which principle he had actually procured a loan three years before (*n*). It is not however either impossible or improbable, that by stating and prolonging these debts in the manner before mentioned, he had in view the gaining time to settle some means for paying and discharging them, as a necessary foundation for the Queen's borrowing upon easy terms at home for the future (*o*). His great building in Cornhill, was prosecuted with such diligence, that in the month of November 1567, it was covered with slate, and soon after was in a manner finished (*p*). On the thirteenth of September 1568, Cardinal Chastillon, who retired out of France for the safety of his person, landed at Tower-wharf, where, by a secret order from the Queen, he was received by Sir Thomas Gresham, and conducted to his own house with the Bishop of Arles, who came over in his company, and the next day the Cardinal in his short cloak and rapier by his side, rode with Sir Thomas and other persons of distinction to the French church, to shew his approbation of the Protestant Religion; from thence to the Burse as it was then called in Cornhill, then to St Paul's church, and so back again to Sir Thomas Gresham's house in Bishopsgate street to dinner (*q*). On the 20th of the same month, the Cardinal was conducted with all possible marks of honour to Court, where he had an audience of the Queen, and was very graciously received, which induced him to remain in England as long as he lived (*r*) [*C*]. There appears to have been more than ordinary notice taken of this foreigner, and we are assured that he made a very grateful return; for in

(*m*) Idem *ibid.*  
p. 286.

(*n*) Cotton's Disc.  
course of foreign  
wars, p. 50.

(*o*) Stowe's Sur-  
vey, b. i. p.  
286.

(*p*) Idem *ibid.*  
b. ii. p. 133.

(*q*) Camden, An-  
nal. Eliz. p.  
177.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 652.  
Strype's Annals,  
Vol. II. p. 238.

(*r*) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 662.  
Strype's Annals,  
Vol. II. p. 239.

about

formation, that the expence of this most superb structure, fell little, if at all, short of four-score thousand pounds, which is a high and glorious instance of the wealth and spirit of the citizens of London.

[*C*] *As long as he lived.* As we have been obliged to mention the coming over of this prelate, and some circumstances of that honourable reception which he met with here, it may probably gratify the reader's curiosity to know who he was, why he came hither, and how he came to end his days by poison at Canterbury, a crime to which this country has been in a great measure an utter stranger (8). His name was Odet de Chatillon, a man of great quality by birth, and brother to Admiral Coligni, bred to the Church in his youth, and preferred by the influence of his family to the Bishoprick of Beauvais and to a Cardinal's hat (9). He became notwithstanding all this a Protestant, and was once very near losing his life by a tumult of the people, on account of his celebrating the Communion in his own palace upon Easter-day, instead of being present at Mass in his own cathedral as they expected (10). He was a man of a very high spirit, and being provoked by some aspersions, as if he meant to trim between both parties, and to close with that which happened to prevail, he laid aside his robes, wore a secular dress, and took the title of Count de Beauvais, that all the world might see he was not ashamed to own himself a Protestant (11). However it is reported, that being informed the Pope had excommunicated and deprived him of his dignity, he resumed his Cardinal's habit, and was actually married in it to Elizabeth de Lore (12). Afterwards perceiving his party betrayed in France, and his life in danger, he retired to the coasts of Normandy; and at length finding no other way to secure himself from his enemies, disguised as a sailor embarked for England (13). How he was received here, and what important service he rendered the Queen, the reader has seen in the text (14); but it is also very certain, that he was highly zealous in promoting the marriage between Monsieur and her Majesty (15), which was equally acceptable to the Protestants in France, and to the Papists in England, both being persuaded they should have found their advantage in it (16). We are told in a certain secret history, that upon this occasion, and out of zeal for this match, the Cardinal let the Queen know, the Earl of Leicester gave out that she was con-

tracted to him, which lessened her reputation abroad, and restrained the addresses of foreign princes, and to this his death is ascribed (17). It happened at Canterbury, in 1570, as he was returning to France on the invitation of his brother the Admiral, then reconciled to the Court; and it does not appear that there was much suspicion of poison at that time. But two years afterwards a domestic of his being executed at Rochelle for another offence, he voluntarily confessed that he had poisoned his master, with circumstances that put the matter out of doubt (18). If the reader should suppose that the Queen was never in earnest as to this match, and that her ministry were privy to this, and consequently the Earl of Leicester, under no temptations to commit such a crime upon that account, he may consult the authorities referred to in the margin, which may incline him to suspend his judgment in that particular (19). On the other hand, if it should be supposed more reasonable to believe the powerful enemies of the Cardinal in France, took this method to be rid of him; it is but doing justice to observe, that they had provided another method, which was that of the massacre at Paris, which followed immediately after, and in which his brother the Admiral was involved, as he probably would have been, if he had not died in England (20). Yet having entered thus far into this matter, we must also let the reader know, that amongst the libels published and dispersed by the partizans of the court of Spain, in the Low-Countries, there was one in which it was objected, that Queen Elizabeth's friendship was fatal to all who relied upon it, and the names of ten or twelve noble persons are mentioned to prove this, and amongst these Cardinal Chastillon (21). An answer was penned to this by an eminent Minister of State, which is yet preserved, and therein it is asserted, that though the cardinal was poisoned in England, yet it was by subornation and practice of some in France, as was confessed by the criminal when taken and executed at Rochelle; which it is not easy to conceive would have been alledged, if the man's confession had not been a thing notorious (22). It must be admitted that this is far from being a clear account of the matter; but if it be a true one, it is all that we pretended to give, and the most inquisitive reader perhaps will scarce be able to find a better (23).

(17) Leicester's  
Commonwealth,  
edit. 1541,  
12mo. p. 20.

(18) Strype's  
Annals, Vol. II.  
p. 239.

(19) Camden.  
Annal. Elizabe-  
thæ, p. 147,  
148, 149.  
Earl of Leice-  
ster's Letters to  
Sir Francis Wal-  
ingham.

(20) Memoires  
de la Reine Mar-  
guerite, liv. i.

(21) Written by  
a Jesuit under a  
fictitious name.

(22) M. SS.  
Burghleian.

(23) Stowe,  
Strype, Camden,

[D] Who

(8) Bacon's  
Works, Vol.  
IV. p. 335.

(9) Maimbourg  
Histoire du Cal-  
vinisme, p. 199.

(10) Thuan.  
Hist. sui Temp.  
lib. xviii.

(11) Davila Hi-  
stoir. liv. iii.

(12) P. Daniel  
Histoire de  
France, tom.  
viii. p. 493.

(13) Brantome  
dans l'Eloge de  
M. Tavannes.

(14) Camdeni  
Annal. Elizabe-  
thæ, p. 175,  
176.

(15) Memoires  
de Mais ou de  
Coligni, p. 351.

(16) Camden,  
Stowe, Speed.



(s) Wheeler's  
Treatise of Com-  
merce, p. 41.

(t) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 662.  
Camden. Annal.  
Eliz. p. 176,  
177.

(u) Stowe's Sur-  
vey, b. i. p.  
286.  
Camden. Annal.  
Eliz. p. 176.  
Wheeler's Trea-  
tise of Com-  
merce, p. 41.

(w) Stowe's Sur-  
vey, b. i. p.  
287.

(x) Camden.  
Annal. Eliz.  
p. 176, 177.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 662.  
Wheeler's Trea-  
tise of Com-  
merce, p. 41.

(y) Life of Wil-  
liam Lord Bur-  
leigh.

(z) Stowe's Sur-  
vey, b. i. p.  
286.

(a) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 15.

about six weeks time after his arrival, a large ship of Biscay, together with four pinnaces, which the Spaniards call Affabres, were chased into the harbour of Plymouth, where they received protection (s). There was on board the large ship, a very considerable sum in ready money, amounting to above two hundred thousand pistolettes, which as the money of the King of Spain, was demanded by his ambassador Don Giraldo Despes, who being informed that it was brought on shore for security, became very uneasy about it (t); the Cardinal Chastillon in the mean time informed the Queen, that this money did not belong to his Catholic Majesty, but was in truth the property of some Genoese merchants, from whom the King of Spain had taken it by force, and meant to send it to the Duke of Alva in the Low-Countries, where he was in great want of money. Secretary Cecil therefore being apprized by Sir Thomas Gresham, of the great benefit that would result to the Queen by causing this money to be coined, advised her Majesty to take this bold step, and to acquaint the Spanish minister, that she would be answerable to those whose money it really was, give them security for it, and a compensation for the loan of it, or would restore it when it should be made appear that it actually belonged to the King of Spain (u). Proper security was accordingly given, the consent of the Genoese obtained, and Sir Thomas Gresham, to countenance a step which he took to be so much for the nation's service, sent to the Tower five sacks of Spanish royals, to be coined for the Queen's use, each sack weighing nine hundred seventy-two pounds eleven ounces (w): this bold but very judicious proceeding was attended with very surprizing consequences at home and abroad, for the Duke of Alva was no sooner acquainted with it, than he caused the English merchants at Antwerp to be arrested, and all their effects to be seized; to retaliate which, the Queen had recourse to the same extremities here in respect to the Spaniards, notwithstanding there wanted not some amongst her ministers, who under the specious pretence of a due regard to equity and the laws of nations, were for restoring the money, and throwing the whole blame upon Sir William Cecil, who, very narrowly escaped (x) [D]. The then situation of affairs might well affect even so great and grave a minister as Cecil, in a very high degree; he knew that the publick demands would require a supply of money, beyond the produce of the Queen's ordinary revenue; he likewise knew that the assistance usually procured from Antwerp, was no longer to be expected; and he was not the less disturbed at these considerations, from his being thoroughly perswaded, that if any sinister accident fell out, it would be wholly ascribed to his counsels (y). Being under this dilemma he sent for Sir Thomas Gresham, and communicated to him these difficulties which he laboured to remove, by shewing him, that if she punctually adhered to her promises, the Queen's necessities might as easily and with much greater credit, be supplied at London by her own merchants, than at Antwerp by foreigners, who could have no view in any thing they did but their private advantage (z). To this many objections were made by that wary minister, to which Sir Thomas Gresham gave at least probable solutions, as appears from a very curious account of this conference, which is still extant, and which will remain a lasting and unquestionable monument of this gentleman's wonderful abilities, and honest exertion of them for the service of his country (a) [E]. But when he had carried his point with the

[D] *Who very narrowly escaped.* In another part of this work, we have represented this advice as proceeding entirely from Sir William Cecil, and exposing him to more danger than almost any other step in the course of his long administration; we mean not to contradict this fact here, but to explain it (24). The Queen took the advice of Secretary Cecil; Secretary Cecil might well take the advice in things that fell within the sphere of his knowledge, of Sir Thomas Gresham. It is very probable that Cardinal Chastillon might acquaint his friend Sir Thomas, that this money did not belong to the King of Spain, but to the merchants of Genoa. This we say is very probable, but that he perswaded some of the Genoese to consent that it should be coined, and that he sent new Spanish money of his own to be coined likewise is very certain; but it is not quite so probable that he knew Secretary Cecil's reasons for perswading the Queen to stop that money, which were chiefly three, and because they are not clearly set down elsewhere, we shall express them here (25). In the first place, some of the greatest persons in England and of the Queen's council, such as the Lord High-Treasurer (Winchester), the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, and Leicester, were inclined to secure their own greatness, by having an heir apparent to the Crown, as much in their interest as the reigning Queen, which induced them to think of procuring the Queen of Scot's right to be acknowledged, and to keep fair with the King of Spain, to whom most of these great men were under personal obligations, which was quite contrary to Cecil's scheme of politics, and to his mistress's inclinations. The second was, that the Duke of Alva, at this very time had his agents in England to survey the coasts, examine the harbours, and give him all other lights for fa-

cilitating an invasion whenever it should be necessary. These two motives were sufficient to determine the Secretary to detain this money, in order to disappoint his designs; and the third reason which induced him to follow Gresham's advice was, the foresight he had of what the consequences must be of this step when taken, amongst which there was none more apparent than this, that it would put it out of the Queen's power to borrow any more money at Antwerp; which consideration might have hindered this proceeding, notwithstanding the two former reasons, if the borrowing the silver and coining it, had not removed this objection, with all which no doubt he acquainted the Queen, who for that reason remained firm to him, and delivered him from those who would otherwise have taken occasion from hence to destroy him (26). We find that there never was any minister more diligent, more solicitous in his enquiries into the true interests of this nation, with respect to manufactures, foreign commerce, coin, exchanges, establishing new companies, and other things of the like nature than Sir William Cecil, afterwards Baron of Burleigh, and in making himself master of these points, which he did to a great degree; there is no doubt, that he received a great part of his information from Sir Thomas Gresham, whose merit in this respect, as it was very great, so it ought to be known to posterity, which is all that is here intended (27).

[E] *For the service of his country* The passage referred to in the text is somewhat long, and the language none of the best; but notwithstanding this, it is clear, curious, and to the purpose. Besides it is the best justification that we can offer for what is advanced in the foregoing note, and therefore we cannot but recommend it to the reader's serious perusal (28). 'Secretary Cecil, says John Stowe, who then managed

(26) Peck's De-  
siderata Curiosa,  
Vol. I. p. 15.

(27) Stowe,  
Ward.

(28) Stowe's  
Survey of Lon-  
don, edit. 1720.  
b. i. p. 286.

(24) See the ar-  
ticle of CECIL  
[WILLIAM].

(25) Life of Wil-  
liam Lord Bur-  
leigh, 4to. 1738.  
p. 47.



the Secretary, and had procured leave to propose the intended loan to the Merchant-Adventurers, he found himself not a little deceived in the event. For they, instead of debating this matter with that seriousness and secrecy a thing of such consequence required, referred it for their own security probably to a general assembly, and the business being agitated by the confusion incident to a common-hall, was with little consideration and less decency rejected. Sir Thomas Gresham immediately applied himself to the Secretary, and proposed a means of getting over this difficulty, which was by procuring a letter from the Privy-Council to that potent Company of Merchants, representing the matter to them, and the mistake of which they had been guilty, both roundly and rationally, as the reader may see at the bottom of the page (b) [F]. This had its effects, for several alder-

(2) Stowe's Survey, b. i. p. 286.

the Exchequer, feared that the merchants should not have money enough to carry on the trade, as they would have had if all were open with Antwerp. And the Queen owing much money to the merchants and to her creditors abroad, she intended out of the customs of cloth to have repaid them, which she feared therefore would fall short, the trade being removed to a new place. These doubts the Secretary imparted to Sir Thomas Gresham; who knowing well the state of trade and of the merchants, told the Secretary, that, in his opinion, he needed not to make any doubt of that seeming difficulty, viz. of the Queen's payment of her creditors, if she saw her merchants well paid in London their first payment, which was half of her debt to them. For by that time the other money should be payable here to her said merchants, they should have both plenty of money at Hamburg and here. He assured him the goods that our merchants had shipped from Hamburg hither, were well worth one hundred thousand pounds and better. And the shipping that they made now hence with our commodities, was richly worth two hundred thousand pounds and better. For that there would be above thirty thousand pounds worth of cloths, the customs whereof would be worth to the Queen, at the least ten thousand pounds, which would discharge, he said, that debt, if the Queen pleased. And whereas the Secretary's greatest care was, that our merchants should not have money enough for to buy up our commodities; Gresham told him, he needed not doubt of it, considering the great vent they had at Hamburg already, and were like to have. Therefore he humbly beseeched the Secretary, for the stay and advancing of the Queen's credit, that this small payment agreed upon already at Hamburg, might be paid, considering that he had written before to the said creditors, that they should have a payment made there now this August; which payment he said, would not a little advance her Highness's honour and credit. And how much her Highness's credit had stood her in stead beyond the seas for ready money, it was now too tedious and long a matter to trouble him withal. But that if he were able to persuade the Queen's Majesty, and him the Secretary, he would have that matter above all other things cared for, assuring him that he did know for certain, the Duke d'Alva was more troubled with the Queen's great credit, and with the vent of her commodities at Hamburg, than he was with any thing else, and quaked for fear, as Gresham expressed it. Which, as he said, was one of the chiefest things that let and hindered, that the Duke could not come by the tenth penny that he then demanded for the sale of all goods any kind of way in the Low-Countries, which Gresham believed would be his utter undoing. He advised therefore, that the Queen would in this time use no strangers, but her own subjects, whereby he and all other Princes might see what a Prince of power she was. And by this means there was no doubt but that her Highness should cause the Duke of Alva to know himself, and to make that end with the Low-Countries, that her Majesty would herself, what bruit soever was there spread abroad to the contrary. And seeing he was entered so far, as he proceeded with the Secretary concerning the Queen's credit beyond the seas, wherein he had travailed this twenty years; he added, that by experience, in using our own merchants, he found great honour accrued to the Prince, and also great profit to the merchants and to the whole realm, whatsoever some of the merchants said to the contrary. For when our Prince ought her own mere merchants sixty or eighty thousand pounds, then they knew themselves, and were daily ready to serve as good, cheap as stran-

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gers did, which he would wish again in such time of extremity to be used, for that he knew our merchants were able to do it, because the debt is divided into many men's hands, and by no means can hinder them having interest. This homely detail of a private conference between the Queen's great minister and Sir Thomas Gresham, does equal credit to both their memories; it shews that the minister, though as able a man as any of that time, was very far from having a self sufficient conceit of his own abilities, and as far from placing an implicit confidence in the person he consulted. He knew he wanted information, and he knew where he might seek it, but he likewise knew that it was fit to sift it; and which is still more than all the rest, after he had sought and so sifted, he could be steady in putting the counsel he had received and approved in execution (29). It shews that the merchant was far from being mercenary, or from seeking to add to his own wealth, without considering from whence that addition must come. He knew how to consult his private interest upon proper occasions, and he knew when the interest of the public so required, that it ought to give way. In fine, it shews that both the minister and the merchant acted in this great affair from a principle of public spirit, and whenever we discover this, we may admire and applaud, but we can never wonder at the great things which such men do. Public spirit is the Philosopher's-stone, in matters of state, the ground upon which, if a political Archimedes will stand, he may move the world.

(29) See the article of CECIL [WILLIAM].

[F] At the bottom of the page ] We have the account of this transaction also from the same authority, and that the reader may form a just notion of it, it is requisite to give it likewise in his own words (30). But this refusal the Queen's council repented much, and caused the Secretary to send a letter to the merchants, importing how this offer of the Queen's was a matter of great grace and favour, not much used before this time by any Prince, and therefore in right to have been very thankfully received. That this practice of theirs looked as though they were utterly careless of the Queen's honour, to make a hall matter of it: and indiscreetly devised, contrary to all former usage, to make an open question in a common hall, with a peremptory refusal by holding up of their hands, without first giving a probable cause of their so doing: a usage unmeet for the Prince's cause: and the good offer of her Majesty generally rejected, not only by the youth whom they the elders were commonly wont to blame to the Council for all disorders in their assemblies, but by themselves also the heads. The Council added, that they must not think that such a dealing would be past over, as prechance as they had thought. But before they meant to disclose the same to the Queen, they thought good to impart thus much unto them. Not that they cared for their payment of any money there (at Hamburg) for her Majesty; but that they (the Council) would first know how they could answer the same: and then they would proceed to such remedy, as should seem meet to them, and give them cause hereafter to think that they could, and must, for her Majesty, be answerable to all manner of persons, according as they should deserve well or ill in the service of her Majesty and the realm. Finally, that the matter was such, that they could not overpass, without imparting to them, either to lay before them their great oversight, or to require for diminution of their conceit against them, some declaration of their doings to be otherwise than they appeared: where heretofore they had many times dutifully made payment of sums of money for her Majesty, on the other side of the seas: which had also been readily and justly repaid them. And so doing, they did but the duty of honest

(30) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720, b. i. p. 237.



(c) A list of the persons who lent is preserved in Stowe.

(d) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 15.

(e) Stowe's Annals, p. 668. Holinshed's Chron. p. 1224.

(f) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 135.

(g) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 223.

(h) Malynes's Lex Mercatoria, b. iii.

(i) Le Neve's M.SS. Vol. II. p. 286.

men and eminent merchants having duly weighed what was asked, as well as what the consequences might be of their refusal, consented in the months of November and December to lend her Majesty several sums of money, to the amount in the whole of sixteen thousand pounds for six months, at the rate of six per cent (c). For these sums the Queen gave them respectively separate bonds, and likewise accustomed bonds to discharge them of the statute of usury. When this term was expired, the money was continued for six months more, paying six per cent. again and brokerage, with which all parties were well satisfied (d). There is good reason to believe that the Queen did not measure the importance of this service by the sums borrowed, but by the facility of the method, and the consequences with which it might be probably attended; and of this she gave as clear and consistent evidence as those who had rendered her this service could desire (e). For on the twenty-third of January 1570, the Queen attended by her nobility came from Somerset-house, and entering the city by Temple-Bar, passed through Fleet-street, Cheapside, and so by the North side of the Burse, to Sir Thomas Gresham's house, in Bishopsgate-street, where she dined. After dinner her Majesty returning through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the South side, and after she had viewed every part thereof above ground, especially the pawn, which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest goods in the city, she caused the same Burse by a herald and trumpet to be proclaimed the Royal-Exchange, and so to be called from thenceforth and not otherwise (f). We use here the words of honest John Stowe, but Mr Camden has more elegantly expressed it in his Annals (g). The design of this was to shew, that the structure Sir Thomas Gresham had erected, was to supply the place of the change at Antwerp, to be thence forward the centre of commerce, the seat of mercantile intercourse, where all that had been formerly done by the Lombards, was to be transacted between our own subjects and strangers, signifying that the trade of England was now able to go alone, to support itself and supply the Crown, and that this noble edifice was therefore properly entitled, *Excambium Regium*, i. e. THE ROYAL-EXCHANGE (h). After this mark of favour to her merchant, she in a few days gave the like token of her grateful approbation of her minister's services, by creating Sir William Cecil, Baron of Burleigh, and expressing her reasons in the preamble to his patent, which events we have learned from the judicious Camden, to conjoin as springing from the same cause, the Queen's persuasion, that she was now an independent Princess, and to expect her support only from Divine-Providence and the loyal affections of her subjects (i). These are the genuine honours of those two great men, and if with respect to Sir Thomas Gresham, they have, to please vulgar fancies, received some strokes of fabulous varnish, which cannot be maintained by authentic history, it is very excusable [G]. In 1572, the Queen being

'honest subjects. And yet were always both thanked and favoured for the same.' There were indeed some circumstances that did not a little exaggerate this conduct of theirs. They were so far from giving Sir Thomas Gresham a denial, that though they shifted and doubled a little, yet at length they seemed so well disposed, that he communicated to them from the Queen, how she intended by some previous payments to assist them in rendering her this service. They had never acquainted Sir Thomas with those difficulties they apprehended in the execution of this scheme, in order to their being removed, and that without making this experiment, they had presumed to communicate a proposal of this high nature to their whole body, from whom it ought to have been concealed, if it could not have been brought to bear. On the other hand, certain circumstances might be alledged on their behalf; the method of managing this business was entirely new, and consequently the less understood by them. They had but just opened a correspondence at Hamburg, and they were very apprehensive of giving the inhabitants any distaste or distrust, and the state of publick affairs had not been so dark since the opening of the Queen's reign; a foreign war being apprehended; a rebellion broke out in the North; and the Queen's ministers at variance amongst themselves (31). We may from hence gather the reasons why so small a loan, after all this stir, was so kindly accepted; Sir Thomas Gresham knew that all beginnings are difficult, and that in the hands of able men, even great designs have little of difficulty in them, except in their beginnings.

[G] *It is very excusable.* There is a traditionary report, that the timber of which this fabric was built, was first framed and made in every respect fit to be set up, at Battisford, near Ipswich in Suffolk; this is referred to in an historical Play, consisting of two parts, the former of which represents the troubles of the Princess Elizabeth, under the reign of her sister Queen Mary; and the latter, the building of the Exchange, and the famous victory over the Spanish fleet in 1588, where Sir Thomas is introduced speaking to the Sword-Bearer, in the following manner (32).

*Tell them I wait here in the Mayor's Court;  
Beneath, in the Sheriff's Court my workmen wait,  
In number full an hundred; my frame is ready,  
All only stay their pleasure, then out of hand,  
Up goes my work, a credit to the land.*

This was well enough calculated to please a vulgar audience, and we may rely upon it was invented for that purpose. It would however be a very difficult if not impracticable task, to assign the exact time when it was first opened for the use of the merchants. There is indeed a very clear account in Stowe's Annals (33); but then the dates are strangely inconsistent, he fixes the laying the first stone the seventh of June 1566, and says, it was opened in November the next year, retaining it's title of the Burse till the Queen came thither the January following. But in the margin he places that January in the thirteenth of her reign, and in the year 1571, beginning the year with the first of that month. In another work of his, it is said to have been slated only in 1567, and finished sooner. But the most probable and authentic account of the matter, is in the Latin inscription on the draught before cited, where it is expressly asserted to have been three years in building, and consequently it was not finished till the summer of 1569, or it may be not till November in that year, and then putting 1569, for 1567, in Stowe's account of this matter in his Annals, and rectifying the last date in the text, by that in the margin, the whole will be very consistent and probable. Yet there is reason to believe that the merchants met there before the shops and every thing in it was entirely finished, since Sir Thomas Gresham carried Cardinal Chatillon thither in 1568. As to the change of it's name from the *Burse of London* to the *Royal Exchange*, upon Queen Elizabeth's visit to Sir Thomas Gresham, it is as well ascertained as any historical fact can be (34). But in respect to Sir Thomas Gresham's drinking up a pearl of great price dissolved in wine to the Queen's health at this feast, we may well regard it as another stroke of fanciful tradition, which is thus expressed in the play before mentioned.

Here

(31) Camden, Stowe, Strype.

(32) London, printed for Nat. Butler, 1623, 4to.

(33) Stowe's Annals, p. 668.

(34) Stowe, Holinshed, Camden.



being determined to make a progress in the summer, judged it expedient not to leave the capital of her dominions and her seat of empire, without some extraordinary mark of her attention and concern, and therefore she appointed a committee of nine most respectable persons, of whom Sir Thomas Gresham was one, to confer and consult with the ordinary magistrates at stated times; and of this her royal pleasure (k), she gave notice to Sir Lionel Duckett, then Lord-Mayor, in a letter worthy the reader's perusal [H]. This method

(1) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720, p. 433.

*Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes,  
Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks this pearl,  
Unto his Queen and Mistresses: pledge it Lords.*

We have another circumstance from a panegyric on this great man by one of his own professors, relating to a great service he did to the Protestant cause by a loan which he procured at Antwerp on his own credit, which at that time disabled the Spaniards from prosecuting some great design, that must have been fatal to the Dutch, which is not to be collected from or reconciled to history. The author's words are these (35).

*Cum ab Hispanis quodam anno graviter periclitantibus opitulari regina vellet grandique pecunia ad eam rem opus esset rationem excogitavit Greshamus, qua levi dispendio negotium conficeret: omnem nempe argentariam mensam quæ Antverpiæ erat suo nomine mutuatus Hispanorum nervos in eum annum incidit; Belgis vero respirandi tempus hostemque simul debilitandi præstitit.*

As there was no open war begun in his time, the only turn that can be given to this passage, is to suppose, that it has a reference to his procuring the stay of that vast mass of silver which was to have been transported to Antwerp in 1569, and which, if the Duke of Alva had received, he would very probably have put it out of the power of the Dutch to have resented their ill usage, or to have defended their liberties (36). Another traditionary tale is very clearly refuted, so far as it regards Sir Thomas Gresham, by the historian of the Charter-house (37). 'It is now a well known truth,

that Sir Francis Walsingham, upon notice that the King of Spain had written a letter to the Pope, with an account of the true design of his mighty preparations, and to beg his blessing upon it, got a copy of this letter out of the Pope's cabinet, by the help of a Priest his spy, and had thence the first certain intelligence of the designed Spanish Invasion; and that thereupon, that consummate statesman prevented it for a whole year, by procuring our merchants to gather up the chief bills of the bank of Genoa, and to draw the money out of it, just as King Philip had ordered bills upon that bank to set his fleet out to sea, which being through necessity protested, there was no remedy but patience, and to wait the arrival of his plate fleet from the Indies for the necessary supplies. And in the mean time England prepared for the reception of this invincible Armada, and attacked it on its approach so vigorously, that it was soon put to flight, and only some shattered remnants regained the coast of Spain. It is a current tradition, that Sir Thomas Gresham was the chief assistant in this mercantile affair: but it is most certainly a vulgar error, for Sir Thomas Gresham died in 1579; but if tradition will be allowed of any force, it is strong at Charter-house that it was Mr Sutton, and there is this great probability to support it, that he was at that time the chief and richest merchant in London.'

But after all, perhaps the tradition at Charter-house, is no better founded than that with respect to Gresham. The story is told by Dr Welwood (38); and Bishop Burnet (39), and the latter is pleased to inform us, that it was judged too high a secret of state to be trusted to Camden, though by the way there is great reason to believe that his Annals were in a great measure digested by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, and the secret could not well be too high for him. The supposed source of this tradition is a hearsay from the great Earl of Cork, in which there must have been some mistake. It is indeed a well known truth, that the Spanish expedition was designed a year before, and was prevented by the merchants of London, but in a very different manner. At their expence a strong squadron, in those days it might be called a great fleet, for it consisted of thirty sail of stout ships, was fitted out under the command of Sir Francis Drake, who sailing to the coast of Spain, burnt the storeships that were provided for this expedition, as Sir William Monson tells us of his own knowledge (40), and as we find it in Camden and other hi-

storians (41); which being a matter of fact out of all controversy, can never be brought to conflict with this tradition of stopping the King of Spain's credit at Genoa.

[H] In a letter worthy the reader's perusal. This progress of the Queen's lasted from July to the latter end of September, in which space she visited the Lord Burleigh, the Lord Keeper Bacon, the Earl of Leicester, and others of her nobility, which was the reason of her addressing this letter to the Lord-Mayor of London (44).

(41) Camden. Annal. Brit. p. 431. Stowe's Annals, p. 743.

(42) Maidland's History of London, p. 157.

#### To the LORD MAYOR of London.

'Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Although we doubt not but that by the authority you have as Lord-Mayor of our city of London, with the assistances and advices of your brethren of the same; you may, and will see our said city well governed, and by our good and faithful subjects, ordered and continued in quietness as other your predecessors and yourself have commonly done; yet for the special care we have for our said city, and weale of our good subjects, thinking it convenient for your own ease to have you assisted by other persons of great trust, wisdom, and experience, during this time of our progress and absence in remote parts from thence; and especially that no disorder should arise in the suburbs or other places adjoining to the city out of your jurisdiction, we have for that purpose made choice of the most Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Cook, Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Owen Hopton, Sir Thomas Gresham, Dr Wilson, and Thomas Wilbraham, and have appointed that they, or some convenient number of them shall join with you, to devise by all good means, from time to time as occasions may give cause, for quiet order to be continued in our said city, and among our subjects, and to prevent and stay disorders both there and in other parts near to the same, being out of your jurisdiction. For which purpose, and for the better understanding of our desire and intention, we have caused our Privy-Council to confer with some of the aforementioned persons, as you shall understand by them. Willing and requiring you (when you shall meet together, or some of them with you) for the better doing thereof, to agree upon some certain place and time once every week, or oftner, as cases may require, and there to meet for the due execution of our good meaning and pleasure.'

There was however at the bottom, something more designed by this commission, than barely to keep things in that order in which they were. All historians agree, that luxury prevailed at this time very strongly throughout England, and the truth of this might be easily proved from the sermons preached to reform it; from the plays written to expose it, and from the laws made to suppress it. But it seems all would not do, the Queen herself loved state and magnificence; some great men about the court availing themselves of this pretence, pushed things to excess, bad examples being infectious; this disposition spread gradually, and mixing itself with that variety of ill humours which then disturbed the body politic, broke out frequently in acts detrimental to private peace and property, and sometimes injurious to the public tranquillity. The Lord-Keeper Bacon, had taken a note of these things, and had silently consulted with some very able men how they might be corrected with safety, the consequence of which was, that as all reformation creates uneasiness and disquiet, it would be the safest way to do what was to be done in the absence of the Court (43). The time was now come when that resolution was to be carried into action, and as it was foreseen, that extraordinary prudence would be necessary to manage such an affair with spirit and temper, her Majesty was advised to appoint this standing committee for the support and assistance of the ordinary magistrates; and as this scheme was happy in its

(43) Stowe's Survey of London, edit. 1720, b. v. p. 745.

(35) Oratio habita in Collegio Greshamensi à Rogero Meredith, ineunte anno 1673, cum jurisprudentiam esset præfector. Appendix to Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 74.

(36) Grotii Anal. Belgic. lib. ii.

(37) Bearcroft's Account of Thomas Sutton, Esq; and of his foundation in Charter-house, p. 11.

(38) Memoirs of the most remarkable Transactions in England, p. 9, 10.

(39) History of his own times, vol. I. p. 313.

(40) Sir William Monson's Naval Facts, in the expedition of this year 1587.



(l) Annal. Eliz.  
p. 273.

(m) Fuller's  
Worthies, Nor-  
folk.

(n) As appears  
from his last  
Will.

(o) Papers re-  
lating to Gre-  
sham College.

(p) See these let-  
ters printed and  
published at large  
in Dr Ward's  
Appendix to the  
Lives of Gre-  
sham Professors.

(q) See that cu-  
rious letter as be-  
fore directed.

(r) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 19.

(s) Fuller's Wor-  
thies, Norfolk.

method answered her expectations so well, that it was afterwards pursued upon every like occasion. In 1573, the vigilance of the Queen's ministry, and the prudence and punctuality of the Queen's merchant, sufficiently appeared in the discharge not only of her own bonds, but of the obligations of her father and her brother that were yet standing out, to the universal joy of the citizens, as the learned Camden tells us (l); and thereby such a basis of credit established, as lasted throughout her reign, and enabled her to triumph over the open force and secret fraud of all her enemies. The desires of this excellent and fortunate person therefore were thoroughly satisfied with respect to the temporal blessings of wealth and fame, so that his thoughts were chiefly confined to the prospect of futurity, and the means of rendering that useful to the public, which his want of legal issue gave no private family any claim to inherit. He had given a shining proof of his zeal for commerce in building the Royal-Exchange; he was desirous of affording posterity as illustrious a mark of his affection for learning, by converting his dwelling-house in Bishopsgate-street into a college (m). He knew from his own experience, in how great a degree the lights of science assist an enterprising genius, and how difficult, nay impracticable, a thing it is to attempt the contrivance and execution of any extensive design, without a reasonable degree of theoretical as well as practical knowledge; and that the children of the citizens of London might not be deficient in this respect, be put to inconvenient expence to attain it, or compelled to seek these useful acquisitions at too great a distance, he devised this new nursery of the Muses, and resolved that the revenues arising from his first public foundation, should go to the maintenance of the second, and that the same trustees should have the care of both (n). While he had this design in view, he was addressed to by the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of the University of Cambridge, who by their public orator Mr Richard Bridgewater, wrote him an elegant Latin letter, to remind him of a promise made by him, as they had been informed, to give them five hundred pounds, either towards building a new college, or repairing one already built (o). This letter was dated the 14th of March 1574-5, and it is probable that Sir Thomas might formerly have intimated some such intention, but afterwards changed his mind when he came to enlarge his design, of which it is likely they were soon satisfied. For upon the 25th of the same month, that letter was followed by another, in which no mention is made of the five hundred pounds; but they acquaint him with another report that he had promised the Lady Burghley, both to found and endow a college for the profession of the seven liberal sciences. The only place as they observe proper for such a design, was either London, Oxford, or Cambridge. They endeavour to dissuade him from London, lest it should prove prejudicial to the two Universities (p). And they hope he will not make choice of Oxford, since he was himself bred at Cambridge, which might presume upon a superior regard from him on that account. At the same time they wrote another letter to the Lady Burghley, in which they earnestly request that she will please to use her interest with him, to fix upon Cambridge for the place of his intended college (q). But these letters had not the desired effect, for he persisted in his resolution to settle it in his house at London. And accordingly by an indenture quadrupartite, dated the 24th of May 1575, revoking all former indentures, he made a disposition of his several manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with such limitations and restrictions, particularly as to the Royal-Exchange and his mansion-house, as might best secure his views with regard to the uses for which he designed them. This indenture was soon followed by two wills, one of his goods, and the other of his real estates. The former of these bears date July the fourth (r) ensuing, whereby he bequeathed to his wife, whom he makes his sole executrix, all his goods, ready money, plate, jewels, chains of gold, with all his stock of sheep and other cattails within the realm of England, and several legacies to his relations and friends, and to all his servants, amounting in the whole to upwards of two thousand pounds, besides some small annuities. The other will was dated the day following, by which he declared his last purpose and intention concerning all the estates mentioned and contained in the said indenture, very fully expressed his mind with relation to his designed college, and made an handsome and generous provision for the poor (s) [I]. There is no doubt, that matters of such vast importance,

it's contrivance, it was admirable in it's effects. Fleetwood, who was Recorder of London, a bold active and resolute man, managed the judicial part with great spirit and vivacity; and there is an extract of a letter of his extant, written to one of the ministry with his accustomed freedom, in which he attributes the success they had met with in searching all disorders to the bottom, and treating them with a seasonable severity, to the Court's being at a distance. We have good reason to believe that what was now done, was very pleasing to the Queen and her ministers, by their steady adhering to this measure; as often as occasion offered; and it is no small honour to the memory of Sir Thomas Gresham, that in a business of such consequence, and where sagacity was the only recommendation of such as were to be trusted, he was constantly employed.

[I] And made an handsome and generous provision for the poor.] By this his last will and testament, he declares (44), that after the expiration of the particular

uses, estates, and interests for life, and in tail created by his deed, dated the 20th of May, in the seventeenth year of Queen Elizabeth, shall be determined; he grants the Royal-Exchange, with all it's appurtenances, one moiety thereof to the Lord-Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London; and the other moiety to the Warden and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercers in the said City of London, for the term of fifty years. He farther directs, that when the said moiety shall come into the hands and possession of the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London, they shall by half-yearly portions, at the feasts of Lady-day and Michaelmas, pay the respective sums of fifty-pounds per annum, to each learned and sufficient lecturer in Divinity, Astronomy, Music, and Geometry; and they were farther to distribute the sum of fifty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence unto eight alms-folks, by them and their successors, to be appointed to inhabit his eight alms-houses in the parish of St Peter the Poor, that is to say, the

(44) This, with many other papers of importance, are to be found in Stowe's Appendix.



importance, and in which at the same time he had so deep an interest, must have occupied his mind in a great degree; and yet we find him in 1576, in the company of William Lord Burleigh, Mr Secretary Walsingham, Richard Martin, Esquire, Master of the Mint, and several other persons, some distinguished by their high quality, all by their extensive capacities and eminent integrity, in a strict enquiry into the nature of foreign exchanges, under a royal commission, from which they made many useful discoveries (i), though it is said, that after all they came to no conclusion; the same year as a great Antiquary informs us, he procured another loan for his sovereign from her subjects, which was probably intended for the relief and assistance of the Dutch (u). In the month of November this year, Antwerp was surprized and ruined by the Spaniards, who contrary to the law of nations, put the English house and merchants to ransom, and effectually destroyed that great mart of Europe; so that if through the foresight and vigilance of Sir Thomas Gresham, a method had not been devised for raising money upon any emergency, the sack of this city might have been infinitely more prejudicial to this nation than it was (w). In the next year 1577, he finished his beautiful seat and all the improvements he had thought fit to make in Osterly Park near Brentford, which he meant for a place of retirement near town, to which he might withdraw as often as a day or two might be spared from public or private business. In building and adorning this agreeable villa, Sir Thomas displayed, if we may be allowed the expression, a kind of mercantile magnificence (x). This edifice which was built of brick, large, convenient, and thoroughly finished, stood in the midst of a pleasant park, marked out and impaled at his expence, well wooded and furnished with several curious fish ponds, and through which the little river Brent travelled gently to meet the Thames; and for grandeur, there was near the house a heronry, with various contrivances to allure those kind of birds thither, and to keep them fixed to their habitation when they were there. Yet in the midst of these scenes of splendour and amusement, there was something also of business; for besides a corn, there was also a paper and an oyl mill upon this river, which being new manufactures, it is probable Sir Thomas was desirous of having them under his own eye; and it may be, that out of the produce of these mills, a good part of these improvements might be defrayed (y). At all events it shewed the evenness of his temper, and that his prudence was not impaired by years, or corrupted by prosperity. There is a whimsical story told of him, to shew with what facility and vigour he prosecuted any design to which he applied his mind. It is this, Queen Elizabeth having been once very magnificently entertained and lodged there by Sir Thomas, found fault with the court before it, as being too large, and said it would appear better if divided with a wall in the middle. He took the hint, and to shew his complaisance

(i) Malles's  
Maintenance of  
of Iron Tower,  
and Lett Mexican  
toria.

(u) Cotton's  
Discourse of fo-  
reign Trade, p.  
58.

(w) Strada, Gro-  
tius, Stowe, &c.

(x) Norden, Spe-  
culum Brit. Mids  
p. 35.

(y) MS. Re-  
marks upon  
Norden

the sum of six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence annually, to each of them quarterly; and also to the poor prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, the King's Bench, the Marshalsea, and the Compter in Wood-street, or wheresoever that Compter may be moved, the sum of ten pounds to each of them by quarterly payments, so long as they shall hold and possess the said moiety of the Royal-Exchange and it's appurtenances. He also charges the Warden and Commonalty of the Mystery of Mercers and their successors, to pay the sum of one-hundred and fifty pounds half yearly, at the rate of fifty pounds per annum, to each of the three lecturers to be by them appointed to read in Law, Physic, and Rhetoric, in his said dwelling-house; and farther, that they shall bestow and expend one hundred pounds annually, in and about a feast or dinner for the whole company of the said corporation, to be had and made in the Mercers-hall of the said city of London, at every quarter day, the sum of twenty-five pounds; and still farther, the said corporation stands charged to give and distribute to the poor persons and prisoners in the hospitals of Christ Church, St Bartholomew's, Bethlehem, the hospital in Southwark, and the Poultry Compter, ten pounds annually to each, at four quarterly payments, for so long time as they shall hold and possess the moiety of the said Royal-Exchange with it's appurtenances. He also devises to the Mayor and Commonalty of London and their successors, the said eight alms-houses, empowering them to place in each of them one poor or impotent person; he also devises to the Lord-Mayor and Commonalty of London, and to the Wardens and Commonalty of the mystery of Mercers, his mansion-house with the gardens, stables, and all and singular other the appurtenances in the parish of St Helen's and St Peter the Poor, upon trust, to place therein the seven lecturers before mentioned, who are there to inhabit, study, and read the said several lectures, and are to be unmarried when chosen, and are so to remain while they continue in possession of the said lecture. He recommends it to the city and to the corporation, to procure within the said space of fifty years, a licence from the Crown, to hold the premises devised to them by his

will for ever, discharging the trusts reposed in them. He further declares, that in consideration of such charges and wardship, livery and premier seizin, as at the time of his decease shall happen to be due to the Queen's Majesty, shall be paid and borne by Sir Henry Neville, Knight, or the heirs male by him begotten on Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Gresham, Knight, and while living heir apparent to Sir Thomas, he wills and disposes to them, their executors or assigns, the manors of Mayghfield and Wadhurst, with their appurtenances; but if his cousin Sir Henry Neville, or the heirs of him and Dame Elizabeth, shall not bear the charges beforementioned, then the premises shall remain as the residue thereafter limited; and this residue he wills and disposes to his loving wife Dame Anne Gresham, and to her heirs and assigns for ever, to use and dispose of the same at her pleasure. The close of this will is very remarkable, and is expressed in the following words. 'Requiring amongst all other things, that all my debts, legacies, and other duties whatsoever by me due, given, limited, or bequeathed to any person, or with-hould from any person, shall be fully performed, satisfied, and paid and recompenced, as the case in law, right, equity, or conscience shall require. In which behalf I do wholly put my trust in her, and have no doubt but she will accomplish the same accordingly, and all other things as shall be requisite or expedient for both our honesty's fames and good reports in this transitory world, and to the profit of the common weale, and relief of the careful and true poor, according to the pleasure and will of Almighty God, to whom be all honour and glory, for ever and ever, Amen. In witness whereof, I the said Sir Thomas Gresham, have written this will all with myne own hand, and to each of the eight leaves have subscribed my name, and to a labell fixed thereunto; all the eight leaves have set to my seal with the Grasshopper, the fifth day of July, in the seventeenth yere of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, and in the year of our Lord God, Anno 1575.'

By me THOMAS GRESHAM.

[K] And



(x) Fuller's  
Worthies, Nor-  
folk.

(a) Stowe,  
Strype, Speed,  
&c.

(b) Stowe's An-  
nals.  
Strype's Annals.

(c) Holinshed's  
Chronicle, p.  
1310.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 685.  
Ward's Lives of  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 26.

(d) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 685.

(e) Stowe's Sur-  
vey, b. ii. p.  
106.

(f) Ward's  
Lives of Gresham  
Professors, p. 27.

(g) See the con-  
clusion of his  
Will in note [I].

(h) Stowe's Sur-  
vey, edit. 1598.  
p. 133.

(i) Sir Thomas  
Gresham's Jour-  
nal, MS.

plaisance to her Majesty, immediately sent for workmen from London, who in the night built up the wall with such privacy and expedition, that the next morning the Queen to her great surprize, found the court divided in the manner she had proposed the day before (z). Whatever satisfaction Sir Thomas might take in this retreat, he made it nothing more, but continued to pass so much of his time in the city, as was requisite for the discharge of his business of every kind, amongst which he reckoned the receiving and entertaining foreigners of distinction who came to visit England, and to pay their respects to the Queen his mistress, accordingly on the twenty-second of January 1578, we find that when Prince John Casimir, brother to the Elector Palatine, a Protestant Prince, who had done great service in the Low-Countries, landed at the Tower at night, he was received by many of the most distinguished nobility, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, who conducted him by torch-light to the house of Sir Thomas Gresham, where he was received with the sound of trumpets and other musical instruments, commodiously lodged, and magnificently entertained (a). His highness did not remain in England long, but in that space was elected Knight of the Order of the Garter, and had several and very rich presents made him by the nobility; the Queen herself gave him two gold cups very richly wrought, of the value of three hundred pounds a piece; but as she was naturally frugal, it was with some difficulty that Secretary Walsingham determined her to this act of generosity (b). This proved one of the last public transactions of Sir Thomas's life, at least of which any memorial remains, for on Saturday November the 21st, 1579, coming between six and seven in the evening from the Exchange to his own house, he fell down suddenly in his kitchen, and being taken up was found speechless, and soon after died (c). Thus was this eminent man removed in a manner unexpected, and at an age when he was capable of being further serviceable to his country for several years, for he was not sixty one years old at his decease. By his death many large estates in several counties of England, amounting at that time to the yearly value of two thousand three hundred pounds and upwards, came to his Lady who survived him. His obsequies were performed in a very solemn manner, being attended by an hundred poor men, and the like number of poor women, whom he had ordered to be clothed in black gowns of five shillings and eight pence a yard, at his own expence (d). The charges of his funeral amounted to eight hundred pounds. His corps was deposited in a vault at the North-east corner of the church, which he had before provided for himself and family. Over the vault is a large and curious marble tomb; on the south and west sides of which are his own arms, argent a chevron, ermin between three mullets sable pierced, and on the north and east sides they are impaled with those of his lady, argent a bend or, on which are three bucks heads cabossed. The tomb is fenced round with a strong rail, and other ornamental iron work (e). The arms of Sir Thomas, together with those of the city of London and Mercers company, are likewise painted in the glass of the east window of the church above the tomb. There was no inscription upon the tomb till the year 1736, when for the information of the inhabitants, the following words taken from the parish register, were cut on the stone that covers it by order of the church-wardens. *Sir Thomas Gresham, Knight, was buried December the 15th 1579 (f).* His crest was a GRASSHOPPER, which he used for his seal, and was then placed on the four angles of the Royal-Exchange, as it is now upon the pinnacle of the tower on the south side (g). He had promised the inhabitants of St Helen's parish an handsome steeple to their church, in consideration of the ground taken up by his tomb, but his sudden death prevented the performance of that promise. By an inventory of the goods at his house in Bishopsgate-street, taken after his decease, they are said to have amounted to a thousand one hundred twenty-seven pounds fifteen shillings and eight pence. He had also another house at Westacre in Norfolk, where the effects were valued at a thousand six hundred fifty-five pounds and a shilling (h). But his chief seat seems to have been at Mayghfield in Suffex, one room of which was called the Queen's chamber, and the goods and chattles belonging to it, were estimated at seven thousand five hundred fifty-three pounds ten shillings and eight pence (i). This shews that his riches were great, but the reputation with which he acquired them greater, and the uses to which they were applied, greatest of all [K]. He appears from the statues and pictures that

[K] *And the uses to which they were applied greatest of all.* As very few persons have been more favoured in this world by Providence, in the pursuit of that course of life to which he was called, than this worthy gentleman Sir Thomas Gresham, so very few have employed the good things of this life, either living or dying, in a manner more generally approved by his contemporaries, or applauded by posterity, than he has done. If we trace him through the course of his life, we shall find him filling every station decently, and not at all given either to under or over-act his part; content with what Providence allotted him; not eager in obtaining, yet punctual in performing the duties of any office that he obtained; active and vigilant in the service of the Crown, but contriving at the same time how the nation might be served likewise. A citizen without ambition; a patriot without spleen or private views; no lover of pomp, yet living with decent splendour;

a grateful and generous master; a kind friend; a patron of learned men, as Mr Fox acknowledges, who knew it from experience (45). Hugh Gough, in his dedication to him of the *Offspring of the House of OTOMAN*, where he is very copious in his praises; and Richard Rowland's, more frequently called Veritegan, in a book he likewise addressed to him called, *The Post of the World*. These were men differing in their sentiments, and very distant in their religions; yet all assisted by, and all admirers of, Sir Thomas Gresham, who was bountiful to merit where-ever he found it. As Sir Thomas was a generous benefactor to the public in his life-time, and more so at his death, so he managed his donations with such discretion, as left no room for his relations to complain. It is very probable that his wife Dame Anne, brought him a large fortune; and this being in the early part of his life, might induce him to think, that he was bound to make a suitable re-

(45) In the Latin Life prefixed to his Acts and Monuments.



that are still preserved of him, to have been a man of a sweet and serene aspect, and of a comely and graceful person (*k*); he was undoubtedly a man of learning, as well as perfectly acquainted with living languages, and that mixed and general knowledge which is of so great use in the right conduct of life. His abilities were early ripe, for we find him entered into active life, and not only embarked in business, but in negotiations of state by that time he was turned of thirty; and after he was once employed by the Crown, which was purely the effects of his merit, he maintained himself in favour in times most difficult, and in Courts acting from very different views (*l*); in his manners he was so polite, that he was chosen to entertain those foreigners of distinction, on whom the Court was desirous that a strong impression should be made in favour of the English nation. His merit as a merchant was very great, and he applied that skill and experience which he derived from his own extensive concerns in commerce, to promote the welfare of the nation, for which his zeal was so great, that he was deservedly esteemed an eminent patriot, in an age when that best of characters was far from being rare (*m*). His praises might be carried farther and higher, and might be supported by the authorities of Camden, Evelyn, and other great men, if his actions did not render all helps of this sort unnecessary [*L*]. What deserves to be particularly remembered is, that we have not received from any of the writers of his times, and they were times in which men wrote freely, that tends any way to his disadvantage, except that in his youth he was of an amorous complexion, as appears from his having had a natural daughter by a woman at Bruges, whom he bestowed honourably in marriage on Nathaniel Bacon, Esq; second son to the Lord-Keeper, to whom she brought a fortune of two hundred and eighty pounds a year in lands, situated in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk (*n*). He married as we before observed, Anne, the widow of Mr Read of Fulham, who survived him many years, and who not long after his death, having some disputes with Sir Henry Nevile, who married her husband's niece and heir at law, these were

turn to her; and besides, it appears from the deed of settlement to which his will refers, that her consent was necessary; the children of Sir Henry Nevile, who were his heirs at law, had likewise their share. His only child Anne, married into the honourable family of the Bacon's, to which his wife was also allied by marriage; Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, having married for his first wife, Mistress Jane Fernely her youngest sister (46), so that Nathaniel Bacon, Esq; who married her husband's daughter, was her nephew. This Mr Bacon, had by Mrs Anne Gresham, three daughters (47), who were his coheirs, all married to gentlemen of as great figure as any in the county of Norfolk, viz. Anne the eldest, to Sir Roger Townshend of Raynham, and brought the Stiffkey estate into that family; the second, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Knyvet of Ashwellthorpe; and the youngest, Winifrede, Sir Robert Gawdy of Claxton.

[*L*] Did not render all helps of this sort unnecessary.] It may not however be amiss for the reader's satisfaction, that what Sir Thomas did for his country, was in all times gratefully accepted, to produce some of the numerous tokens of respect paid to him both living and dead. The first shall be from Mr Goughe's dedication mentioned in the former note, who after telling him that many had been beneficent to England their native country. Some of a zealous mind, had bestowed their sage counsel and politic devices of the same. Others of a favourable affection, had given their labours to the procuring in readiness, of such necessary instruments as in time of peace might cease our doubtful minds from carelessness thereof; and in perilous seasons of war, defend us from our daily imminent adversaries. The rest not being many in number, had of a godly and voluntary will, wholly applied their riches or money joined together, and laid out their treasures to the erecting such noble buildings, as might be for a public commodity unto the inhabitants of this worthy isle of Britain; and then coming to apply this to the single person of Sir Thomas Gresham, he proceeded. 'But alas! too few have been furnished in whom all these commendable qualities have reigned, both to be beneficial to their country by sage counsel; procuring of safe-guard for protection of the same, and bestowing of their substance to the building of such famous and magnificent works as might serve for common utility unto all men. And by the discretion of those men that be learned and wise, if ever any subject hath enjoyed them, they attribute it unto you. For who is he that is ignorant of the policies and travels which your worship hath used and sustained, for to get safe-guard and requisite furniture to the realm; besides the infinite riches given to the building of that princely work, commonly called The Bourse, which already declareth, and in London is openly to be seen, what commodity generally it will

'bring to the citizens thereof? these noble exploits, as indeed they are not a little by all men praised, cannot be highly enough commended.' He praised Sir Thomas also for his temper, courtesy, gentleness, friendship, and liberality towards all men; yea, and towards the unknown and strangers; as divers had experienced. Raphael Hollinshed (48), and John Stowe (49), have paid just honour to his memory; the great Sir Henry Spelman, mentions him as an honour to the county of Norfolk, in which his family was seated (50). The unknown author of a poem in English and Latin on the Fire of London, addressed to Sir James Langham (51), takes that melancholy occasion to praise the structure which Sir Thomas raised, and to applaud his public spirit.

In partem trahitur Regalis Bursa ruinæ,  
Linguarum Babel; & Mundi Mercatus; utrumque;  
Quotidie complexa Polum, quodque, inter utrumque  
est:

Marmoreum Regni Chronicon; serieque vetusta  
Exhibuit nuper Proavos tibi (CAROLE) Reges.

Septrigeros flammæ prædam; dum Regibus ipsis,  
Unicus a grato stat Conditor Igne superstes.

The common wreck the Royal Change doth share,  
Babel of Tongues; the Universe's faire;  
Where both poles daily meet, and what within  
The spacious distance of the pole is seen:  
The kingdom's marble chronicle. To thee  
(Great Prince) it shew'd thy Royal pedigree,  
For three times nine descents.

Gresham the Kings survives. The grateful flame  
The founder spar'd, that would not spare the frame.

The late Lord Viscount Cobham placed this great man in that temple of British Worthies, which is one of the noblest ornaments of his celebrated gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamshire, with the following inscription over his bust.

Sir THOMAS GRESHAM,  
Who by the honourable profession of a merchant,  
Having enriched himself and his country,  
For carrying on the commerce of the world,  
Built the Royal Exchange.

(46) See General History of the County of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 110. and the same in the same County, Vol. II. p. 110.

(47) See Baron's History of the County of Norfolk, Vol. I. p. 110. and the same in the same County, Vol. II. p. 110.

(48) See the particulars in Ward's Appendix to the Lives of Gresham Professors, No. II.

(49) Chronicle, p. 1310.

(50) Annals, p. 686.

(51) Posthumous Works, p. 152.

(52) Conflagratio Londinensis poetice depicta, p. 22, 23.

(46) Baronetage of England, Vol. II.

(47) Pedigree of the Bacons of Norfolk.



were at length brought to a compromise, and an act of parliament passed in the year 1581, for establishing that agreement and carrying it into execution (o). She afterwards endeavoured to procure another act of parliament to empower her and her heirs, to make leases from time to time of twenty-one years, of the shops in the Exchange, reserving the fines; but the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, having fully answered the suggestions contained in her petition to the Privy-Council, that project was disappointed (p). However she prevailed upon the tenants in the last year of her life to accept fresh leases, by which she obtained fines to the amount of four thousand pounds (q). She spent her winters mostly in town, at the great house in Bishopsgate-street, and the summer months at Osterley Park, where however all the great improvements fell speedily to ruin (r). At length she deceased there November 23, 1596, from whence her body was brought to London and buried in the church of St Helen, in the same vault with her husband Sir Thomas, on the 14th of December following (s). As to the public benefactions of Sir Thomas Gresham, the Royal-Exchange and his mansion house, as on the decease of his Lady, they immediately came into the hands of the two corporations; so, according to his desire, they obtained a patent from the Crown, bearing date February the third in the year of our Lord, One thousand six hundred and fourteen, to hold them for ever, upon the terms expressed in the will of the donor (t).

(o) Ibid. No. VI.

(p) Stowe's Survey, b. ii. p. 137.

(q) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 31.

(r) Norden's Specul. Britan. Mid. p. 37.

(s) Register of St Helen's.

(t) See the Instrument in Chancery.

GREVILLE [FULKE], Lord Brook, of Beauchamp's-Court in Warwickshire, an eminent courtier in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Privy-Counsellor in that of King James and King Charles I. and an ingenious writer both in verse and prose; was descended of the antient and noble families of the Beauchamps of Powick, and the Willoughbys de Brook; whereof Mr Camden has recorded, that Brook-House, which was situate upon the Avon in that county, and derived its name from a rivulet or brook which runs into this river, had been the seat of John Pavely, Lord of Westbury, and afterwards gave the title of Baron to Robert Willoughby, descended from that family, when King Henry VII. advanced him to this honour (a); by which King he is reported to have been also made Steward of his Household, and for some time High-Admiral of England (b). But this family soon expired; for he left but one son, named Robert Lord Brook, who had by his first wife a son, named Edward; and he dying in his father's life-time, left a daughter named Elizabeth, afterwards married to Fulke Grevile the elder, grandfather to this Lord Brooke of whom we are writing, as we find in those Heraldical authors who were contemporary with him, and others who have written more particularly of the family (c). As for that Christian name, we shall refer below to an explanation of it from Mr Camden in another of his works [A]. By that rich heiress aforesaid, also descended Beauchamp-Court to the said Fulke the elder, which is situate upon the Arrow below Ousely, and was so named from the Barons of Beauchamp before mentioned, from whom it devolved to that lady (d). The said Sir Fulke the elder, had by her, Fulke Grevile, who was knighted in the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, and Robert a younger son. This last Sir Fulke, in the twelfth of that Queen, was chosen into the commission for preserving the peace in Warwickshire; also in the fourteenth of her reign; and again in the twenty-sixth he was elected High-Sheriff of that county (e). He was in the beginning of the next reign very active in discovering and apprehending some of the powder-plotters, when they were in those parts; he being then Deputy-Lieutenant of the said shire (f). Camden says also, in the place last above cited, that he was no less esteemed for the sweetness of his temper than the dignity of his station; and departing this life in the fourth of James I. aged seventy years, he left by Anne his wife, daughter of Ralph Nevile, Earl of Westmorland, this Fulke Grevile of whom we are here treating, and one daughter named Margaret, who was married to Sir Richard Verney, of Compton-Mordak in the county of Warwick, ancestor to the present Lord Willoughby of Brook (g). As to a more distinct account of these ancestors, or the lineage of the said family down to this time, we have it also in an author, who being a native of the county wherein they flourished, and having undertaken with great industry to preserve the antiquities thereof, his authority may the better be depended on: therefore we shall here subjoin a short extract of his genealogical deduction thereof, as what may not only confirm the aforesaid account, but render the same more compleat [B].

(a) Camden's Britannia, in Wiltshire.

(b) Idem. Also a Pedigree of the Greviles, in a volume of English Nobility, folio, MS. 1602. Among the MS. Collections of the late Knox Ward, Esq; Clarencieux.

(c) Ibid. Also in the Genealogy, Life and Death of Robert Lord Brook, MS. written by Thomas Spencer, anno 1644, in the possession of Francis Earl Brook.

(d) Camden, in Warwickshire.

(e) Fuller's Worthies of England, in the list of Sheriffs in Warwickshire.

(f) John Fox's Book of Martyrs, edit. 1684, Vol. III. in the Appendix. Also Sam. Clarke's Mercies Memorial, in the deliverance from the Powder-Plot, annexed to his England's Remembrancer, 12mo. 1657.

(g) Pedigree of the Greviles before mentioned. Also an historical and genealogical Account of the family of the Greviles, &c. by Arthur Collins, Esq; 8vo. 1750, p. 28. printed likewise in his late Supplement to the Baronage.

[A] From Mr Camden, in another of his works.] FOULK or FULKE, says he, some derive from the German *vollg*, noble and gallant; but I, from *Folk*, the English-Saxon word for people; as though it were the same with *publius* of the Romans, and only translated from *publius*, as beloved of the people and commons (1).

(1) Camden's Remains concerning Britain, &c. edit. 4to. 1614. in the chapter of Names, p. 70.

[B] As what may not only confirm the aforesaid account, but render the same more compleat.] This extract we shall make from Sir William Dugdale, who has given us an ample pedigree of the Grevils, from the Beauchamps, for several descents, down to his own time; which has been continued by his late editor to the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, and by Mr Collins in his work before cited, to the present time: but as much of it as may here concern our purpose, is ex-

pressed (in the said latter edition of Dugdale) (2) in these words.—— Sir Richard Beauchamp married, in the private chapel of the manor-house at Alcester, called Beauchamp's Court, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, Knt. by whom he had issue three daughters, his heiresses, viz Elizabeth, married to Sir Robert Willoughby, Lord Brook, whose father Sir Robert Willoughby, Knt. was first summoned to Parliament, by that title in the seventh of Henry VII. next, Anne, married to Richard Ligon, and Margaret, to William Rede; which last Sir Robert had, in her right, the manour of Alcester in partition, and died seized thereof the tenth of November, in the thirteenth of Henry VIII. leaving Elizabeth, Anne, and Blanch, his grandchildren and next heirs, viz. daughters of Edward Willoughby his son,

(2) Sir W. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, the second edition, by Dr William Thomas, in 2 vols folio, 1730. Vol. II. p. 766, &c.

by



This Fulke, afterwards Lord Brook, was born, as we are informed, in the year 1554 (b), and as it is supposed, at Beauchamp-Court aforesaid. Being of the same age with, and cousin to, Sir Philip Sidney, they imbibed their juvenile education together at an eminent school in Shrewsbury. There, Sidney appears to have been in 1566, by a letter full of prudent and paternal precepts, directed to him the said year, in that town, by his father Sir Henry Sidney (i); whence we may conclude, that young Grevile was then his schoolfellow and associate; and indeed no less may be gathered from his own words, where he says of Sir Philip, 'with whom I shall ever account it honour to have been brought up.' And again, alluding to the earliness of his accomplishments, he says, 'Of whose youth I will report no other wonder but this, that though I lived with him, and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man (k).' From this school Fulke Grevile was removed to the university. He was it seems some time a Gentleman-Commoner at Oxford, but whether fellow collegiate with Sidney at Christ-Church there, does not plainly appear; and the Oxonian Antiquary allows him to have been more properly of Cambridge (l); where, at Trinity-College, he compleated his academical studies. Not long after he left the universities, he added the knowledge of men to that of books by travel, and returned an accomplished gentleman; having not only adorned his mind with the most agreeable flowers of polite deportment and conversation that flourished in the courts through which he passed, but attained also a competent familiarity with the modern languages, and some expertness in the martial exercises, by which the gallant cavaliers of those times were used to signalize their courage and activity; insomuch that, though he seems to have been early 'introduced into the Court, by his uncle Robert Grevile, a servant to Queen Elizabeth, where he was esteemed a most ingenious person, and had in favour by all such as were lovers of arts and sciences (m);' and though he was, through the affection of Sir Henry Sidney, Lord-President of Wales, soon nominated to some beneficial preferments in that principality, yet he could not, for many years, decline attempting to engage himself in services abroad both by sea and land; as what would sooner advance him to the Queen's favour at home, than struggling for it by such indirect and circumventing artifices, as are wont to be practised among competitors for the same at Court; 'till the Queen herself, considering his family, fortune, and perhaps the want of such athletic or corporal robustness, as might equal his lively and vigorous inclinations to endure hardships and peril, discouraged such excursions in him, and thereby constrained those with whom he would have been a coadventurer, also to evade or discountenance his association in such dangerous enterprizes with them, as he has in his more mature or declining years informed us [C]. It seems to have been from one of those excursions, that he

(i) A. W. Sidney, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(k) Letters and Memorials of State, by the Hon. Henry Sidney, in 2 vols. fol. 1746, p. 100. See also by A. W. Sidney, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 8.

(l) Sir Philip Grevile, letter to the renowned Sir Philip Sidney, p. 2, 6.

(m) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(n) Item ibid.

(3) Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 88.

(4) Per Hen. Ferrers, Arm.

\* The General, &c. of Robert Lord Brook, MS. before cited.

(5) Leland's Itinerary, Vol. IV. p. 168. See also more of the family in Vol. VI. p. 19, &c.

(6) Inscrip. Tum. apud Alcester.

(7) Lift of Queen Elizabeth's Knights, by H. Ferrers, Esq; MS. fol. in Bibl. Harleiana; & MS. in Offic. Armor. m. 18; & Etc. 8 Eliz.

' by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Richard Nevill Lord Latimer (3). Of which daughters, so in minority, Elizabeth the eldest, was committed to the tuition of Sir Edward Grevil of Milcote, Knt. who obtained her wardship, as our said author was informed (4), with purpose to marry her to John his son and heir; but she better affecting Fulke, the younger, (and having estate sufficient for both him and herself \*) became his wife; to whom she brought the manour of Alcester, with other lands: which Fulke much enlarged his manour house (5) at Beauchamp-Court, taking stone and timber from the then newly dissolved priory at Alcester for that purpose; as also his park, with part of the waste belonging to this lordship, and bore the office of Sheriff for this county and Leicestershire, in the thirty-fourth of Henry VIII, being then a Knight: so also in the first of Edward VI, and departed this life the tenth of November, Anno 1559 (6), leaving issue Fulke, his son and heir, and Robert a younger son; which Fulke was knighted in the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth (7), being then twenty-nine years of age. In the twelfth of Elizabeth, he was first in commission of the peace for that shire, and departing this life anno 1606, left issue, by Anne his wife, daughter to Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, this Fulke his son and heir, &c. We shall here further add, of the first Robert Lord Brook, who was summoned to parliament by that title, in the seventh of Henry VII, as was observed, and is mentioned in the text to have been some time Admiral of England; that there is a letter extant, written by the said King Henry to Sir Gilbert Talbot, which speaks of this Lord Brook in that naval command. It is written upon the intelligence his Majesty had received, that Perkin Warbeck and his wife were upon the sea, with seven ships and a British prize expected to land, and make an invasion in Cornwall: 'Whereupon, saith the King to Sir Gilbert, we have sent our right trusty counsellour the Lord D'Aubenev, our Chamberlayn, by land, toward thoes parties, &c. for the subduing of him; and our right trusty Counsellour the Lord Brooke, Steward of our household by water, with our armee, on the sea, now late re-

tourned, to take the said Perkyn, if he retourne again to the see; and we shall, in our owne persone, if the case so require, go so accompanied thiderward, with our Lord's mercy, without delay, as we shall subdue the said Perkyn, and all othere that wil take his part, if any such be, &c. \*' The said Robert Lord Brooke, by his will, made the 19th of August, and proved the 25th of December 1502, appoints his burial in the church of that parish where he shall happen to die: and there remains in the chapel of the borough of Callington in Cornwall, a raised altar monument, with his effigies thereon; having the Collar of the Order of the Garter, with the George appendant thereto. Sir William Dugdale relates a remarkable story at large of one of the family, named Lodovick Grevile, of Mulcote, Esq; who contrived with a servant or two of his, to murder Mr Webb of Draycot in Oxfordshire, his own tenant, who had been also his steward, that he might get all his riches. Those servants having strangled him, one of them went into his bed, and when the minister came, who was to make a will, the murderer in bed, with the curtains close pinned about him, counterfeited a sick and dying man, in voice, and other infirmities, till he had disposed of the dead man's effects, seemingly in the deceased's own words and will, all to Mr Grevile. The murder and fraud being afterwards discovered, and Mr Grevile refusing to plead, he was pressed to death in the King's Bench prison, November 14, the thirty-first of Elizabeth; and his servant was hanged the same year 1589 ||.

[C] In his more mature, or declining years informed us.] His words upon this topic are as follow, 'When my youth, with favour of the Court, in some moderate proportion to my birth and breeding, in the activeness of that time, gave me opportunity of most business; then, did my yet undiscouraged genius most affect to find, or make work for itself. And out of that freedom, having many times offered my fortune to the course of foreign employments, as the properest forges to fashion a subject for the real services of his sovereign; I found the returns of those misplaced endeavours to prove, both a vain charge to myself, and an offensive undertaking to that excellent govern-

\* Mr Anstis's Register of the Order of the Garter, in 2 vols. fol. 1724, Vol. I. p. 215.

† Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 37.

‡ Anstis, as before, Vol. II. p. 243.

|| See Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 710. and Stowe's Annals in that year.



he mentions also himself, his return out of Germany, and the political conferences he had at Delft with William of Nassau, Prince of Orange [D]. As for the civil and domestic employments

' nefs, over all her subjects duties and affections. For instance, how mild soever those mixtures of favours and corrections were, in that princely lady, yet to shew that they fell heavy in crossing a young man's ends, I will only chuse and alledge a few out of many, some with leave, some without. First, when those two mighty armies of Don John's, and the Duke of Casimire's, were to meet in the Low-Countries; my horses, with all other preparations, being shipped at Dover, with leave under her bill assigned; even then was I staid by a princely mandate, the messenger Sir Edward Dier. Wherein, whatsoever I felt, yet I appeal to the judicious reader, whether there be any latitude left more than humble obedience; in these new cases, between duty and selfness in a sovereign's service. After this, when Mr Secretary Walsingham was sent ambassador, to treat with those two princes, in a business so much concerning christian blood and christian empires; then did the same irregular motion, which seldom rests, but steals where it cannot tread, persuade me, that whosoever would venture to go without leave, was sure never to be staid. Upon which false axiome, trusting the rest to chance, I went over with Mr Secretary unknown: but at my return, was forbidden her presence for many months (8). Hitherto might also be referred his engagement with Sir Philip Sidney, to accompany Sir Francis Drake in his last expedition but one to the West-Indies (in 1585). But neither could they so closely keep their secret preparations for the same, from the knowledge of the State, nor Sir Francis so artfully disguise from them, his unwillingness to lead them such a remote and hazardous voyage, but that their whole project was frustrated; however he feasted them with a great deal of outward pomp and complacency, the night they arrived at Plymouth; to which port they had travelled without suspicion, because, upon the rumour of Don Antonio's being on the seas for England, Sir Philip had put himself upon the employment of conducting that King to Court. Sir Philip's thoughts seem to have been too sanguine and intense upon the enterprize, to discern the real inclinations of Sir Francis, through his looks or comportment; ' Yet I (says our author) that had the honor of being bred with him from his youth, so now, by his own choice, of all England, to be his loving and beloved Achates in this journey, observing the countenance of that gallant mariner, more exactly than Sir Philip's leisure served him to do; after we were laid in bed, acquainted him with my observation of the discountenance and depression which appeared in Sir Francis; as if our coming were both beyond his expectation and desire. Nevertheless that ingenuous spirit of Sir Philip's, though apt to give me credit, yet not apt to discredit others, made him suspend his own, and labour to change and qualify my judgment; till within some few days after, finding neither the ships ready according to promise, nor possibly to be made ready in many days; and withal, observing some sparks of false fire breaking out unawares from his yoke-fellow daily; it pleased him in the freedom of our friendship, to return me my own stock with interest. All this while Don Antonio lands not; the fleet seemed to us, like the weary passenger's inn, still to go further from our desires: letters came from the Court to hasten it away: it may be, the leaden feet and nimble thoughts of Sir Francis, wrought in the day, and unwrought in the night; while he watched an opportunity to discover us, without being discovered. For within a few days after, a post steals up to Court, upon whose arrival, an alarm is presently taken; messengers sent away to stay us, or, if we refused, to stay the whole fleet. Notwithstanding this first Mercury, this errand being partly advertised to Sir Philip beforehand, was intercepted on the way; his letters taken from him, by two resolute soldiers in mariner's apparel; brought instantly to Sir Philip, opened and read: the contents as welcome, as Bulls of Excommunication to the superstitious Romanist, when they enjoyn him either to forsake his right, or his Holy Mother Church; yet did he sit this first process without noise or answer. The next was a more imperial mandate, carefully conveyed and delivered to himself by a peer of this realm, carrying with it in the one hand,

' grace, in the other, thunder: the grace was, an offer of an instant employment under his uncle (the Earl of Leicester) then going General into the Low-Countries; against which although he would have gladly demurred, yet all was sacrificed to the duty of obedience (9). Again, when my Lord of Leicester was sent General of her Majesty's forces (the same year) into the Low-Countries, and had given me the command of an hundred horse; then I, giving my humour over to good order, yet found, that neither the intercession of this grandee, seconded with my own humble sute, and many other honourable friends of mine, could prevail against the constant course of this excellent Lady with her servants, so as I was forced to tarry behind; and for this opportunity of mine, to change my course, and seem to prefer nothing before my service about her: this Princess of government, as well as kingdoms, made me live in her court a spectacle of disfavour too long as I conceived. Lastly, the universal fame of a battle to be fought between the prime forces of Henry III. and the religious of Henry IV. then King of Navarre, lifting me yet once more above this humble earth of duty, made me resolve to see the difference between kings present and absent, in their martial expeditions; so that, without acquainting any creature, the Earl of Essex excepted, I shipped myself over; and at my return, was kept from her presence full six months, and then received after a strange manner. For this absolute Prince, to sever ill example from grace, avers my going over to be a secret employment of her's; and all these other petty exiles, a making good of that cloud or figure, which she was pleased to cast over my absence: protecting me to the world with the honour of her employment, rather than she would, for example sake, be forced either to punish me further, or too easily forgive a contempt, or neglect in a servant so near about her, as she was pleased to conceive it. By which many warnings, I, finding the specious fires of youth to prove far more scorching than glorious, called my second thoughts to council, and in that map, clearly discerning action and honour to fly with more wings than one, and that it was sufficient for the plant to grow where his sovereign's hand had planted it; I found reason to contract my thoughts from those larger, but wandering horizons of the world abroad, and bound my prospect within the safe limits of duty, in such home services as were acceptable to my sovereign (10).

[D] He mentions himself, his return out of Germany, and his political conferences with William Prince of Orange. The journey in which he had such conferences with the Prince of Orange, seems to have been that he took with Sir Francis Walsingham beforementioned, which was in 1578; because young Sidney, being personally known to this prince the preceding year (11), might better engage that recommendation of him by the said prince here preserved by our author, among other characters given by princes and statemen, of his said worthy and renowned friend. His words are as follow: ' My first instance must come, says he, from that worthy Prince of Orange, William of Nassau; with whom this young gentleman having long kept intelligence by word and letters, and in affairs of the highest nature, that then passed current upon the stages of England, France, Germany, Italy, the Low Countries, or Spain, it seems that this young gentleman had by his mutual freedom so imprinted the extraordinary merit of his young years into the large wisdom and experience of that excellent prince, as I, passing out of Germany into England, and having the unexpected honor to find this prince in the town of Delft, cannot think it unwelcome to describe the clothes of this prince; his posture of body and mind, familiarity and reservedness, to the ingenious reader, that he may see with what divers characters princes please and govern cities, towns and people. His uppermost garment was a gown, yet such, as I dare confidently affirm, a mean-born student in our Inns of Court would not have been well pleased to walk the streets in. Unbuttoned his doublet was, and of like precious matter and form to the other. His waste-coat, which shewed itself under it, not

(9) *Ibid.* from p. 82 to 89.

(10) *Ibid.* from p. 169 to 171.

(11) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 227.

(8) Sir Folke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, from p. 167 to 169.



employments appointed him by Sir Henry Sidney, the first account we meet with thereof is in one of Sir Henry's own letters to the Lords of the Council (n), containing some propositions for the reformation of disorders in the marches of Wales, especially for abridging the number of attorneys in the court that was held there; which reduced number he would have regulated under a principal officer or two, by patent from her Majesty; and Mr Fulke Grevile, with his own Secretary, Mr Edmund Molyneux, he recommends for this purpose. His letter is dated the 12th of November, 1576. And six months after, being then in his government of Ireland, we find, in some instructions he sent over to his servant, Edward Waterhouse, Esq; some explanation of the business those officers were to

Letters, &c.  
of the Sidneys.  
Vol. I. p. 145.

superintend,

‘ unlike the best sort of those woollen knit ones, which  
‘ our ordinary watermen row us in. His company a-  
‘ bout him, the burgeses of that beer-brewing town;  
‘ and he, so fellow-like, encompassed with them, as  
‘ had I not known his face, no exterior sign of degree  
‘ or deservedness could have discovered the inequality  
‘ of his worth, or state from that multitude. Not-  
‘ withstanding, I no sooner came to his presence, but  
‘ it pleased him to take knowledge of me. And even  
‘ upon that, as if it had been a signal to make change,  
‘ his respect of a stranger, instantly begat respect to  
‘ himself in all about him; an outward presage of in-  
‘ ward greatness, which, in a popular state, I thought  
‘ worth the observing: because there, no pedigree but  
‘ worth, could possibly make a man prince, and no  
‘ prince, in a moment, at his own pleasure. The bu-  
‘ sinesses which he then vouchsafed to impart with me,  
‘ were, the dangerous fate which the Crown of Eng-  
‘ land, States of Germany, and the Low-Countries  
‘ did stand threatened with, under an ambitious and  
‘ conquering Monarch's hand. The main instance, a  
‘ short description of the Spaniards curious affecting to  
‘ keep the Romans ways and ends in all their actions.  
‘ On the other side, the clear symptoms of the hestick  
‘ fever, universally then reigning among the princes of  
‘ Christendom; ordained as he thought, to behold  
‘ this undermining disease without fear, till it should  
‘ prove dangerous, nay incurable to them. This ac-  
‘ tive King of Spain, having put on a mask of con-  
‘ science, to cover an invisible conjunction between the  
‘ temporal and spiritual ambitions of these two some-  
‘ times creeping, sometimes commanding Romish and  
‘ Spanish conquerors. The particulars were many,  
‘ both excellent and enlightning. As first, the fatal  
‘ neutrality of France, jealous of the Spanish greatness,  
‘ as already wronged and threatened by it; and yet  
‘ their kings so full of pleasures, and consequently so  
‘ easily satisfied with the compliments of words, trea-  
‘ ties, or alliances; and since the fall of the Sorbonists,  
‘ their own exempted Church, so absolutely possessed,  
‘ and governed by the Jesuits; as through the be-  
‘ witching liberties and bondages of auricular confes-  
‘ sion, they were rather wrought to rest upon a vain  
‘ security of reputed strength, than really to hazard  
‘ loss, and help themselves by diversion or assailing.  
‘ Again, on the Queen's part, by the way of question,  
‘ he supposed a little neglect in her princely mildness,  
‘ while she did suffer a Protestant party, raised by God,  
‘ in that great kingdom of France, to be a ballance or  
‘ counterpoise to that dangerous heptarchy of Spain,  
‘ then scarce visible, but since multiplied by an unre-  
‘ sistable greatness; I say for suffering this strong and  
‘ faithful party, through want of employment, to sink  
‘ into itself, and so unactively, like a meteor, to vanish  
‘ or smother out in vain and idle apparitions. Withal,  
‘ reverently he demurred, whether it were an omission  
‘ in that excellent Lady's government or no, by a re-  
‘ miss looking on, whilst the Austrian aspiring family  
‘ framed occasion to gain, by begging peace, or buying  
‘ war from the Grand Signior, and both exceeding  
‘ much to their own ends; in respect that, once in  
‘ few years, this Emperor made himself General by it  
‘ over all the forces of Christendome, and thereby  
‘ gained the fame of action, trained up his own instru-  
‘ ments martially, and got credit with his fellow-bor-  
‘ dering princes, through the common-council, or par-  
‘ ticipation of fear. Besides, that, in the conclusions of  
‘ peace, he ever saved a mass of riches, gathered by  
‘ debts, contributions, devotions, and levies for com-  
‘ mon defence; which, out of the ill-accounting hand  
‘ of war, became in his exchequer, treasure to ter-  
‘ rify even those Christian neighbours that did contri-  
‘ bute to it. And the more especially he insisted upon  
‘ this, because all those crafty pageants of her enemies  
‘ were disguisedly acted, even while her Majesty had

‘ an agent of extraordinary diligence, worth, and cre-  
‘ dit, with that vast state of Turkey, into whose abso-  
‘ lute and imperious spirit, without any other charge  
‘ than infusing the jealousies of competition, these  
‘ practices among those Austrian usurpers, might easily  
‘ have been interrupted. Lastly, it pleased him to  
‘ question yet a greater oversight in both these king-  
‘ doms, England and France: because while their  
‘ princes stood at gaze, as upon things far off, they  
‘ still gave way for the Popish and Spanish invisible  
‘ arts and counsels, to undermine the greatness and free-  
‘ dom both of secular and ecclesiastical princes: a mortal  
‘ sickness in that vast body of Germany, and by their  
‘ insensible fall, a raising up of the House of Austria  
‘ many steps towards her long affected monarchy over  
‘ the West. The ground of which opinion was, as he  
‘ thought, in respect that even the catholic princes  
‘ and bishops themselves, had their eyes been well  
‘ awakened, would never have endured any cloud or  
‘ colour of religion to have changed their princely so-  
‘ vereignties into such a kind of low and chaplain te-  
‘ nure, as since they have sleepily fallen into; but  
‘ would rather have stirred them, with many hands, to  
‘ bind this miter-superstition with the real cords of  
‘ truth; and to that end perchance, have set Spain on  
‘ work, with her new and ill-digested conquests; her  
‘ dangerous enemy Fes; her native Moors, and Jews,  
‘ since craftily transported; and so probably have  
‘ troubled the usurpations both of the Pope and Spain,  
‘ over that well-tempered, though over-zealous and  
‘ superstitious region of Italy. These and such other  
‘ particulars, as I had in charge, and did faithfully de-  
‘ liver from him to her Majesty, are since performed  
‘ or perished with time or occasion. The last branch  
‘ was, his free expressing of himself in the honour of  
‘ Sir Philip Sidney, after this manner: that I would  
‘ first commend his humble service with those fore-  
‘ mentioned ideas to the Queen; and after crave leave  
‘ of her freely to open his knowledge and opinion of a  
‘ fellow servant of his, that, as he heard, lived unem-  
‘ ployed under her. With himself he began *ab ovo*,  
‘ as having been of Charles the Vth's Privy-Council,  
‘ before he was one and twenty years of age; and since  
‘ as the world knew, either an actor, or at least ac-  
‘ quainted with the greatest actions and affairs of Europe;  
‘ and likewise with her greatest men and ministers of  
‘ state. In all which series of time, multitude of things  
‘ and persons he protested unto me, and for her service,  
‘ that if he could judge, her Majesty had one of the  
‘ ripest and greatest counsellors of state in Sir Philip  
‘ Sidney, that at this day lived in Europe; to the trial  
‘ of which, he was pleased to leave his own credit en-  
‘ gaged, until her Majesty might please to employ  
‘ this gentleman either among her friends or enemies.  
‘ At my return into England, I performed all his other  
‘ commandments: this that concerned Sir Philip, think-  
‘ ing to make the fine spun thread of friendship more  
‘ firm between them, I acquainted Sir Philip with;  
‘ not as questioning, but fully resolving to do it.  
‘ Unto which, he at first sight opposing, discharged my  
‘ faith impawned to the Prince of Orange for the deli-  
‘ very of it; as an act only intending his good, and so  
‘ to be performed or dispensed with at his pleasure;  
‘ yet for my satisfaction, freely added these words:  
‘ first, that the Queen had the life daily attending her;  
‘ and if she either did not, or would not value it so  
‘ highly, the commendation of that worthy prince,  
‘ could be no more at the best than a living picture of  
‘ that life, and so of far less credit and estimation with  
‘ her. His next reason was, because Princes love not  
‘ that foreign powers should have extraordinary affec-  
‘ tion in their subjects; much less to be taught by  
‘ them, how they should place their own; as argu-  
‘ ments either upbraiding ignorance, or lack of large  
‘ rewarding goodness in them (12).’

(12) Sir Folke  
Grevile's Life of  
Sir Philip Sidney,

[E] The p. 22 to 33.



(o) *Idem*, pag.  
187.

(p) *Ibid.* pag.  
193.

(q) *Idem*, pag.  
293.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 294.

\* Mr Collins's  
Historical Ac-  
count of the fa-  
mily of the Gre-  
villes, p. 31 ;  
and Thomas  
Spencer's general  
Life, &c. of Ro-  
bert Lord Brook,  
MS. as before.

superintend, which was the framing of all original bills, and making out all orders for process of appearance. But Fulke Grevile being now so well sped in the reversions of two of the best offices in that court, the Lord Deputy Sidney therefore recommends his son Robert in his room, to be joined with Mr Molyneux; and these instructions bear date 12 May, 1577 (o). Mr Waterhouse, in a letter of his to Sir Henry Sidney, dated the tenth of June following, mentioning his son Philip's return from his embassy in Germany, says, that none of his attendants were sick in the journey, only Fulke Grevile had an ague in his return, at Rochester (p); by which, it seems, we should rather understand that it was in Sidney's return, or that Grevile only met him at the sea-port in Kent he landed at, to escort him, like other friends, to London, and was sick in that journey, than that he bore him company all the way throughout his embassy. It must be so early, according to the nearest computation we can make, as the year 1580, that he had his first office in the court of the marches in Wales, by the contests which about that time appear to have risen against him, concerning the profits thereof; and his friend Sidney prevailed upon his father's Secretary, Mr Molyneux, not to oppose his cousin Grevile's title in any part, or construction of his patents, by a letter he wrote to him on the tenth of April, 1581 (q), as may be seen by Mr Molyneux's answer to the same (r): and when Sir Francis Walsingham appeared as Grevile's friend in the dispute, it laid all other opposition asleep. The letter he wrote upon this occasion we shall here under recite [E], and thereunto annex what we have further met with relating to that office, Clerk of the Signet to the Council in Wales, which is said to have brought him in yearly above two thousand pounds\*, and his other offices in the said court of the marches. He was not however so much embarrassed with business, but that he could make a conspicuous figure in the grand entertainments which were made at Court this year, when the ambassadors and great numbers of the nobility of France came over, commissioners from Queen Katharine de Medicis, to treat about the marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou; and after having been nobly banquetted in a spacious edifice, built at Westminster for the purpose, and splendidly

[E] *The letter he wrote upon this occasion we shall here under recite.]*

Sir FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to Sir HENRY SIDNEY.

' My verie good Lord,  
' About the end of Februarie last, I writt to your  
' Lordship, on the behalfe of my cousen Fulke Grie-  
' vell, for the profits of the office fallen unto him there  
' in the marches, by Mr Dudley's death. At that tyme  
' also, I writt to Mr Fox, frendly advising him to suf-  
' fer my cousen quietly to enjoy the said office, with all  
' such commodities as Mr Dudley had; which no  
' doubt was ment unto him by her Majestie; and I  
' thincke to bee caried away by sufficient words of the  
' patent. Howebeit, as I understand by your Lord-  
' ship's lettre, and more plainly by Mr Fox himself,  
' he intendeth to stand in law with my cousen, for the  
' proffetts which Mr Dudley had, by the late encrease  
' of fees in everie processe passing the signet. Yf Mr  
' Dudley, serving but a nobleman, could enjoy that  
' encrease of fees, much more I hope my cousen shall,  
' being her Majestie's servant, and a gentleman of  
' whome she maketh, as your Lordship doth knowe,  
' some good accompt. I knowe your Lordship's good  
' affection towards my cousen, and therefore doubt not  
' but you have allreadie, and will further doe what  
' you may with Mr Fox, to yeald to that is reason  
' without law; which if hee will not, but that  
' law must needs be commenced between them,  
' surely it shall be prosecuted in such effectual  
' sort, that Mr Fox in the end, will have small cawfes  
' to rejoyce of the issue therof: whereas now, by yeald-  
' ing to that is required, hee may avoyd trouble, and  
' purchase to him self, not only the assurance of the  
' good love of my selfe, but also of all other my cou-  
' sen Greivill's friends, which are manie and of great  
' callyng, and may stead Mr Fox, and his, in matters  
' possible of greater importance than this thing nowe in  
' question is. Much to this effect I have nowe writ-  
' ten to Mr Fox; in whome, if you shall find no pre-  
' sent disposition to yeald to my request, then I wyshe  
' it would please your Lordship, to sequester the pro-  
' fits in controversie between them, as in former let-  
' ters was required, untill the cawse be determined by  
' lawe or otherwise. And thus, with my hartiest com-  
' mendations to your good Lordship, I take my leave:  
' From the Court, the 11th of April, 1581.

' Your Lordship's

' Assured loving friend,

' FRA: WALSYNGHAM (13).'

This office here spoken of to be lately fallen to Mr Grevill, appears to be that of Clerk of the Signet; which as it is in the letter above intimated, and we are elsewhere informed he had granted him by patent from the Queen. The author who speaks of it to the Queen herself, says, 'That by vertue of this clerkship, or keeper of her Majestie's Signet, Mr Foulke Grevill, doth make out all processees which go out of the said court. The fees of the Signet are,—for every letter at the suit of the party, one shilling; for every placard, two shillings; for writing an exemplification, according to it's length, for sealing it, six shillings and eight pence.' It is remarked further, 'that the fees, as well of this office, as in all others there, are far lesse than in others of her Majestie's courts; and yet the dispatch there, is more speedie, and in all respects more easfull to the suitors (14).' The same author, speaking also a little before of the office of Secretary in that court, 'whose duetie was to conceive, devise, and write such letters, acts, or public proclamations, as either concern the quiet government of the subjects, within the lymitts of their authoritie, or the resolutions of that board, upon causes of estate depending before them;' adds, 'that Mr Foulk Grevill is now by patent under the Great-Seale, her Majestie's Secretarie at the said councill: that he had dyett for himself and his servant in the Queen's household, and twenty marks fee per annum; which was to be defalked by the Lord President and Councill, if he neglected attendance (15).' We are likewise here further informed, 'That there is also granted to Mr Foulk Grevill, by another patent, the Clerkship of the Councill, to be executed by himself or his deputie. By vertue of this office, he hath the keeping of all recordes, the office and place of register; the making of all copies, the entring of all orders, and the making of bonds and commissions. He, or his deputie, are tied to continual attendance; allowed diett for himself and one servant; and, for the better performance of his service in this office, is allowed twelve clerks. The office is supplied by Thomas Therar, who for many years hath been deputie in the same; and for the better execution thereof, he hath divided his office into several parts, which being discharged by several persons, are termed offices, after the name of the officer or clerk who serveth therein; as Scroop's office, Bradshaw's office, &c.' as their names then were (16).

(14) The Present State of the Court of your Majesty's Council, established in the principality and marches of Wales, 4to. MS. p. 6. among the MSS. of the late Nat. Boothe, Esq; of Gray's-Inn.

(15) *Idem*, p. 50.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(13) Letters, &c.  
of the Sidneys,  
Vol. I. fol. 293.

[F] *Some*



splendidly furnished, they were further entertained, not to speak of other courtly diversions, with the martial exercises of tilts and tournaments, in the most magnificent and expensive manner, by Philip Earl of Arundel, Frederick Lord Windsor, Philip Sidney, and Fulke Grevile, who were challengers of all comers (5); in which encounters he behaved himself so gallantly, that he won the reputation of a most valiant Knight (7). Sir William Dugdale informs us, that he was constituted Secretary for the principality of South and North Wales, by letters patent, bearing date the twentieth of April, in the 25th of Elizabeth, or 1583; and that the said office was granted to him for life, the 24th of July, 1 James I (u). When Sir Philip Sidney died of his wounds at Amherst, in October 1586, he bequeathed in his last will 'To his dear friends, Mr Edward Dier, and Fulke Grevile, all his books (w).' In the beginning of 1588, he, among other persons of honour and quality, was created Master of Arts at Oxford, which my author thinks was the highest degree conferred on him at that university (x). And when Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, died in February, 1589, Fulke Grevile is mentioned to have been a mourner at his interment, on the 9th of April, 1590, in the chapel at Warwick (y). In December 1595, there appears to have been some complaint brought before the Lords of the council, against Mr Fulke Grevile, for certain abuses in Kanck-Wood in Warwickshire, and an information of fourteen thousand pounds spoil, by good certificate of gentlemen dwelling thereabouts: The examination of this matter was left to the Lord Treasurer and Sir John Fortescue, but if it had gone hardly against him, it is probable we had heard more of it from the same pen that informs us thereof (z). In October 1597, he is reported to have received, with Egerton, Arthur Gorge, Vavesor, and others, the honour of knighthood (a). In the beginning of March following, he made interest for the office of treasurer of the wars (b); and he was about two years after, in the 41st of Elizabeth, according to Dugdale, as last quoted, made treasurer of marine causes for life. When orders were given out to draw commissions for the great fleet that was set forth, in expectation of another invasion by the Spaniards, in August 1599, it is reported, that Sir Fulke Grevile was to have one as Rear-Admiral (c). We hear no more of any such charge that he was entrusted with in the navy, but what he somewhat humourously mentions himself upon the execution of his kinsman, the Earl of Essex; where he says, that 'Himself, while he remained about the Queen, was a kind of *remora*, 'staying the violent course of that fatal ship, and but now was abruptly sent away, to guard a figurative fleet, in danger of nothing but these *prosapopæia*'s of invisible rancour, and kept, as in a free prison, at Rochester, 'till his head was off (d).' In the 44th and last year of Queen Elizabeth, having bought up from private hands some claims upon the manor of Wedgnoek, he obtained from the Queen a grant of the antient and spacious park thereunto belonging, for himself, his heirs, and assigns, in as ample manner as John Duke of Northumberland, or Ambrose Earl of Warwick, had held it\*. He was a Member of Parliament, also frequently of the committees, in several sessions (e), being many times elected Knight of the shire with Sir Thomas Lucy: it is affirmed the county could not make a better choice, they being learned, wise, and honest †; and he is reckoned both a lasting and worthy favourite of the Queen's to the end of her reign, by authors who had the advantage of drawing their characters of him from the life, some particulars whereof we shall gather into the note below [F]. In 1603, he was made Knight of the Bath, at the coronation of King James I. and not long after, or in the second year of that King, according to my authors, had a grant made him of the ruinous castle of Warwick (f). 'He bestowed so much cost, at least twenty thousand pounds, in the repairs thereof, beautifying it with the most pleasant gardens, plantations, and walks, and adorning it with rich furniture; that, considering it's situation, no place in that midland part of England does compare with it for stateliness and delight (g).' Besides

other

[F] *Some particulars whereof we shall gather into the note below.* A little speech of his in the House of Commons, the Lord Bacon has thought worthy of preservation, among the collection of wise sayings, which he published but a twelve month before he died; where he informs us that, 'Sir Fulke Grevill in parliament, when the lower house in a great business of the Queen's, stood much upon precedents, said to them, *Why should you stand so much upon precedents? the times hereafter will be good or bad: if good, precedents will do no harm; if bad, power will make a way where it finds none* (17).' Another speech of his, upon the idle stories that used to be fathered upon him at Court, the same author has, together with a laudable character of him, also remembered in these words, 'Sir Fulk Grevill had much, and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good: yet he would say merrily of himself, *That he was like Robin Goodfellow; for when the maids spilt the milk-pans, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: so what tales the ladies about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him* (18).' But Sir Robert Naunton has given a larger and more general cha-

rafter of him, as an eminent courtier of these times, where he musters him among the favourites of that Queen, which is as follows: 'Sir Fulke Grevill, since Lord Brook, had no mean place in her favour, neither did he hold it for a short term; for, if I be not deceived, he had the longest lease and the smoothest time, without rub of any of her favourites. He came to the court in his youth and prime, for that is the time or never. He was a brave gentleman, and honourably descended from Willoughby Lord Brook, and admiral to Henry VII. Neither illiterate, for he was, as he would often profess, a friend to Sir Philip Sidney; and there are of his now extant, some fragments of his poems, and of those times, which do interest him in the Muses; and which show the Queen's election had ever a noble conduct, and it motions more of vertue and judgment than of fancy. I find that he neither sought for, or obtained any great place or preferment in court, during all the time of his attendance; neither did he need it; for he came thither backed with a plentiful fortune; which, as himself was wont to say, was the better held together by a single life, wherein he lived and died a constant courtier of the ladies (19).'

27 A

[G] How

(1) Camden's  
Annals of Queen  
Elizabeth, anno  
1586.

(2) Woodstock's  
Life of Sir  
Philip Sidney,  
p. 17.

(3) Antient  
History of  
Warwickshire,  
Vol. II. fol. 707.

(4) Sir Philip  
Sidney's  
Works, in Mr Col-  
lin's Memoirs of  
the Lives and  
Actions of the  
Sidneys, prefixed  
to their Letters,  
&c. Vol. I. p. iii.

(5) Athen.  
Oxon. ut supra.

(6) Collins's  
Memoirs of the  
Sidneys, p. 39.

(7) In the Let-  
ters of the Sid-  
neys, Vol. I.  
p. 376.

(8) Idem, Vol.  
II. p. 74.

(9) Ibid. p. 94.

(10) Idem, p. 113.

(11) His life of  
Sir P. Sidney,  
p. 180, 181.

(12) Mr Collins, in  
the family of the  
Grevilles, p. 31.

(13) Sir Symonds  
Dewe's Journal  
of Parliaments,  
&c. fol. 1682.

(14) Mr Collins,  
as before, in the  
family of the  
Grevilles, from  
T. Spencer's  
MS. Life of Ro-  
bert Lord Brooke.

(15) Athen. Ox-  
on. ubi supra;  
and Mr Collins,  
as before.

(16) Dugdale's  
Warwickshire,  
as before.

(17) Sir Robert  
Naunton's Frag-  
menta Regalia;  
or, observations  
on the late Queen  
Elizabeth's times  
and favourites,  
4to. 1642, p. 30.

(17) Lord Bacon's Apoph-  
thegms, new  
and old, 12mo.  
1625. p. 221.

(18) Idem. p.  
257.



other grants from the crown, he had one also of the manor and lands of Knowle, in the said county of Warwick; and he tasted the royal bounty, as yet, more in such grants of land, than any offices in the State. Indeed he seems to have had more temptation to divert himself with his buildings and his books for some years at least, in the former part of this reign, than to pursue his interest at court, where he met with discouragements from some persons in power, perceived the measures of government and management of the state quite altered, waning from the lustre in which he had seen it shine, and found little hopes of being preferred to any thing considerable in the ministry; therefore he seems to have formed some schemes of retirement, that he might as much as possible live over again the glorious times he had been witness of in the late reign, by recalling the particulars thereof to his memory, and recording the same with his pen, which he proposed to confirm with the most authentic vouchers in being: but how posterity came to be deprived of his said intended Life, or History, of Queen Elizabeth, his own words may best declare [G]. When he found he could not have the use of those papers which were necessary to compleat his work in the substantial manner that might be expected, he disposed himself to revise the products of his juvenile studies, and his poetical recreations with Sir Philip Sidney. Little of them appeared in print during his life-time, but since his death there have been three or four publications in his name, though it is not improbable, but he has mentioned himself all the pieces of his writing which he designed for the press: therefore we shall here subjoin an account of the writings which have been publickly ascribed to him, and then what he says of those which he intended should be printed as his posthumous works [H]. It was some time after the death of the Treasurer Cecil, before we

[G] *How posterity came to be deprived of his intended life of Queen Elizabeth, his own words may best declare.* Sir Fulke Grevil, after having given us some short memoirs, or a summary view in several instances, of the wise and political government of this renowned Queen, proceeds thus in apology, for not extending the same to it's due proportion. 'Now if any man shall demand, why I did not rather leave unto the world a complete history of her life, than this short memorial, in such scattered and undigested minutes, let him receive this answer from a dead man, because I am confident no flesh breathing, by seeing what is done, shall have occasion of asking that question whilst I am living. Presently after the death of my most gracious Queen and mistress, the false spirits and apparitions of idle grief haunted me exceedingly, and made all things seem either greater or less than they were; so that the farther I went, the more discomfortable I found those new revolutions of time, to my decayed and disproportioned abilities; yet fearing to be cursed with the fig-tree, if I bore no fruit, I roused up my thoughts upon an ancient axiom of wise men; *si quicquid offendit, relinquitur cito; inerti otio torpescit vita*; and upon a second review of the world, called to mind the many duties I owed to that matchless sovereign of mine, with a resolution to write her life in this manner. First, seriously to have begun with the uniting of the red and white roses, in the marriage of Henry VII. In the like manner, to have run over Henry the VIIIth's time, untill his several rents in the Church, with a purpose to have demurred more seriously upon the sudden change, in his son Edward VI, from superstition, to the establishment of God's ancient catholic and primitive Church. Those cobwebs of reversion in Queen Mary's days, I had no intent to meddle with, but only, by pre-occupation to shew, that princes captivated in nature, can seldom keep any thing free in their governments, but as soils manured to bring forth ill-weeds apace, must live to see schism arise in the Church, wearing out the real branches of immortal truth, to weave in the thin leaves of mortal superstition, and to behold in the state, all their fairest industries, spring and fade together, like fern-seed. Lastly, I intended, with such spirits as age had left me, to revive my self in her memory, under whom I was bred. Now in this course, because I knew, that as the liberality of kings did help to cover many errors; so truth in a story, would make good many other defects in a writer, I adventured to move the Secretary\*, that I might have his favour to peruse all obsolete records of the council-chest, from those times, down as near to these, as he, in his wisdom should think fit. He first, friendly required my end in it, which I as freely delivered him, as I have now done to you. Against her memory, he, of all men had no reason to keep a strict hand, and where to bestow a Queen Elizabeth's servant, with less disadvantage to himself, it seems,

'readily appeared not; so that my abrupt motion took hold of his present counsell: for he liberally granted my request, and appointed me that day three weeks to come for his warrant; which I did, and then found in shew, a more familiar and graceful aspect than before; he descending to question me, *why I would dream out my time, in writing a story, being as like to rise in this time, as any man he knew*. Then, in a more serious and friendly manner, examining me, how I could clearly deliver many things done in that time, which might perchance be construed to the prejudice of this? I shortly made answer, that I conceived an historian was bound to tell nothing but the truth; but to tell all the truth, were both justly to wrong and offend, not only princes and states, but to blemish and stir up against himself, the frailty and tenderness, not only of particular men, but of many families, with the spirit of an Athenian Timon; and therefore shewed myself so far from being discouraged with that objection, as I took upon me freely to adventure all my own goods in this ship, which was to be of my own building. Immediately this noble Secretary, as it seems moved, but not removed with those selfnesses of my opinion, seriously assured me that, upon second thoughts, *he durst not presume to let the counsell-chest lie open to any man living, without his Majesty's knowledge and approbation*. With this *superfedeas*, I humbly took my leave, at the first sight, assuring myself, this last project of his, would necessarily require, *sheet after sheet to be viewed*, which I had no confidence in my own powers to abide the hazard of (and herein it may please the reader to believe me the rather, by these pamphlets, which having slept out my own time, if they happen to be seen hereafter, shall at their own peril rise upon the stage when I am not). Besides, in the same proposition I further say, that the many judgments which those embryos of mine must probably have past through, would have brought forth such a world of alterations, as in the end of the work itself, would have proved a story of other mens writing, with my name only put to it; and so a worship of time, not a voluntary homage of duty (20).'

[H] *Shall here subjoin an account of the writings which have been publickly ascribed to him, and then, what he has said of those he intended should be printed as his posthumous works.* Most of our author's poetical works were published about five years after his death, but the name of any editor does not appear in that edition of them. The several pieces seem to be all genuine, or of his own composition; and, as may be seen before some of them, were licensed to the press, by H. Herbert, in June 1632 (21). The first is, *A Treatise of Human Learning*, in 150 stanzas, of six lines each. 2. *An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour*, in eighty-six stanzas. 3. *A Treatise of Wars*, in sixty-eight stanzas. 4. *The Tragedy of Alaham*. 'Tis mostly written in rhyme, and is adorned with many moral sentences, and political maxims. It seems an imitation of the Ancients,

(20) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir P. Sidney, from p. 236 to p. 241.

(21) They are entitled, Certain learned and elegant Works of the Right Hon. Fulke Lord Brooke, written in his youth, and familiar Exercise with Sir P. Sidney, Lond. printed by E. P. for W. Seyle, &c. fol. 1633.

\* Sir Robert Cecil.



we meet with him in any favour, or advancement considerable, in the Court or State. In the twelfth of King James, or 1614, he was by that King made Under-Treasurer and Chancellor

of the old Kings of Ormus, an island situate at the entrance of the Persian gulph, where the scene of the drama lies. This spectre gives an account of each character, possibly in imitation of Euripides, who usually introduced one of the chief actors, as the prologue, whose business was to explain all those circumstances which preceded the opening of the stage. The author has been so careful in observing the rules of Aristotle and Horace, (as to the number of interlocutors) that he has in no scene throughout, introduced above two speakers, except in the chorus between each act, and even there, he observes all the rules laid down by the latter of those masters in the art of poetry, &c. (22). 5. *The Tragedy of Mustapha*.

This also is built on the like ancient model with the former, as we shall see he never designed either to appear upon any modern stage. The author last quoted observes, that, 'an imperfect copy of this play appeared in print, in quarto, Lond 1609; though he supposes without his Lordship's knowledge, since it may rather be filed a fragment than a tragedy: but those imperfections are mended in this folio edition (23).' It was upon the occasion of this surreptitious impression, that a poet of those times, in an epigram he wrote to the author upon this play, addresses the same, *To the immortal memory, and deserved honour of the writer of the Tragedy of Mustapha, as it is written, not printed, by Sir Fulke Grevill, Knt* (24). Yet Mr Edmund Bolton, though he had only seen this first edition, calls it, in his *Hypercritica*, the *Matchless Mustapha*, and says of the author, in company of some others of note, that his poetry, especially therein, is not to be easily mended. At the end of this tragedy, in the chorus *facerdotum*, there are six lines which one of our most reverend prelates has quoted from this play into one of his sermons, to answer the same, as the favourite argument of those who murmur at the injuries of religion, as if it attributed to Providence, 'the setting of our nature and our duty at variance, or the giving us appetites one way and laws another; the force of which objection, says he, is very smartly expressed in those celebrated verses of a noble poet of our own, which are so frequently in the mouths of many, who are thought to bear no good will to religion: and perhaps 'tis the only example that has been drawn into such a solemn discourse from an English play, by one who was such an eminent member of the Church. The lines are these:

Oh, wearisome condition of humanity;  
Born under one law to another bound!  
Vainly begot, and yet forbidden vanity!  
Created sick, commanded to be sound!  
If nature did not take delight in blood,  
She would have made more easy ways to  
good (25).

But these two last lines do not immediately follow the former in the said chorus of the play itself; and as for the thought, it has not only been embellished by other poets of wit and judgment, besides the Lord Brook, but no less admired in them, without any imputation of disrespect to the divine ordinances of Providence; and especially in those celebrated lines of the famous Italian, Battista Guarini, which are as follow:

*Se'l peccar' è sì dolce,  
E'l non peccar sì necessario; à troppo  
Imperfetta natura,  
Che repugni à la legge;  
O troppo dura legge  
Che la natura offendi\*.*

Edward Phillips, in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, and his follower William Winstanley, in his *Lives of the English Poets*, have ascribed another tragedy to our author, named *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, but erroneously; this play not being written, at least printed, till many years after his death (26). 6. *Cælica*: containing 109 sonnets of different measures, but mostly on the topic of love. This is a name our author also uses in his tragedy

of Alaham, for the old King's daughter: but he has likewise the names of Cynthia, Myra, and Myrphina, in some others of these sonnets. 7. *A Letter to an honourable Lady*. This is a long one written in prose, tho' unfinished; advising, how to compose herself under the irregularities of her husband, especially under the affliction of having a rival: but it is full, according to his vein, of such refined speculations, that it is well, if she every where could be able to understand him. 8. *A Letter of Travel*. This is also written in prose, from his seat known by the name of Brook-House, at Blackney, in 1609, to his cousin Grevil Verney, then in France; there is a MS. of it, in the library of University College in Oxford: it contains directions to him, for his conduct and management during his continuance abroad; and these are the contents of this volume: what we have more to observe in relation to some extractions of it, is reserved for the last note we shall make upon this article. Several good precepts, maxims, and reflections, have been extracted from the plays and poems above-mentioned, in a late collection of the best thoughts, &c. gathered out of our old poets (27). Afterwards, in the beginning of the civil-wars, there was an historical pamphlet published in our author's name, discoursing of the Earl of Northampton's coming to honour, the rise of Carr Earl of Somerset, the breach between the Earl of Essex and Lady Frances Howard his countess; her marriage with Carr; the Lord Treasurer Cecil's death; the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury; the death of Prince Henry; the release of Sir Walter Raleigh from the Tower, and other occurrences from the year 1611, to 1616 (28): but neither the style nor sentiments being agreeable to Sir Fulke Grevil's manner, and as he mentions not this treatise among his other writings, we meet with no confirmation of it's being written by him; and yet, as that period of time contains such remarkable events in the reign of King James the First, the tract has been lately thought worthy of another impression (29). The next piece which appeared in public, with his name to it, was what the editor rather than himself seems to have entituled, *The Life of the renowned Sir Philip Sidney*; which we have, in this account of the author, been much beholden to, for several extracts relating to his Lordship. It is evidently a work of his own composing, though it lay above twenty years hoarded up in his friend's hands before it came abroad (30); and tho' it is expressed in the title page, to contain *Sir Philip's principal actions, councils, designs, and death, with the true interest of England, as it then stood, in relation to all foreign princes, and particularly for suppressing the power of Spain, as stated by him; together with a short account of the maxims and policies used by Queen Elizabeth in her government*: yet his whole work has not answered the great ideas which the world had conceived of his worthy; finding it rather a characteristical draught of him, in which the author seems to have aimed more at those delicate and courtly forms of address he had been used to, in fine spun phrases, and distant or general intimations, rather than to be explicit, or plainly particular as a Biographer should be in solid matters of fact. But indeed he was in his declining years when he wrote it, from the faint and faded images that remained in his memory, without having any, or very little recourse to books, or such other memorials from whence he might have enriched his narrative with those historical requisites of time, place, and person, whereof it is so deficient. Hence Anthony Wood says, 'It were to be wished, that Sir Fulke Grevil's imperfect essay might be supplied (31):' and Bishop Nicholson observes, that 'Sir Fulke has not given the story of his intimate friend so accurately as we could wish, nor as the memory of that extraordinary person deserves (32).' But indeed, as he seems not to have designed a perfect life, however those authors were misled by the editor's title to believe he had, so much as a few sketches, or outlines, for others to fill up; and in short, as the whole treatise, consisting of eighteen chapters, whereof a third part does not concern Sir Philip Sidney, appears intended but as so many preliminary discourses or parts of a general preface, that was to be only introductory to his poetical works, it may as such pass for a very proper, polite, and ingenious performance. There is a manuscript copy of it in the library of Trinity-College in Cambridge,

(17) In Mr Thomas Hayward's British Muse, in 3 vols 12mo. 1738.

(28) It is intitled, *The Five Years of King James I. or the Condition of the State of England, and the relation it had to other provinces*, written by Sir Fulke Greville, late Lord Brooke, printed for R. W. 4to. 1643.

(29) In the *Harleian Miscellany*, 4to. Vol. VII.

(30) Printed for Henry Seyle, 12mo. 1652, and dedicated by the editor, P. B. to the Countess of Sunderland.

(31) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 226.

(32) Hist. Lib. folio, 1736, p. 247.

(22) Ger. Langbaine's Account of the English dramatic poets, 8vo. Oxon. 1691, p. 38.

(23) Idem, p. 39.

(24) John Davis's Scourge of Folly, printed in 8vo about 1610, p. 195.

(1) Vid. Nic. Triveti Anna-lum Contin. Oxon. 8vo. 1722, p. 237.

(25) Archbishop Tillotson's Sermons, 8vo. 2d edit. Vol. III. 1687, p. 406, &c. See also Sir Richard Steele's Reader and Lover, 2d edit. 8vo. 1718, p. 184, &c.

Il Pastor Fido; to III. scen. iv.

(26) Langbaine, 40.



(b) Dugd. War.  
Vol. II. fol. 767.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, also chosen one of the Privy-Council, and then or afterwards one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber (b). In his office of Chancellor, it is recorded

Cambridge, which either does not, or should not monopolize the whole discourse under the name of Sir Philip; whose life it was apparently entitled by the editor, as the most popular and vendible title he could give it. The last book which was set forth to the world in our author's name, called his *Remains*, consists of some political and philosophical poems, written much in the vein of others before specified; and having himself, in the preceding work, partly mentioned them, we may therefore the less doubt their being of the same extraction. The Bookseller, in his advertisement informs us that, 'When Sir Fulke grew old, he revised the poems and treatises he had writ long before, and, at his death, committed them to his friend Mr Michael Malet, an aged gentleman, in whom he much confided; who intended what the author proposed, to have had them printed all together; but by copies of some parts of them, which happened into other hands, some of them came first abroad; each of his works having had their fate, as they singly merit particular esteem, so to come into the world at several times. He, to whom they were first delivered being dead, the trust of these remaining pieces devolved on Sir J. M. who hath given me the licensed copy of them: and that the reader may be more fully informed of the author and his writings, and how they are related to each other, we must refer to that wherein, besides his friend Sir Philip Sidney's life, he gives account of his own, and what he hath written (33).'

In these poetical Remains, the first poem is a Treatise of Monarchy, which is divided into fifteen sections, and they were first designed, or some of them, as choruses to his dramatic compositions: they are entitled as follow, Sect. I. Of the beginning of Monarchy. II. The Declination of Monarchy to violence. III. Of weak-minded Tyrants. IV. Cautions against these weak Extremities. V. Of strong Tyrants. VI. Of the Church. VII. Of Laws. VIII. Of Nobility. IX. Of Commerce. X. Of Crown Revenue. XI. Of Peace. XII. Of War. XIII. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Aristocracy. XIV. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Democracy. XV. The Excellency of Monarchy compared with Aristocracy and Democracy together. The whole fifteen sections make six hundred and sixty-four stanzas of six lines. The other poem, or Treatise of Religion, consists of an hundred and fourteen stanzas, and is not divided into sections. As for the character of his writings in general, one poetical author has given them a great encomium, in an epigram he has composed on his Lordship's works, wherein he calls them food for strong minds, while those which are weaker, may find enough of that which is lighter, in other books; and says further, that great wits look upon his master-strokes with reverence and admiration, though they are not grown into such esteem with novices, and those of meaner capacity: that his works shall endure to posterity, as reliques of his worth, like some rare statue or busto, the workmanship of some masterly hand; whose excellences, a Michael Angelo, or a Barnini, had only the skill to discover, but marble-spoilers no taste of †. Edward Phillips says, more especially in regard to his poetry, 'That there is observable in all of it, a close, mysterious, and sententious way of writing, without much regard to elegance of style, or smoothness of verse (34).' But indeed he is often very elegant, both in prose and verse, and sometimes also, very obscure or abstruse in both; as a critic of the fair sex has very truly observed; where she says, 'Perhaps few men that dealt in poetry had more learning or real wisdom than this nobleman; and yet his style is sometimes so dark and mysterious, I mean it appears so to me, that one would imagine he chose rather to conceal than illustrate his meaning: at other times again, his wit breaks out with an uncommon brightness, and shines, I had almost said without an equal. 'Tis the same thing with his poetry; sometimes so harsh and uncouth, as if he had no ear for music; at others, so smooth and harmonious, as if he was master of all it's powers (35).'

Thus having given an account of the works that have been published as our author's, and what others have said of them; we shall now recite what he has said himself, of those he intended for publication.

This account of his said political and dramatic poems, he introduces, after having informed us how he was discouraged from his engagements in foreign services, as was before related, with his determination to take Sir Philip Sidney, in whom the exact image of quiet and action was so happily united, and is so seldom well divided in any, for his pattern: so that his compass, was one of his principal directions, for stealing some portions of time from his daily services at home, and employing them in this kind of writing. Then he goes on in these words: 'Since my declining age, it is true; that I had, for some years, more leisure to discover their imperfections, than care or industry to amend them; finding in my self, what all men complain of in the world, that it is more easy to find fault, excuse, or tolerate, than to examine or reform. The works, as you see are tragedies, with some treatises annexed. The treatises, to speak truly of them, were first intended to be, for every act a chorus; and though not borne out of the present matter acted, yet, being the largest subject I could then think upon, and no such strangers to the scope of the tragedies, but that a favourable reader might still find some consanguinity between them; I preferring this general scope of profit, before the self-reputation of being an exact artizan in that poetical mystery, conceived that a perspective into vice, and the improsperties of it, would prove more acceptable to every good reader's ends, than any bare murmur of discontented spirits against their present government, or horrible periods of exorbitant passions among equals. Which with humble fails, after I had once ventured upon this spreading ocean of images, my apprehensive youth, for lack of a well-touched compass, did easily wander beyond proportion. And in my old age again, looking back on them with a father's eye; when I considered first, how poorly the inward natures of those glorious names were expressed; then, how much easier it was to excuse deformities, than to cure them, though I found reason to change their places, yet I could not find in my heart to bestow cost or care, in altering their light and limited apparel in verse. From hence, to come particularly to that treatise intitled, *The Declination of Monarchy*\*, let me beg leave of the favourable reader to bestow a few lines more in the story of this changling, than I have done in the rest; and yet, to use no more serious authority, than the rule of Diogenes, which was, to hang the posie where there is most need. The first birth of that phantasm was divided into three parts, with intention of the author, to be disposed among their fellows, into three divers acts of the tragedies. But, as I said before, when upon a second review, they, and the rest, were all ordained to change their places, then did I, like an old and fond parent, unlike to get any more children, take pains, rather to cover the dandled deformities of these creatures, with a coat of many seams, than carefully to drive them away, as birds do their young ones. Yet again, when I had in my own case, well weighed the tenderness of that great subject, and consequently the nice path I was to walk in, between two extremities; but especially the danger, by treading aside, to cast scandal upon the sacred foundations of monarchy, together with the fate of many metaphysical Phormio's before me, who had lost themselves in teaching of kings and princes how to govern their people; then did this new prospect dazzle my eyes, and suspend my travel for a time. But the familiar self-love, which is more or less born in every man, to live and die with him, presently moved me to take this bear-whelp up again, and lick it. Wherein, I rousing myself under the banner of this flattery, went about, as a fond mother, to put on richer garments, in hope to adorn them. But while clothes were in making, I perceived that cost would but draw more curious eyes to observe deformities. So that from these checks, a new counsell arose in me, to take away all opinion of seriousness from these perplexed pedigrees; and to this end, carelessly cast them into that hypocritical figure *Ironia*, wherein men commonly, to keep above their works, seem to make toys of the utmost they can do. And yet again, in that confused mist, when I beheld this grave subject,

\* Printed in b  
Remains as was  
before observed

(33) The Remains of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, being poems of Monarchy and Religion, never printed before; printed for Hen. Herrineman. 8vo. 1670, in the preface.

† See Epigrams of all sorts, &c. by Richard Flecknoe, 8vo. 1671, p. 10.

(34) E. Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum: or Compleat Collection of the Poets*, 12mo. 1675.

(35) The Muses Library, or a Series of English poetry, &c. by Mrs Elizabeth Cooper, 8vo. 1737, p. 216.



(f) A Catalogue of all the nobility of England; his Majesty's Courts of Record, his Household, Councils of the North, Wales, and the Marches; the Admiralty, Armoury, and the Mint; his Towns of War, Castles, &c. with his Houses, Parks, Forests, &c. collected in the year 1616, folio, MS. in the library of the late Nat. Boote, Esq; of Gray's-Inn.

recorded that he had for his fee, forty marks, and twelve pounds seventeen shilling and six-pence, livery out of the wardrobe; and that his fee, as Under-Treasurer of England, was an hundred seventy-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence; and livery out of the wardrobe, four pounds six and eight-pence (i). In 1617 he obtained a special charter, confirming all such liberties as had been granted to any of his ancestors, in behalf of the town of Alcester, upon a new rent of ten shillings per annum, then reserved to the said King, his heirs and successors (k). And having merited much for his faithful services in his employments, being also descended of the noble Nevils, Willoughbys, and Beauchamps, as it is expressed in his patent, he was by the same, bearing date the ninth of January, in the eighteenth year of King James's reign, or 1620, advanced to the dignity of a Baron of this realm, by the title of Lord Brook of Beauchamps-Court (l), with limitation of that honour, for lack of issue male of his own body, unto Robert Grevile, the son of Fulke, son of Robert, a younger son of the first Fulke; which Robert, educated at Cambridge, succeeded him in the title, &c. and was killed by one of the royal party at Lichfield, in the beginning of the civil wars, as may be elsewhere read (m). According to A. Wood's reckoning, it was in September, 1621, that the Lord Brook was made one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber (n); and that thereupon, resigning his Chancellorship of the Exchequer, he was succeeded therein by Richard Weston, afterwards Earl of Portland, and Lord-Treasurer of England (o). He was also Counsellor of State to King Charles I, and, in the beginning of his reign, was the founder of an History Lecture in the

(i) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 100.

(k) Idem. with Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. II. p. 441. b.

(l) Clarendon's History of the Revolution, anno 1642. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 523. Also T. Spencer's Life, &c. of Robert Lord Brooke.

(n) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 521.

(o) Idem. Also Camden's Annals of King James.

subject, which should draw reverence and attention to be over-spangled with lightness, I forced, in examples of the Roman gravity and greatness; the harsh severity of the Lacedemonian government; the riches of the Athenian learning, wit and industry; and like a man that plays divers parts upon several hints, left all the indigested crudities, equally applied to kings or tyrants: whereas, in every clear judgment, the right line had been sufficient enough to discover the crooked; if the image of it could have proved credible to men. Now for the several branches, or discourses following; they are all members of one, and the same imperfect body; so as I let them take their fortunes, like essays, only to tempt and stir up some more free genius to fashion the whole frame into finer mould for the world's use. The first limb of those treatises, I mean that fabrick of a superstitious Church\*, having by her masterful ambition over-empersors, kings, princes, free-states and councils, with her conclave-deceits, strengths, and unthankfulness, spread so far beyond my horizon, as I at once gave over her, and all her derivations to Gamaliel's infallible censure, leaving laws, nobility, war, peace,†, and the rest, as glorious trophies of our old Pope the sin, to change, reform, or become deformed, according as vanity, that limitless mother of these idolatries should either win of the truth, or the truth of them. Lastly, concerning the tragedies themselves, they were in their first creation, three; whereof Anthony and Cleopatra, according to their irregular passions, in forsaking empire to follow sensuality, were sacrificed to the fire: the executioner, the author himself. Not that he conceived it to be a contemptible younger brother to the rest; but lest while he seemed to look over-much upward, he might stumble into the astronomer's pit; many members in that creature, by the opinion of those few eyes that saw it, having some childish wantonness in them, apt enough to be construed, or strained to a personating of views in the present governors and government (36).

Towards the latter end of the book, our author speaks again of his burning this tragedy, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, as follows. 'Thus have I, by the reader's patience, given that Egyptian and Roman Tragedy, a much more honourable sepulture, than it could ever have deserved, especially in making their memories attend upon my sovereign's herse, without any other hope of being, than to wait upon her life and death, as their maker did; who hath ever since been dying, to all those glories of life, which he formerly enjoyed, under the blessed, and blessing presence of this unmatched Queen and woman (37). Lastly, in the concluding chapter of this treatise, he resumes this subject of his dramatic compositions again, in these words. 'Now, to return to the tragedies remaining, my purpose in them was, not with the Ancient; to exemplify the disastrous miseries of man's life, where order, laws, doctrine and authority, are unable to protect innocence from the exorbitant wickedness of power, and so out of that melancholy vision stir horror, or murmurs against Providence: nor yet with the Modern, to point out God's reven-

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ging aspect upon every particular sin, to the despair or confusion of mortality; but rather to trace out the high ways of ambitious governours, and to shew in the practice, that the more audacity, advantage and good success such sovereignties have, the more they hasten to their own desolation and ruin. So that, to this abstract end, finding all little instruments in discovery of great bodies to be seldom without errors, I presumed, or it rather escaped me, to make my images beyond the ordinary stature of excess; wherein again, that women are predominant, is not for malice or ill talent to their sex; but as poets figured the virtues to be women, all nations call them by feminine names; so have I described malice, craft, and such-like vices in the persons of shrews, to shew that many of them are of that nature, even as we are; I mean, strong in weakness; and consequently in these orbs of passion, the weaker sex commonly the more predominant; yet as I have not made all women good, with Euripides, so have I not made them all evil with Sophocles, but mixed of such sorts, as we find both them and ourselves. Again, for the arguments of these tragedies, they be not naked and casual, like the Greek and Latin; nor, I confess, contrived with the variety, and unexpected encounters of the Italians, but nearer levelled to those humours, counsels and practices, wherein I thought fitter to hold the attention of the reader, than in the strangeness, or perplexedness of witty fictions; in which, the affections or imagination may perhaps find exercise and entertainment, but the memory and judgment no enrichment at all: besides I conceived these delicate images, to be over-abundantly furnished in all languages already.——For my own part, I found my creeping genius more fixed upon the images of life, than the images of wit; and therefore chose not to write to them, on whose foot the black ox had not already trod, as the proverb is, but to those only, that are weather-beaten in the sea of this world; such as having lost the sight of their gardens and groves, study to sail on a right course, among rocks and quicksands; and in this ordaining and ordering matter and form together, for the use of life, I have made those tragedies no plays for the stage; be it known, it was no part of my purpose to write for them, against whom so many good and great spirits have already written. But he that will behold these acts upon their true stage, wherein himself is an actor, even the state he lives in, and for every part he may perchance find a player, and for every line, it may be an instance of life, beyond the author's intention or application; the vices of former ages being so like to these of this age, as it will be easy to find out some affinity or resemblance between them; which whosoever readeth with this apprehension, will not perchance think the scenes too large, at least the matter not to be exceeded in account of words. Lastly for the style, as it is rich or poor, according to the state and ability of the writer, so the value of it shall be enhanced, or cried down, according to the grace and capacity of the reader; from which common fortune of books I look for no exemption (38).

27 B

[I] Was

(38) Ibid. from p. 242 to 247.

\* Also printed in his Remains.

† These likewise in his Remains.

(36) Sir Fulke Grevile's Life of Sir Philip Sidney, from p. 172 to 178.

(37) Idem, p. 235.



the university of Cambridge, with the allowance of an handsome salary to the Professor thereof [I]. Indeed there are many instances of his favour and beneficence to learning and learned men; and many of them have not only amply celebrated his excellent sense and ingenuity, but gratefully acknowledged his extraordinary liberality towards, and patronage of them, in the dedications of books and poems, and other literary honours they paid him [K]; which makes it the more surprizing, that the same nobleman, a man of such

[I] Was the founder of an historical lecture in the university of Cambridge, with the allowance of an handsome salary to the Professor thereof.] Our author, for this foundation, Dr Fuller, mentions it under the year 1627, where he informs us that, 'Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, bred long since in Trinity-College, founded a place for an History-Professor in the University of Cambridge, allowing him an annual stipend of an hundred pounds. Isaac Dorislaus, Doctor of the Civil-Law, an Hollander, was first placed therein. Say not, this implied want of worthy men in Cambridge for that faculty; it being but fit, that founders should please their own fancy in the choice of the first Professor. The Doctor was a Dutchman, very much anglicized in language and behaviour. However, because a foreigner, preferred to that place, his lectures were listened to with the more critical attention of Cambridge auditors. Incomparable Tacitus he chose for his subject, and had not yet passed over those first words,—*Urbem Romanam primò Reges habuere*, when some exception was taken at his comment thereon. How hard is it for liquors not to resent of the vessels they are poured through? for vessels not to taste of the earth they are made of? being bred in a popular air, his words were interpreted, by high monarchical ears, as over praising a state in disgrace of a kingdom. Hereupon he was accused to the King, troubled at Court, and, after his submission, hardly restored to his place. This is that Doctor Dorislaus, Cambridge Professor of History, in his life, who himself was made an history at his death; slain in Holland, when first employed ambassador from the Commonwealth, unto the States of the United Provinces (39). Among the manuscripts in the library of Gonvil and Caius-College, there is one entitled, *Articles touching the Intention, &c. of Sir Fulk Grevil in the University*; which we suppose may relate to his foundation therein aforesaid.

[K] Many have, not only celebrated his sense and ingenuity, but acknowledged his patronage, in the literary honours they paid him.] Here, not to enlarge upon what is mentioned of him in the dedication or epistle explanatory to Sir Philip Sidney, of that scarce and sometime famous little book of dialogues written by Jordano Bruno, while, or but a short time before he was at Oxford; one copy whereof was sold in the auction of Mr Charles Bernard's library, at a Coffee-House in Ave Mary-lane, in the year 1711, to Walter Clavel, Esq; at the extravagant price of above twenty-eight pounds (40), as we may elsewhere more particularly relate; there being many of our own authors, who better knew, and have celebrated him in his most proper points of light; besides John Davis of Hereford, in his epigrams before mentioned; such as, Samuel Daniel; between whom and Sir Fulk Grevil, there passed an intercourse of several letters, upon some improvements or reformation that had been proposed to be made, in the masques, interludes, or other dramatical entertainments at Court; which were in great request in their time, especially in the reign of King James I. they being much encouraged by Queen Anne, and the Ladies who attended upon her. Their sentiments they also exchanged in writing, upon the topic of our English versification, about the time that Daniel had his controversy with Dr Campion thereupon, and Sir Fulk's judgment is often applauded, with his munificence to several practitioners therein (41). The said Samuel Daniel, has also in his printed works, before his Musophilus, containing a general defence of all learning, in a poetical dialogue between the said Musophilus and Philocosmus, prefixed a dedication in verse to him, so early as before he was knighted; it being addressed to Mr Fulk Grevil (42). And Bishop Corbet has honourably remembered him, both for his improvements at Warwick-Castle, and hospitable entertainment of him there, among his poems, in that which is entitled *Iter Borsale*. But that character which is given of a poet, by the name of Brook, in a noted pastoral writer of those days, is not to be understood of this Lord Brook, who

then was not known by this title, but of one Christopher Brook, a Lawyer of the Inner-Temple, and a poet of that time in good esteem, not only with this pastoral poet (43), but other eminent wits who were contemporary with him (44). Some discourses and translations also in prose, we have met with dedicated to him; one particularly of a translation from the Spanish, of Diana of Montmayor, by Tho. Wilfon, Esq; in 1596, which though first inscribed to the Earl of Southampton, was afterwards dedicated to the Right Honourable Sir Fulk Grevill, Knt. Privy Councillor to his Majesty, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: 'tis a manuscript, fairly written in quarto, bound in green velvet, and was among the manuscripts of Basil Earl of Denbeigh. But the authors of more serious and solid labours, he more zealously cherished, and more substantially befriended. In 1597, by his assiduous supplications to Queen Elizabeth, he obtained the office of Clarencieux King of Arms for Mr Camden (45); who very gratefully acknowledges the benefit; where he informs us that, 'this Sir Fulk Grevil doth so entirely devote himself to the study of real virtue and honour, that the nobleness of his mind, far exceeds that of his birth; for whose extraordinary favours (adds he) though I must despair of making suitable returns, yet whether speaking or silent, I must ever preserve a grateful remembrance of them (46).' Six years after, Mr Camden inscribed his edition of our old Latin historians to his said noble patron; and at his death, left him a piece of plate in his will. In the latter end of that Queen's reign, it was by his cordial recommendations of the learned Dr John Overal, to her Majesty, that she conferred upon him the Denary of St Paul's (47). He was also the rise and making of a relation, who was afterwards an eminent minister of state; for, as Dr Fuller has observed, 'Sir John Coke, being related to Sir Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, was preferred to be Secretary of the Navy; then Master of the Requests, and at last Secretary of State for twenty years together. A zealous Protestant, and did all good offices for the advancement of true religion: he died in 1644 \*.' But for his happy enfranchisement of John Speed the historiographer, from a mechanic employment, and his commodious enablement of him to pursue the historical studies to which he had such an uncommon inclination, the hearty and unreserved acknowledgment he has publickly made, deserves to be written in letters of gold; where having mentioned in his description of Warwickshire, the extraordinary reparations which had been made of the decayed castle at Warwick, by Sir Fulk Grevil; he adds, 'Whose merits to me-wards, I do acknowledge, in setting this hand free from the daily employments of a manual trade, and giving it full liberty thus to express the inclination of my mind; himself being the procurer of my present estate (48).' The Lord Bacon had such an opinion of his knowledge, judgment, and friendly regard to his fame and credit, that he submitted his life of King Henry the VII. to his perusal and animadversions; and the respect and value which the Lord Brook expressed for the said performance upon his return of it, is preserved by the Lord Bacon's chaplain, in the short account he has given us of him (49). In Easter-Term 1618, an information being exhibited by Sir Henry Yelverton, Attorney-General, in the Star-Chamber, against one Wraynham, for his libellous defamations of the said Lord Chancellor Bacon; the Lord Brook, and other Lords of the Council there present, did all censure the said unwarrantable accuser, in support of the noble character that was so injuriously treated; as by his, and their several speeches may appear (50). And long after the said Lord Chancellor's fall, even in the last year of his life, the brief, but brilliant character which was given by him of this peer, as has been before quoted, may sufficiently prove the falshood of that idle story in a satirical historian, who reports that the Lord Brook's butler had orders to refuse a messenger who came from the Lord Bacon (then retired to his chambers in Gray's-Inn) to beg for a bottle

(39) Dr Fuller's History of the university of Cambridge, fol. 1655, p. 165.

(40) Entitled, Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante; Proposto da Giove, Effettuato dal consiglio, Revelato da Mercurio, Recitato da Sophia, Udito da Saulino, Registrato dal Nolano, &c. Stampato in Parigi, 12mo. 1584.

(41) A Miscellany of Historical and Poetical Remarks, gathered in the reign of King James I. 4to. among the MSS. of the late Thomas Coxeter, Esq;

(42) Samuel Daniel's Poetical Works, in 2 vols 12mo. 1718, Vol. II. p. 367.

(43) W. Browne, Esq; in his Britannia's Pastorals, Lib. ii. fol. 1616, Song II. p. 37.

(44) Dr Donne's Poems, edit. 8vo. 1669, p. 114, &c.

(45) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 481.

(46) Camden's Britannia, in Warwickshire.

(47) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 314.

\* Fuller's Worthies, in Derbyshire, fol. 233.

(48) J. Speed's Prospect of the most famous parts of the world, fol. 1646, p. 53.

(49) Dr William Rawley's Life of the Lord Bacon, before his Works, folio, 1670.

(50) In a Vindication of the Lord Chancellor Bacon, from the aspersions of injustice cast upon him by Mr Wraynham, &c. (first published from the MS. by W. O.) printed for J. Peel in Pater-noster-row, 8vo. 1725, p. 37, &c. See also Wrenham's Cite in Popham's Reports, 2d edit. fol. 1682, p. 137.



such parts as could both relish and cherish those who were endowed with the best; a man also of such affluence and interest, as to gain the esteem and commendations of so many ingenious persons abroad, so many humble servants without doors, for his friendly gratifications or preferment of them, should at last fall a sacrifice to the incensed and violent hand of a discontented and mortal enemy at home, because he had served him faithfully for many years, without any such reward or prospect of provision, as would afford him a competent subsistence, if his Lordship should die before him, as the most early and authentic accounts which have been published of this fatal event are commonly interpreted; which inform us, that his Lordship neglecting or delaying to reward one Mr Ralph Haywood, for that was his Christian name, as it is remembered in one author (p), an ancient servant, who had spent the greatest part of his time in attendance upon him, and expostulating thereupon with his Lord, was so severely reprov'd for the same, that the said Haywood being then with him in his Lordship's bedchamber, at Brook-House in Holborn, gave him a mortal stab in the back with a knife, on the first of September, 1628, and with the same knife stabbed himself, as in the last quoted author it is expressed. Another says, it was on the thirtieth of September the same year that his Lordship was stabbed (q); and another, not mentioning the day he received the wound, agrees with the generality, that it was on this day he died in that year, being then aged seventy-four years (r): and both of them imply, that the weapon wherewith the murder was committed, was a sword, with which the assassin having withdrawn, and locked himself into another room, to compleat the bloody scene, murdered himself, making his own hand the executioner of justice, and death his choice, which should have been his punishment (s). It has been credibly reported, that there remained no written memorial or tradition in this noble family of any other cause or reason for the said Mr Haywood's extraordinary discontent, than what is above specified; but of late some further particulars have appeared in print, relating to the confirmation or aggravation thereof. For the Lord Brook having settled the whole of his estate upon his cousin Robert Greville aforesaid, by his last will and testament, he executed the same on the eighteenth of February foregoing, which was witnessed by several gentlemen then in his service, among whom was this Haywood. And some months after, a codicil was added, wherein annuities were granted to those gentlemen, but Haywood omitted; which made him resent the neglect of him to such a degree, as produced the warm expostulation between them, with the tragedy of both beforementioned. Before he died, his Lordship ordered another short codicil to be added to his will, in which he left handsome legacies to the surgeons, and others who attended him on this occasion \*. A remark or two more upon this unfortunate catastrophe, we shall remit to the bottom of the page [L], and conclude with-in-

(p) Mr Richard Smith's *Observations*, in Fr. Peck's *Definitive Concordance*, fol. 1732, lib. xiv. p. 12.

(q) Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, as above.

(r) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 522, in the Life of Lord Brook.

(s) Langbaine's *Dramatic Poets*, p. 40. in his account of Lord Brook.

\* Mr Collins, in his account of the Greviles, as before, p. 32, 33.

tle of his beer, when he could not relish that which was provided for the commons in the said Inn (51). In short, the Lord Brook apparently shew'd his favours on learned and ingenious men, to the last of his life, more especially to those who had any elegant taste of history and poetry; as may appear not only in his preferment of Dr Dorislaus beforementioned, but his reception of Sir William D'Avenant, when a young man, into his family; with whose promising genius he was so much delighted, that he resided under him as long as his lordship lived; and it is not improbable but he formed the plans of some of his first plays under his lordship's encouragement, they being published soon after his death (52).

[L] A remark or two more upon this unfortunate catastrophe, we shall remit to the bottom of the page.] And first, there seems some reason to suspect that the knowledge of this murder, or the most prevailing motive to it, has been endeavour'd to be concealed, or secreted from the public and posterity. When the first collection of his lordship's poetical works was published in folio, as is before observed, so soon after his death as five years, it might reasonably be expected that some dedication, account of the author's life, or preface, would have appeared before them, in which the said murder, and the true motives to it, might be more accurately, and particularly related than we have since had them: and so perhaps they were; for we have frequently observed, in at least ten or a dozen copies of that folio volume, and some of them printed on large paper, bound in Turkey leather, and most richly adorned with gold, and most freshly, fairly, and choicely preserved, that they are all imperfect, and deprived or mutilated of whatever introduction they had to them. For after the contents of the volume, which are printed on the back of the title page, we jump at once to number 23 at the top of the next page, where the first poem begins, and the signature D at the bottom of it; so that by both testimonies, there are twenty-two pages manifestly wanting. And as no author, who has wrote of this nobleman or his writings, has hitherto taken any notice of, or made any remarks upon this deficiency, we must, till we have some better light to guide or help us

to account for it, follow such as occurs from the most rational probability, that there was some private discovery too expressly mentioned for the perusal of the public, therefore that his lordship's executors, relations, &c. obliged the publisher to castrate such prefatory discourses, and suppress the same.

Another remark upon this occasion, we gather from a manuscript now before us, containing many arguments, reflexions, authorities and examples, upon the frequent delusion of domestic dependancy; in which, many hopeful novices, of greater abilities than experience, induced by the baits of plenty, ease, and idleness; or the hopes of interest, recommendation, and advancement, have insensibly suffered a state of freedom, to sink and subside into one of servility, and preferred a course of splendid poverty, to any of more liberal, laborious and profitable employment; so in lingering suspense have worn away their youth, strength, and faculties under such great men, in their great houses, like the lamps that were kept burning in the ancient vaults and sepulchres, till they have smoaked and smothered their brightness out in obscurity, without benefit to mankind, or reputation to themselves. Among many instances produced to verify this allegation, that of this Lord Brook, and his dependant Mr Haywood aforesaid, is one, which the author introduces with the following reflections.—'Most wealthy and dignified men are more fond of external, than intrinsic grandeur, and of being generous before they are just. Many examples might be produced, of the humour which predominates in them, to exert themselves most gratefully abroad, and with the utmost ingratitude at home; to be ever doing good to those who pay them no service, and none to such as hourly serve them; to be most prodigal in public, and pernicious in private. What makes the mischief the more prevailing is, that to discover such deficiency and disproportion among domestics, to whom greater mismanagements are exposed, is therefore reckoned the more insignificant. They are looked meanly on, because often on, and so overlooked in matters of reward, because so near and so constantly at hand, that they do that for them, at no time

(p) Arthur Wilson's *Life of King James I.*, 1653, anno 21.

(q) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 411, 413.



forming our reader that, on the 27th of October following, his Lordship's obsequies were performed with great solemnity; his corps being wrapped in lead, and conveyed to Warwick, under the direction of Sir William Segar, Knight, Garter; Sir Henry St George, Knight, Richmond Herald; and Henry Chitting, Esq; Chester-Herald. And there it was interred on the north side of the quire of St Mary's church, in his own vault, which had formerly been a Chapter-House belonging thereto; over which a beautiful and stately monument of black and white marble had been erected by himself. Whereupon, according to his own appointment, was engraved an inscription, commemorating his friendship with the great patron of the Muses, as his greatest honour, and most permanent epitaph \*, in these words.

FULKE GREVILLE,  
Servant to Queen ELIZABETH,  
Councillor to King JAMES,  
And Friend to Sir PHILIP SIDNEY,  
*Trophæum Peccati* (t).

• See Dr John Collop's Poësis Redeviva, &c. 8vo. 1656, in Epist. dedic.

(t) Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. p. 152. and Mr Collins as above.

' time of their lives, which they think they have it in  
' their power to do at any time. The continual sight  
' of them, dulls all notion of their sense or service;  
' they are thought to have no discernment, therefore  
' no resentment; so the empty name, the very shadow  
' of patronage, may go down towards domestics,  
' the substance must be reserved for strangers, that it  
' may make atonement without doors for the neglect  
' of all honourable considerations within: thus things  
' at a distance, are looked on most wishfully; things  
' close and familiar to them, they look above and despise.  
' A man's plentiful possessions and pompous titles,  
' may pass in the eye of inexperience, for the capital  
' attributes of a patron: but if his interest and inclinations  
' are not proportionable, or his own generosity to support  
' that character, he shall disable you by long suspense  
' from finding it in another, and give you a sting at last,  
' how desperately soever it may be returned, if you grow  
' importunate to find the effects of that patronage in  
' himself. Such disregardful treatment of superior attendants,  
' has sometimes proved very fatal to men of dignity  
' and fortune; whereof we have, besides what has been  
' before exemplified, a pregnant proof in one of our nobility,  
' Fulk Grevil, Lord Brook, who was Under-Treasurer,  
' Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber,  
' and of the Privy-Council to King James and King Charles I.  
' A man of breeding, learning and abilities; liberal enough  
' of his power and interest among distant acquaintance,  
' to the commodious accommodation of many learned and  
' ingenious men, but too parcimonious thereof towards the  
' daily attendants within his own walls; who by neglecting  
' as all authors term it, to gratify or make any suitable  
' recompence to a gentleman who had withered away the  
' greatest part of his life unprofitably in his personal service,  
' and was soon likely to be destitute of all support, as his  
' lordship had not himself, by the course of nature, long to live,  
' and being severely reprimanded for reminding him thereof,  
' or, not improbably, incensed with more violent provocations,  
' he drew his sword upon his Lord, and killed him, then withdrawing  
' into another room, with the same instrument destroyed himself.  
' Yet au-

' thors have been so superficial and indifferent in their  
' relation of this desperate murder, or have seemed in a  
' manner, so to stifle and hush it up, that those who have  
' most distinctly related the untimely end of this nobleman,  
' by that attendant, have not dropped so much as a reflexion  
' in compassion of the one, or abhorrence of the other.  
' Upon the whole therefore, when we consider how  
' easily persons foreign to the service of this nobleman,  
' were by his interest handsomely provided for, and that  
' no provision was likely to be made for one who had  
' so long and nearly served him; we may from hence,  
' as well as from the many other examples before  
' recited, be instructed to believe, that all actions or  
' expressions from a menial servant, or any in this domestic  
' and stationary dependency, are regarded but as the water  
' of a standing pool; the owner, because he sees the  
' surface every day, thinks he has also seen, and known,  
' all that it contains, of what depth or capacity soever  
' it be; and esteems every drop flat, and insipid,  
' that comes from it: But the services of any free  
' extraneous person, how shallow soever, who does not  
' lie under the constant eye and command of a master,  
' is thought ever fresh and grateful, like the waters  
' of a running stream. Hence it is that the most  
' superficial, and ordinary service from an independent  
' person, so frequently meets with great thanks and  
' reward; from a servant, with neither: for the greatest  
' performances from such, are swallowed up, in the  
' thankless, bottomless gulph of duty. These observations  
' upon domestic patronage and dependency, may satisfy  
' those, who are to be satisfied with any thing less  
' fatal than their own experience; that the favours  
' of great men, though they may stream forth from  
' every side, like the rays from the stars which  
' some of them wear: yet it is commonly in such a  
' manner, contrary to the representations which are  
' made of all such resplendent bodies, as if those rays  
' of favour were inverted, or darted stronger, and more  
' diffusive, as they extend towards the circumference, or  
' furthest extremities of projection; but tapered away  
' to the smallest and weakest points, nearest the very  
' center of their own light (53).'

(53) The Patron, or Portraiture of Patronage and Dependency, &c. MS. 4to.

GREW [NEHEMIAH], an excellent Philosopher, and a Physician of good repute and considerable practice, in the last and part of this century, was born at Coventry, being the son of Obadiah Grew, D. D. [A] Vicar of St Michael's in that city (a). He was bred up by his father, (who had taken the Covenant) in the Puritan way; and studied in one of the

(a) Wood's Athen. ed. 1727. Vol. II. col. 837, 838.

[A] Being the son of Obadiah Grew, D. D.] This Obadiah Grew was born at Atherston in the parish of Mancetter in Warwickshire, in November 1607; admitted a student of Balliol-College in 1624, where he took the degrees in arts; and was ordained, at 28 years of age, by Dr Robert Wright, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. But, in the beginning of the civil wars, he sided with the Presbyterians, took the Covenant, and became minister of the great church of St Michael's in Coventry; where he behaved in a most pious, regular, and prudent manner, and discharged all the parts of a good, faithful, and diligent pastor. In 1648, when Oliver Cromwell was at Coventry, in his march to London, Mr Grew took the opportunity to represent to him the wickedness of the design then

more visibly on foot, for taking off the king, and the sad consequences thereof, should it take effect; earnestly pressing him, to use his endeavours to prevent it; and had his promise for it. And afterwards when the design was too apparent, he wrote a letter to him to the same purpose, and to mind him of his promise. In 1651, he accumulated the degrees in divinity at Oxford; and in 1654, was appointed one of the assistants to the commissioners for ejecting such whom they then called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers, &c. (1). Refusing to conform in 1662, he was ejected from his preferment in pursuance of the Bartholomew-act (2). He died October 22, 1689, and was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church aforesaid (3).

(1) Wood's Athen. ubi sup. & Fasti, Vol. I. col. 96.

(2) Dr Calamy's Continuation of the account of the Ministers, &c. ejected, Vol. II. p. 850.

(3) Wood, At ut supra; and Calamy's Account, &c. p. 736.

[B] For



the foreign Universities, where he took the degree of Doctor of Physic (b). For some time he resided at Coventry [B]. But coming to London about the year 1672, he was, through the recommendation of the most learned and ingenious Dr Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, chosen Fellow of the Royal-Society (c), to which he proved an ornament, and a very useful member. In April 1672, he was appointed Curator to that illustrious Society, for the Anatomy of Plants (d): and applying himself, with great industry and success, to the study of that most agreeable part of nature, he published many curious pieces upon that subject [C], which were received with great approbation and esteem, both at home and abroad; and several of them were translated into other languages [D]. On the 30th of November 1677, he was chosen Secretary to the Royal Society, in the room of Mr Oldenburg, and published the Philosophical Transactions from January 1677-8, to the end of February 1678-9, namely from N<sup>o</sup>. 137 to 142 inclusive (e). The 30th of September

(b) See General Dictionary.

(c) See the Epitome Dictionary to his Idea of a Philosophical History, Lond. 1673, 8vo.

(d) See Preface to his Anatomy of Plants, folio edit. Pref. p. 5.

(e) See Mr J. Ward's Lives of the Professors of Gresham College, p. 182.

[B] For some time he resided at Coventry.] The dedication of the first book of his *Anatomy of Plants* to John [Wilkins] Lord Bishop of Chester, is dated from Coventry, June 10, 1671.

[C] He published many curious pieces upon that subject.] Namely, 1. *The Anatomy of Vegetables begun*. London 1671, 8vo. 2. *Continuation of the Anatomy of Vegetables*, Lond. 1673, 8vo. 3. *An Idea of a Phytological History propounded*, Lond. 1673, 8vo. 4. *The comparative Anatomy of the Trunks of Plants, with an account of their vegetation*, Lond. 1675, 8vo.

—In 1682, he printed all these pieces in one folio volume, with others of the same nature, at the request of the Royal-Society; and with many additions and improvements. The general title of which volume is, 'The Anatomy of Plants, with an Idea of a Philosophical History of Plants, and several other lectures read before the Royal-Society.' This *Idea*, &c. being the same as the first part of that which he had published before, under the title of, *An Idea of a Phytological History*, is prefixed to the whole, as a proper introduction; but it is considerably augmented and improved. The rest follows in four books, and in this order: I. *The Anatomy of Plants, begun*. With a general account of vegetation, grounded thereupon. Presented in manuscript to the Royal-Society, some time before the 11th of May 1671, and afterwards in print, December 7, of the same year. II. *The Anatomy of Roots*; prosecuted with the bare eye, and with the microscope: presented to the Royal-Society at several times, in the years 1672 and 1673. With an account of the vegetation of roots, grounded chiefly thereupon. III. *The Anatomy of Trunks*; prosecuted with the bare eye, and with the microscope: with an account of their vegetation, grounded thereupon. The figures hereunto belonging, presented to the Royal-Society in the years 1673 and 1674. IV. *The Anatomy of Leaves, Flowers, Fruits, and Seeds*; prosecuted with the bare eye, and with the microscope. In four parts. That of leaves, read before the Royal-Society Oct. 26, 1676. That of flowers, read before the same, November 9, 1676. That of Fruits, read in the year 1677. And the figures of the seeds, presented to the said Society, in the same year. To which are subjoined seven lectures, read before the Royal Society. 1. A discourse, read December 10, 1674, concerning the nature, causes, and power of mixture. 2. Experiments in consort of the lactation arising from the affusion of several menstrua upon all sorts of bodies, exhibited to the Royal-Society, April 13, and June 1, 1676. 3. An essay of the various proportions wherein the lixivial salt is found in plants. Read before the Royal-Society, March 1676. 4. A discourse concerning the essential and marine salts of plants. Read before the Royal-Society, December 21, 1676. 5. A discourse of the colours of plants. Read before the Royal-Society, May 3, 1677. 6. A discourse of the diversities and causes of tastes chiefly in plants. Read before the Royal-Society, March 25, 1675. 7. Experiments in consort upon the solution of salts in water. Read before the Royal-Society, January 18, 1676-7. —The four books of the *Anatomy of Plants*, are illustrated with eighty-three very curious folio copper-plates, representing the seeds, flowers, and many other parts of plants, trees, &c. as they appear to the naked eye, and when magnified by microscopes: exhibiting a most surprizing, agreeable, and improving view of the wonderful variety of vessels in each, for the conveyance and circulation of the air, sap, and other nourishment necessary for their perfection and beauty.

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The author's judicious observations upon that interesting subject, in his dedication to King Charles II, are well worth the reader's perusal; being as follow — 'By this your Majesty will find, that there are *Terra Incognita* in Philosophy, as well as Geography. And for so much, as lies here, it comes to pass, I know not how, even in this inquisitive age, that I am the first, who have given a map of the country. Your Majesty will here see, that there are those things within a plant, little less admirable than within an animal. That a plant, as well as an animal, is composed of several organical parts; some whereof may be called it's bowels. That every plant hath bowels of divers kinds, containing divers kinds of liquors. That even a plant lives partly upon aer; for the reception whereof, it hath those parts which are answerable to lungs. So that a plant is, as it were, an animal in quires; as an animal is a plant, or rather several plants bound up into one volume. Again, that all the said organs, bowels, or other parts, are as artificially made; and for their place and number, as punctually set together; as all the mathematic lines of a flower or face. That the staple of the stuff is so exquisitely fine, that no silk-worm is able to draw any thing near so small a thread. So that one who walks about with the meanest stick, holds a piece of nature's handicraft, which far surpasses the most elaborate woof or needle-work in the world. That by all these means, the ascent of the sap, the distribution of the aer, the concoction of several sorts of liquors, as lymphas, milks, oyls, balms, with other parts of vegetation, are all contrived and brought about in a mechanical way. In sum, your Majesty will find, that we are come ashore into a new world, whereof we see no end.' — The learned author tells us in the preface, that 'The first occasion of directing his thoughts this way, was in the year 1664, upon reading some of the many and curious inventions of learned men, in the bodies of animals. For considering, that both of them came at first out of the same hand; and were therefore the contrivances of the same wisdom: he thence fully assured himself, that it could not be a vain design; to seek it in both.' — Bishop Wilkins, to whom the first part of it was dedicated, gives it it's just commendation, in the following words. — 'You was very happy in the choice of this subject to write upon; one of the most noble and the most copious parts of philosophy; and such an one, as hath hitherto lain uncultivated. And you have been very successful in your first attempt about it, in so many remarkable observations and discoveries, as you have made already. I could heartily wish, that you would still apply yourself to this kind of enquiries. You will find that additionals will come in more copiously and easily. And it is not fit, that any should, by his superfluities, carry away the praise from him who was the first inventor, and who laid the foundations, wherein the greatest difficulty doth consist (4).'

[D] And several of them were translated into other languages.] The first book of the *Anatomy of Plants*, a little after it came out, was elegantly and exactly translated into French, by Monsieur le Vasseur, an ingenious gentleman at Paris. And the three first books of the same, were published in Latin by the collectors of the German Ephemerides; but their unskilful translator often fails of the grammatical sense. The second lecture of Mixture was also very well translated into French by Monsieur Mesmin, a learned physician in Paris (5).

(4) Preface to the *Anatomy of Plants*, folio edit.

(5) See our author's Preface.



(f) Register of the College of Physicians.

(g) See the Preface to that book.

(h) Cosmologia, p. 31, &c.

(i) Continuation des Pensées diverses, § xxi. p. 21.

(k) Bibliotheca Choïse, Tom. V. p. 283, &c.

(l) See General Dictionary.

September 1680, he was admitted an honorary Fellow of the College of Physicians in London (f). He published in 1681, 'A catalogue and description of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal-Society [E], and preserved at Gresham-College. Whereunto is subjoined the comparative anatomy of stomachs and guts begun. Being several lectures read before the Royal-Society, in the year 1676.' In 1695, he published also a treatise on the purging salts [F]: and some small pieces of his appeared in the Philosophical Transactions [G]. His last work was calculated, as indeed all his writings were, not only to promote the ends of real and solid learning, but also of true piety and religion. He intitled it, 'A Discourse of the Universe, as it is the Creature and Kingdom of God [H]:' and, having from his youth addicted himself to the contemplation of nature; he shewed in that book, that religion is so far from being inconsistent with philosophy, that it is the highest point and perfection of it (g). One of his positions therein, namely, 'that there is a vital substance in nature, distinct from a body (b);' hath been reflected upon by Mr Bayle (i); and vindicated by Mr John Le Clerc (k) [I]. Dr Grew's character is sufficiently plain from all his works. For, they breathe a spirit of sincere piety and goodness; and evidently shew, that he made that use of his knowledge and philosophy, which all wise and good men ought to do; namely, to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind, and to encourage and recommend virtue and true religion. He died suddenly at London, March 25, 1711 (l).

[E] *A catalogue and description of the natural and artificial rarities belonging to the Royal-Society, &c.* The whole title is, 'Musæum Regalis Societatis: Or a Catalogue and Description, &c.' This book is dedicated to Daniel Colwall, Esq; the founder of that Musæum; who was also at the charge of engraving the plates. It is not a bare catalogue, but contains exact descriptions of most of the rarities, and is enriched with many learned and curious observations.

[F] *A treatise on the purging salts.* This treatise is in Latin, and has this title. *Tractatus de salis cathartici amari in aquis Ebeshamensibus & hujusmodi aliis contenti Naturæ & Usu.* Lond. 1695, 12mo.

[G] *And some small pieces of his appeared in the Philosophical Transactions.* Namely, 'Observations touching the nature of snow (6). Of the texture of ivory (7). Answer to a letter of Mr Lewenhoeck's to my Lord Brouncker, *De nativitate et semine masculino animalibus*; and Dr Grew's opinion, *De vasis in crassa seminis materia observatis* (8). The description and use of the pores in the skin of the hands and feet (9). Account of a diseased spleen (10). Observations on the *Tomineus*, or *Humming-bird* (11). A demonstration of the number of acres in England (12). Which, according to his computation, is forty-six millions and eighty thousand.

[H] *A discourse of the universe, as it is the creature and kingdom of God* The whole title is, *Cosmologia Sacra*: or a discourse of the universe as it is the creature and kingdom of God. Chiefly written to demonstrate the truth and excellency of the Bible; which contains the laws of his kingdom in this lower world. In five books, Lond. 1701, fol. He observes in the preface, that 'having addicted himself to the contemplation of nature, from his youth upward; as he hop'd, he was in some measure qualified, for an essay of this kind; so he concluded, the applying of his small talent hereunto, to be the best use, he should ever be able to make of it.' This excellent discourse being divided into five books, as hath been already mentioned; the first book 'sheweth, That God made the corporeal world: and what it is.' And treats, in five chapters, 'Of God: Of the corporeal world: Of corporeal principles: Of compounded bodies: Of their use. Book II. Sheweth, that there is a vital world which God hath made; and what it is. Comprehending, in eight chapters, these several heads; of life: of sense: of mind; and of phancy, or phantastic mind: of intellectual mind: of science: of wisdom: of virtue: of celestial mind. In Book III. Is shewed, that God governs the universe which he hath made; and in what manner. 'Tis divided into these six chapters; of the nature of God's government, or of Providence: of the ends of Providence; and first in this life: of Providence over public states: of the celestial life: of the rules of Providence; and of the law of nature: of positive law. Book IV. Sheweth, that the Bible, and first the Hebrew code, or old Testament, is God's positive law. This book is divided into eight chapters, comprehending these several points; of the integrity of the Hebrew code: of the truth and excellency of it, as they appear from foreign proof: as they appear from the writers hereof: as they appear from the contents of the history: and

from the miracles related therein: and from the prophecies: of the divine law; first of the law given to Adam and Noah: and then of the Mosaic law. In Book V. is shewed, That the New Testament is also God's positive law. And the six chapters this last book is divided into, treat, of the integrity of the New Testament: of the truth, and excellency of it; as they appear from the writers thereof: and from the contents of the New Testament, particularly the miracles: as also from the doctrine; especially the articles of faith: of the laws of the gospel; and of the precepts which equally concern all: of our Saviour's prophecies.'—In the second chapter of the fourth book, he very learnedly shews, the agreement of profane authors with the sacred writings; both with regard to the matter, and the expressions. And in the next chapter, hath many curious observations about the authors of the books of the Old Testament, and their manner of writing: answering, at the same time, many of Spinosa's cavils and objections against several passages in those sacred books. Likewise, in the eighth chapter of the same book, he gives a large account and description of the Jewish tabernacle; a thing as he observes (13), hitherto wanting. Upon the whole, it were much to be wished, that so useful and excellent a work, were read and perused with due and universal attention; and that it might have a suitable effect upon the minds and morals of mankind.

[I] *One of his positions therein, namely, that there is a vital substance—bath been reflected upon by Mr Bayle, and vindicated by Mr John Le Clerc.* Mr Bayle, in the place above referred to, observes that, 'the Atheists are very much perplexed to account for the formation of animals, which they ascribed to a cause not conscious of what it did, and yet that followed a regular plan, without knowing by what laws it went to work. But Dr Cudworth's plastic form, and Dr Grew's vital principle are exactly in the same case. For, if God could communicate such a plastic power, it follows that it is not inconsistent with the nature of things that there be such agents: they may therefore exist of themselves, will the adversary say; whence it would also follow, that the regularity we observe in the universe may be the effect of a blind cause, which was not conscious of what it did.' However Mr Bayle supposed, that these two learned gentlemen were not aware of the consequence, which, according to him, followed from their system.—Mr Le Clerc, answered to this, 'that the vital or plastic natures which these gentlemen admitted, cannot in the least favour the Atheists, because these natures are but instruments in the hands of God, and have no power or efficacy, but what they receive from him, who rules and directs all their actions: that they are but instrumental causes, produced and employed by the chief and first cause; and that it cannot be said, that a palace has been built up without art, because not only the hammers, rules, saws, &c. but even the arms of men which made use of these instruments, are destitute of knowledge. It is sufficient that the mind of the builder directed all these things, and employed them according to his design. It is therefore plain, adds he, that the Atheists, who deny the being of an intelligent cause, cannot retort our two philosophers argument upon them.'

(13) In the Preface.



GREY [Lady JANE], otherwise styled Lady JANE DUDLEY, but more commonly than either, Queen JANE, as having been proclaimed Queen of England upon the demise, and in pursuance of the appointment, of her cousin King Edward the Sixth (a). She was, as all our historians agree, most nobly descended. Her father, Henry Grey Marquis of Dorset, derived himself in a direct line, from, Sir Thomas Grey, Knight of the Garter, Lord Harrington in right of his wife, and created Marquis of Dorset by Edward the Fourth, who married his mother (b). Her mother, was Lady Frances Brandon, the eldest of the two surviving daughters of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, by Mary Queen Dowager of France, youngest daughter of King Henry the Seventh, and sister to King Henry the Eighth (c) [A]. This marriage proceeded from the great kindness which Henry

[A] And sister to King Henry the Eighth.] As this article is of great importance in respect to our history, many things relating thereto being obscurely and imperfectly represented, even by our best writers, and the facts referring thereto so complicated, as to render it very difficult to understand the short hints given us by our old historians and political authors in treatises about the succession; we think it incumbent upon us, to use all the care and diligence imaginable, to set all these points in as true and clear lights as possible, and with this view we will begin with giving in this note, such particulars in relation to Sir Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, as belong more particularly to this subject, that is, to the descent of the illustrious Lady of whom we are speaking. He was the son of Sir Thomas Brandon, Knight of the Garter, and the grandson of Sir William Brandon, who carried the standard of Henry Earl of Richmond, at the battle of Bosworth, and in that service was slain (1). This Sir Charles Brandon being extremely handsome in his person, and withal one of the strongest and stoutest men in the kingdom, was a great favourite with Arthur Prince of Wales, and of his brother Henry (2). Upon the accession of that prince to the throne, he was made one of the Esquires of his body, and Chamberlain of North Wales; afterwards for his services both by sea and land against the French, he was on the 15th of May 1513, advanced to the dignity of Viscount L'Isle (3), though Bishop Burnet erroneously asserts he was then created Duke of Suffolk (4), which however he was not till the thirteenth of February following (5). In the succeeding year he was present in France at the marriage of the Princess Mary, the King's younger sister, with the French King Lewis the Twelfth (6). At this time the Duke of Suffolk, and Henry Marquis of Dorset, acquired great reputation in the tournaments that were held on that occasion, as assistants to Francis of Valois (7), who soon after was himself king by the demise of Lewis, whom an eminent French historian affirms, became a victim to his extravagant passion for his new Queen (8). That princess, who is said to have had no dislike to the Duke of Suffolk before her marriage, was no sooner a widow, than she wrote to her brother, to desire his permission to marry (9); and at the same time, as a reverend historian says, told the Duke of Suffolk, that if he did not gain her consent in four days, he should not be the man (10). But, as the same writer justly observes, this could not put him under any great difficulty, and therefore the marriage was quickly after celebrated, April the 15th 1515 (11), and by the intercession of the French King, Francis the First, King Henry, who all along intended the match, was easily pacified (12). But here arises a question, as to the state this noble person was in at the time of his marriage? It is pretty certain that he had been twice married before, but it is not quite so clear to whom; one author says, his first wife was Anne, daughter to Sir Anthony Brown, Governor of Calais (13); another, that it was Margaret, the daughter and coheirs of John Nevile Marquis Montague (14), and that the other lady was his second wife. It is a difficult matter to know what Sir William Dugdale's opinion was, since he asserts Margaret to be the first wife in his historical account, and then produces an authentic pedigree of the family in which she is made to be the second (15), as in reality there is good reason to believe she was, because she lived many years after his marriage with the Queen, being repudiated as the pedigree says, or as some writers report divorced (16). The same uncertainty there is in reference to the children of this Duke, at the time of his marriage, some say he had one, others two, and while some affirm they were by the first wife, others as positively assert that he had no issue but by the second (17). It is however to-

lerably clear from comparing the pedigrees of our ancient nobility, that at the time he married the Queen he had two daughters living, both by his first wife, but the eldest of them Anne, was born before marriage, however she espoused Edward Grey Lord Powis (18), and lived to the reign of Edward the Sixth, when she sold her title to certain lands that had been her father's, to Sir John Beaumont, Master of the Rolls, who as that young monarch tells us under his own hand, forged a deed of this Charles Duke of Suffolk, by which he assigned those lands to Anne Baroness of Powis, to give the better colour to a decree which was to establish his own possession, and all this he is said to have confessed under his hand (19). The second daughter Mary, born after marriage, became the wife of William Lord Monteagle (20). As for his second wife, who was the widow of Sir John Mortimer, she became after he left her, the spouse of one Robert Horne (21). Upon his third marriage with Mary Dowager of France, he procured a grant in general-tail, of all the lordships, manors, lands, and tenements, formerly belonging to Edmund de la Pole, late Earl of Suffolk (22), which Edmund had been beheaded in the Tower, April 30, 1513 (23), for reasons of state, rather than for any other crime, his elder brother John Earl of Lincoln, having been declared presumptive heir of the Crown by Richard the Third (24). By this third wife, Charles Duke of Suffolk had issue, Henry Brandon, who in the seventeenth year of Henry the Eighth, was created at Bridewell Earl of Lincoln, being then as our heralds say, twelve years of age (25), in which it is probable there is some mistake, since if it was true, he must have been born before the marriage of the Duke of Suffolk with his mother (26). He died not long after without issue (27). Besides this son, there were two daughters of this marriage, Frances, who married Henry Marquis of Dorset, as is said in the text; and Eleanor, who became the wife of Henry Clifford Earl of Cumberland, by whom he had only one daughter, Margaret, the wife of Henry, and the mother of Ferdinando Earl of Derby (28). Here it may be proper to observe, that among the clandestine discourses held in the reign of Queen Elizabeth about the succession, there were some who preferred the title of this Lady Eleanor, then Countess Dowager of Cumberland, to that of the house of Suffolk, for which they pretended one reason, and kept in reserve another (29). The disclosed reason was, that this lady stood one degree nearer to her common ancestor Henry the Seventh, than Lady Katherine Grey (30); but the concealed motive which they held to be much stronger, was the Lady Eleanor's being born after the death of Lady Mortimer, so that by the help of a post contract, after the demise of that lady, they conceived that all colour of illegitimacy was taken away with respect to the Counts of Cumberland and her descendants (31). We have now nothing farther to add relating to this matter, except that from the time of her marriage, the King's sister was styled the Duchess Queen, and that she departed this life June 23, 1533 (32), having seen the King her brother divorced from his first Queen Katherine; married to Anne Boleyn Marchioness of Pembroke, and that Queen big with child of her daughter Elizabeth; she could not therefore frame any conjecture as to the succession of the Crown, as the King had a daughter by one wife; a child begotten, but not born, of another; and his favourite, though bastard son, Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, Earl of Nottingham, Lieutenant-General beyond Trent, Warden-General of the borders of Scotland, and Lord-High-Admiral of England was then living (33); and a noble historian gives us this reason for heaping so many honours upon a child, that the King considered as yet he had no lawful

(A) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543.

(c) Brooke's Catalogue of Nobility, p. 212.

(18) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 284. See also her own last Will. Noddes, qu. 9.

(19) Appendix to Burnet's second Volume of the Reformation, p. 55.

(20) Baronage of Augl. 1596, MS.

(21) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 141. Baronage of Augl. 1596, MS.

(22) Pat. 6. H. VIII. p. 2.

(23) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hist. lib. xxvii.

(24) Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 747.

(25) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543. Brooke's Catalogue, p. 212.

(26) Herbert, Godwin, Burnet.

(27) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 300.

(28) Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 212.

(29) Dialogue touching the Succession, P. II. chap. vi.

(30) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 113.

(31) Dialogue touching the Succession, P. II. chap. vi.

(32) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(33) Rot. Pat. 17. H. VIII. p. 1. m. 1.

(a) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 3. 8. b. Holinshed, Stowe, Grafton, Speed, Fox, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(1) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hist. lib. xxv.

(2) Lord Herbert's Reign of Hen. VIII.

(3) Pat. 5. H. VIII. p. 1.

(4) History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(5) Pat. 5. H. VIII. p. 2. m. 3.

(6) P. Daniel Histoire de France, Tom. VII. p. 331.

(7) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 54.

(8) Thuan. Hist. lib. i.

(9) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 54.

(10) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 9.

(11) Pol. Virg. Angl. Hist. lib. xxvii.

(12) Herbert's Reign of H. VIII. p. 54.

(13) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543.

(14) Brooke's Catalogue, p. 212.

(15) Baronage of England, Vol. II. p. 300.

(16) Ex Cartaphylacco D. Leigh.

(17) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 543. Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 212. Vincent's Discovery, &c. p. 508.



(d) Discourse touching the Succession, P. II. c. vi.

Henry the Eighth had for the Marquis of Dorset, and his affection for his niece (d); but as in many other instances, so in this, that monarch's conduct was very irregular, since either to oblige the Marquis, or to gratify his own inclination, he took no notice of an obstacle (e) that ought otherwise to have hindered this match [B]. The principal feat of the

(e) Brown's Vindication of the Queen of Scots title.

(34) Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 178.

(35) See the Acts of Succession.

• Biblioth. Cotton. Julius, F. 6.

lawful male issue (34), from whence it may be gathered, that he was not without thought of preferring this youth to any female issue (35).

Since this note was composed, and while the article was in the press, we been acquainted with the minutes of a speech made in the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, on the succession, in parliament, which still remain in the Cotton Library, and as they clear up entirely the perplexed account of the Duke of Suffolk's several marriages and issues, we shall transcribe so much of that curious paper as regards this matter\*. As the next of blood, and the true and just heirs of our laws, the Crown ought to descend to the heirs of the French Queen, which be the daughters of the Lady Frances and the Lady Eleanor. And presently to the Lady Katherine, being the eldest daughter to the eldest sister the Lady Frances. Against these heirs of the French Queen is objected: say they, these cannot inherit. Why so? because they were not lawfully born. For Charles Duke of Suffolk, had at that time when he married the French Queen, another wife living, that is the Lady Mortymer. To this I answer, that although it were true that the Lady Frances and the Lady Eleanor were not lawfully born (as it is not true as ye shall hear hereafter) yet it hurteth not the title of the heirs given by King Henry's will. For it is appointed to the heirs of them not to themselves, as the will plainly declareth. But verily this is a mere slander grown altogether on malice, and no accusation made upon any just presumption. For I beseech you tell me, is it like, or can any reasonable man think, if Duke Charles had had another wife living when he had married the French Queen, that King Henry would have consented that his sister should have received so great an injury, that she should have been kept for a concubine? would the Council have suffered so great infamy, to have come to their master's flock? would the nobility of the realm, with so great triumph, have honoured so unlawful an act? would the common people, who many times are ready to speak evil of well doing, have holden their tongue in so manifest adultery? Is it like, that in so long time as the French Queen and the Duke lived together as man and wife (that is all the days of the French Queen) that she should not have heard of it? was it possible, that among so many women that daily resorted unto her (whose natures are to seek for all such things, be they never so secret, and to communicate them to others) that none should have told her? is it to be believed, that she, contrary to the nature of all women, would have been content that another should be partaker of that flesh, that the according to God's word took only to be her own? or can any man think that any woman can be content to live in mean degree when she may be a Duchess, as the Lady Mortymer should have been justly, if she had been the Duke's wife? surely methinks there is no reason to make any man to think, how much less to report so? but suppose that the Duke had another wife living at what time he married the French Queen, yet for as much as he and she were married openly, continued together all their lives as lawful man and wife, and nothing sayd against them, and every man took them for man and wife: and that the said Lady Frances, and the Lady Eleanor, were not during their lives taken to be bastards. Now after their death, neither they nor their children may by the laws of this realm, be converted therefore. For the laws of this realm say thus, *Nec justum est aliquando mortuum facere bastardum, qui toto tempore suo tenebatur pro legitimo*: as appeareth by judgment given at Westminster 13 Ed. I. But for the declaration of the truth of this matter, and to pluck out of the heads of the people, their fond opinion and consideration, and maintained of such as pass not so much of the truth as they desire to satisfy their fond affections; ye shall understand that the Duke, being Sir Charles Brandon, living in the Court, being sole and unmarried, made a contract of marriage with a gentlewoman called Anne Brown, and before any solemnization of marriage, not only had a daughter

by her, which after was married to the Lord Powis, but also brake promise with her, and openly and solemnly married the Lady Mortymer. Which marriage the said Mrs Anne Browne judiciously accused to be unlawful, for that the said Sir Charles Brandon, had made a pre-contract with her, and had carnally known her. Which being duly proved, sentence of divorce between the said Sir Charles and the Lady Mortymer was given. And he married solemnly the said Mrs Anne Brown. At which marriage all the nobility was present, and did honour it. And after, had by her another daughter, which was married to the Lord Mounteagle. After this the said Mrs Anne Brown continued with him all her life as his wife, and died his wife, without any impeachment of that marriage. After whose death, King Henry having the said Charles Brandon in great favour, meant he should for his better preferment have married the Lady Lisle, being a young madam and an inheritrix. Whereupon the said Charles Brandon was created Viscount Lisle: but that marriage, by reason of her youth, took no place. After this he was created Duke of Suffolk, and Lewis the French King died, and leaving the said Lady Mary, King Henry the Seventh's daughter, a widow, the said Duke Charles being sent into France for her, with consent of King Henry married her twice, first secretly in France, and after openly here in England, as before is declared, and then lived together quietly as man and wife all their lives. They were so accepted and taken of all persons. No person impugned or gainfayed the said marriage. For there was no cause, and had issue between them, the said Lady Frances and Lady Eleanor, against whom the said Lady Powis their base sister, in the time of King Edward VI. alledged bastardy. But they were by the laws of the realm and the canon laws declared to be legitimate, and born in lawful matrimony. So that no man that hath understanding can say they be bastards; and if they could, yet at this present (because it was once adjudged for them, and also that they be both dead, and dyed taken as legitimate) he ought not to be heard by order of any law in the world, if he would object against them.

[B] To have hindered this match.] This Henry Grey Marquis of Dorset, Baron of Groby, was the son of Thomas Marquis of Dorset, by Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Wotton, of Boston in Kent, and the widow of William Medley, Esq (36); Henry succeeded his father in his honours, in the year 1530 (37), and was esteemed a man of great personal courage and much generosity, to which we may add, that he wanted not ambition, though he was a reserved man, loved to live in his own way, and was rather desirous to keep up that magnificence for which our ancient nobility were so much distinguished, in the place of his residence in the country, than to involve himself in the intrigues of a court (38). His father having a close friendship with William Earl of Arundel, and being desirous to unite the interests of their families as closely as possible, caused this Henry, afterwards Marquis of Dorset, to espouse the Lady Katherine Fitz-Alan, that Earl's eldest daughter, and gave Lady Katherine Grey, his own daughter, to Henry, afterwards Earl of Arundel, then heir apparent to his father (39). This conjunction, by which they were made doubly brothers-in-law, caused a great affection and friendship between these noblemen in their youth; but when Henry Marquis of Dorset, had cast his eyes upon the Lady Frances Brandon, and King Henry expressed no dislike to the match, it produced very high resentment in the Lord Maltravers, afterwards Earl of Arundel, who could not bear to see his sister excluded from her husband's bed, to make way for another lady, though of the blood royal (40). His complaints, however just and well founded, were over-looked and ill-taken; yet by the mediation of friends, an annuity was settled upon Lady Katherine, which was duly paid during the Marquis's life, for this lady survived him several years (41). But notwithstanding this, and that the Earl was still his brother-in-law by his own marriage; he resented

(36) Brooke's Catalogue, &c. p. 8.

(37) Dugdale's Baronage, Tem I. p. 721.

(38) Hayward, Godwin, Heylin

(39) Mill's Catalogue of Honour, p. 661.

(40) Dialogue touching the Succession, P. II. chap. vi.

(41) Baronagium Angliæ, MS.



the Marquis of Dorset, was the stately house of Broadgate in Leicestershire, where it is generally believed, though there is no direct authority to prove it, that the Lady Jane was born, anno domini 1537 (*f*). In other lives, we usually pass over the tender years of those of whom we speak, or at least touch them but slightly; it must however be otherwise in the present case, since the infancy of Lady Jane was truly remarkable. Nature (if the expression may be allowed) crowded even that state of her life with wonders, and bestowed upon her so many virtues and graces, that her personal accomplishments outshone the lustre of her rank, and made her most admired by those who were least affected by the gifts of fortune (*g*). We have no distinct account at what time she gave the first indication of that astonishing pregnancy that afterwards appeared; but notwithstanding this, we may without suspicion of flattery or credulity affirm, that it must have been very early. She was certainly within a few months of the same age with King Edward; and such as were intimately acquainted with human nature, and had likewise an opportunity of knowing him thoroughly, thought him a kind of miracle (*h*). Yet one of these, who knew him well and loved him better, very candidly acknowledges, that the Lady Jane was superior to him, and this in every respect (*i*). She may be supposed to have been first taught feminine accomplishments, which in those days were of different kinds, and not so easily attained as at present, yet in these she excelled. Her genius appeared in the works of her needle, then in the beautiful character which she wrote, commended by all who had seen it; she played admirably on various instruments of musick, and accompanied them with a voice exquisitely sweet in itself, and assisted by all the graces that art could bestow (*k*). Her own language she spoke and wrote with peculiar accuracy, the French, Italian, Latin, and Greek especially, were as natural to her as her own, for she not only understood them perfectly, but spoke and wrote them with the greatest freedom, and this not in the opinion of superficial judges (*l*), but of Mr Ascham and Dr Aylmer, men who in point of veracity are as much above suspicion, as in respect to their abilities they were incapable of being deceived: men who for their learning were the wonder of their own times and of ours, the former famous for Roman accuracy; the latter, one of the severest criticks in those learned times (*m*). She was versed likewise in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, and all this while a perfect child. Her parents, as we learn from her own testimony, as well as that of others, were both of them somewhat austere, so that notwithstanding her high rank, she was so far from suffering by indulgence, that the misfortunes of her tender age, flowed from the contrary extreme (*n*). The Marquis of Dorset, her father, had himself a tincture of letters, and was a great patron of learned men. He had two chaplains, Harding and Aylmer, who were then zealous Protestants both, as the latter always continued, but the former became afterwards a Papist, and one of the ablest writers on that side (*o*). These great men, for they were truly such, were the tutors and companions of Lady Jane in her infancy. Her tutors as they instructed, her companions as they conversed with her, for she had a sedateness of temper, a quickness of apprehension, and a solidity of judgment, that enabled her not only to become the mistress of languages, but of sciences; so that she thought and spoke, and reasoned upon subjects of the greatest importance, in a manner that surprized even those who from their own abilities (*p*) were not much inclined to esteem what the rest of the world would have thought very extraordinary. With these high endowments she had so much mildness, humility, and modesty, that she set no value at all on these vast acquisitions; but spoke of the love of learning, as the source of happiness, and professed that, when mortified and confounded by the undeserved chidings of her parents, she returned with double pleasure to the lessons of her tutors, and sought in Demosthenes and Plato, who were her favourite authors, that delight that was denied her in all the other scenes of life, in which she mingled but little, and seldom with any satisfaction (*q*). In 1545, when the Lady Jane was in the ninth year of her age, died her grandfather, by the mother's side, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in as absolute possession of his master's favour as he had ever been, though after the decease of the Queen-Dowager of France, he had married a young wife [*C*]. The next year after, her great uncle King Henry the

Eighth

resented this ill usage from the Marquis, and could never be brought to dissemble his dislike of him, till he was created Duke of Suffolk and Arundel committed to the Tower, for being embarked in the conspiracy, as it was called, of the Duke of Somerset (42). But that he dissembled even then, and was not cordially reconciled to the Duke of Suffolk, or to the Duke of Northumberland, to whom he also bore ill-will, appears from his giving secret intelligence of King Edward's death to the Lady Mary, which prevented her falling into the hands of the two Dukes, and proved in the end their destruction, in every step of which the Earl of Arundel, as he had been before a concealed, was afterwards an active instrument (43). This prior marriage of the Marquis of Dorset, is that blemish mentioned in the text, and it is hardly possible to conceive a reason why the King acted as he did, unless it was to embroil the succession with such inextricable difficulties, as might render it most expedient for the parliament to leave the decision of it to his will (44), which project he seems to

have formed very early in his reign, and to have kept it always in view, though the validity of that last act of his, which bore that title, has been justly questioned (45).

[*C* He had married a young wife.] We have already shewn, that Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, became a widower by the death of the Duchess-Queen, in 1533, having no issue living by any of his wives but daughters, which very probably induced him to marry Katherine, sole daughter and heiress of William, Baron Willoughby of Eresby (46), in hopes of male issue in which he was not mistaken, for by her he had two sons, Henry Earl of Lincoln, and Lord Charles Brandon, who survived him (47). But besides these children, and those which have been already mentioned, he had two natural children, Sir Charles Brandon, who married Elizabeth, daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Pigott of Rippon in Yorkshire; and a daughter Frances, who espoused Andrew Billesby, of Billesby in the county of Lincoln, Esq; and by him had issue (48).

(f) Barren's  
History of the  
Reformation,  
Vol. II. p. 278.

(g) Aylmer,  
Ascham, Fox,  
Chaloner.

(h) Cardan. de  
Genitura, lib.  
xii.

(i) Fox's Acts  
and Monuments.

(k) Chaloneri,  
Deploratio acer-  
be necis, D. Ja-  
nes Gray, &c.

(l) Fox, Clarke,  
Poinet, &c.

(m) Strype's  
Life of Bishop  
Aylmer, p. 4.  
See also the arti-  
cles of A Y L-  
M E R and A S-  
C H A M.

(n) Aschami.  
Epist. p. 34.

(o) The Jewel of  
Joy, by Tho-  
mas Boon.  
Pitf. de Script.  
Brit.

(p) Aschami  
Epist. p. 34.  
Fox's Acts and  
Monuments.  
Clarke's Marrow  
of Ecclesiastical  
History, P. II.  
b. ii. p. 67, 68.

(q) Aschami  
Epist. p. 34.  
Fox's Acts and  
Monuments.

(r) Esch. 2.  
38 H. VIII.  
No. 107. Lin-  
coln.

(45) King Hen-  
ry's will was  
taken off the roll,  
as never duly exe-  
cuted, in the  
Reign of Queen  
Mary.

(46) Esch. 26 H.  
VIII. n. 101.

(47) Vincent's  
Discovery of Er-  
rors in Brooke's  
Catalogue, p.  
509.

(48) Baronagium  
Angl. MS.

(42) Leicester's  
Commonwealth,  
p. 151, 152.

(43) Godwin's  
Annals, p. 271.

(44) See Herbert  
Heylin, and  
Burnet.



(t) Herbert, Godwin, Stowe, Holinshed.

(r) Heylin, Burnet, Strype.

(u) Ascham Epist. p. 34.

(w) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 300.

(x) Trin. Rec. 6 E. vi. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. I. p. 720, 721.

(y) King Edward's Journal.

(z) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 497. Stowe's Annals, p. 605. Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 113. Hayward's Life of Edward VI. p. 154. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178.

(a) Lord Burleigh's Diary.

(b) Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Burnet, Strype, Collier.

(c) Godwin's Annals, p. 249. Dialogue touching the Succession, P. II. c. vi.

(d) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 352. Stowe's Annals, p. 606. King Edward's Journal.

(e) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 179. King Edward's Journal.

(f) Heyward, Heylin, Strype.

(49) Lord Herbert's Reign of Henry VIII. p. 529.

Eighth departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Edward the Sixth (s), with whom her father the Marquis of Dorset was in great favour, and herself also received many marks of his attention. Yet Lady Jane, still remained for the most part in the country, for in Leicestershire we find her in 1550, being the fourth year of that monarch's reign, and the fourteenth of her age (t). It was here that Mr Ascham found her, when he had that conference with her, of which we have given an account elsewhere, and which made so strong an impression upon his mind, that he afterwards wrote her a long letter, penned with equal elegance and freedom; which demonstrates how high an opinion he had of her understanding, independent of her learning, and in which he desires she will write him a Greek epistle, and wishes that she would likewise write his friend Sturmius another, that what he had said of her wherever he came, might be rendered credible by such authentic evidence (u). On the 14th of July 1551, died Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, of the sweating sickness, at the Bishop of Lincoln's palace of Bugden (w), which opened a passage for Henry Lord Marquis of Dorset, to obtain by the favour of the Earl of Warwick, and without whom indeed nothing could be obtained, a patent for this new-fallen honour, and accordingly October 11, 1551, he was created Duke of Suffolk (x), and on the same day, the great Earl beforementioned was created Duke of Northumberland, with precedency to the Duke of Suffolk (y); the Earl of Wiltshire, was likewise created Marquis of Winchester (z); Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and Mr William Cecil, one of the Secretaries of State, knighted (a). By these honours and promotions, it was conceived that all former jealousies were effaced from their minds, and a firm friendship established amongst them, for otherwise they had not much cause to love each other, since but a little before, the Duke of Suffolk had been obliged to resign his wardenship of the Marches, which the King had bestowed on the other duke; Sir William Herbert had been rather of the contrary faction, and Cecil had been imprisoned at the pulling down of the Lord Protector, but now all was forgiven and supposed to be forgot (b). On the seventh of November following, Sir Thomas Palmer discovered what was called the Duke of Somerset's conspiracy, in which several other noblemen were involved and sent to prison, particularly the Earl of Arundel, who, for reasons that we have before mentioned, had an old grudge to the Duke of Suffolk, and was no friend to the Duke of Northumberland, and Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, a very brave man, but a little high spirited, whom the two dukes had a mind to bend to their purpose (c). In the midst of this confusion, came the Queen-Dowager of Scotland from France, who was honourably received by King Edward, magnificently entertained, and amongst other ladies of the blood royal, was complimented by the Lady Jane, who was now at Court and much in the king's favour (d). As soon as these solemnities were over, and this princess, who was mother to Mary Queen of Scots, set out on her journey, the trial of the Duke of Somerset and his associates was brought on. At this the two Dukes with the Earl of Pembroke assisted, and the Marquis of Winchester, Lord-Treasurer, presided as Lord High-Steward (e). The ruin of this potent duke, left Northumberland, who really managed all, without rival and without opposition. By his favour the Earl of Arundel gained his liberty, as did also the Lord Grey, but upon hard terms, and a promise that they would be faithful and obedient for the time to come (f). In the next summer, the king with his court made a progress with a view to divert the mind of that young prince, to dispel the discontents of the people, and to influence the choice of members for the ensuing parliament (g). At this juncture in all probability, Lady Jane went to pay her duty to the king's sister, the Lady Mary, at New-Hall in Essex, where reproving the Lady Anne Wharton, for making a low curtesy to the Host, some officious person carried it to the princess's ear, who it is said retained it in her heart, and never loved Lady Jane afterwards (h). In January 1553, the king caught a great cold, which grew rather worse than better, from the medicines that were given him; so that when the parliament met in March, they were forced to go from Westminster to Whitehall to him, for otherwise his bad state of health would have deprived them of his presence. They sat only that month, and having finished a few important affairs that were brought before them, were dissolved (i). The Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland were now as great as they could wish to be, and the only object of their wishes was to preserve the high authority they had gained, towards which they had taken many steps already [D]. But in the midst of this prosperity,

This great Duke dying in the full possession of his master's favour at Guildford, was removed from thence to the collegiate church of Windsor, and there buried at the King's expence, with great solemnity (49). We have shewn in the text, at what time his two sons by his last wife died, which opened a way for advancing Henry Marquis of Dorset, to the title of Suffolk, but it will be proper however to remark here, that his other children being but of the half blood, could not inherit any thing from those two Dukes, and therefore in the second of Queen Elizabeth, the descendants of Sir William Brandon his Grandfather, being found his next heirs, that great inheritance whereof he died seized in fee, came to be shared amongst them; which were these, viz. Sir Henry Sydney, Knight, William

Cavendish, Esq; Thomas Glemham, Esq; John Kersey, and Francis Kersey, his son by Margaret his wife deceased, as heir of the said Margaret; Christian Darnell, widow, Walter Ascoughe, Esq; and Henry Ascoughe, his son by Elizabeth his wife, and John Trye, Gentleman, and Elizabeth his wife (50).

[D] Towards which they had taken many steps already. In several other articles we have had occasion to take some notice of the state of the English Court at this juncture, and yet some points of great consequence were left to be explained here. Such as can indulge themselves in a liberty of believing, and which is more, of reporting, that the Duke of Northumberland poisoned the King his master, contrived and executed that plot against himself, for which the Duke of Somerset died,

(g) Cooper, Heylin, Burnet, Strype, Collier. King Edward's Journal.

(h) Fox's Acts and Monuments. Clarke's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, P. II. b. ii. p. 98. Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1100.

(i) Burnet, Collier, Strype.

(50) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 300.



rity, the King's health declining daily, seemed to threaten them with some sudden and violent reverse of fortune (*k*). For this the penetration and sagacity of the Duke of Northumberland, suggested no other remedy than altering the succession of the Crown, which however he did not think fit to propose before certain measures were taken for effectually securing the safety of his own family, by matching into that to which he meant to transfer the Crown; and having a just foresight of the great hazards to which they must be exposed by so bold a measure, he contrived to fortify both houses still more, by other advantageous matches, which, considering his present high and flourishing condition, were easily brought about with those who could not see so far into futurity as this great politician (*l*). His three eldest sons, the Earl of Warwick, then Master of the Horse, Lord Ambrose, and Lord Robert, were already married, he therefore matched Lord Guilford Dudley his fourth son, who of them all, as a certain historian affirms, had least in him of the father, with our Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk's eldest daughter (*m*). It was at the same time resolved, that the Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Earl of Pembroke, should espouse her sister Lady Catherine (*n*); and the son of Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, was contracted to Lady Mary Grey, the Duke's third daughter, and at that time a perfect child (*o*); the Duke of Northumberland's two daughters were married to Sir Henry Sydney, and the Lord Hastings, son to the Earl of Huntingdon (*p*). On what day the two first marriages were celebrated does not any where appear, yet it is certain that it was in the latter end of May, to the King's great satisfaction (*q*), who though he was naturally sparing was however very bountiful upon this occasion, as may be seen at the bottom of the page [*E*]

The

died, and bent or broke every thing that stood in his way, at his pleasure, may account for all that passed in this critical situation of affairs without much trouble, but then they are not able to produce any proofs, which is a mode of writing justly disliked at present (*51*). We may indeed agree thus far with them, that this great nobleman meant to establish his fortune on the strongest foundation possible, which was very natural, and his abilities being superior to those of other courtiers he succeeded, which is very natural likewise. But then if we can point out the means by which he succeeded, relying on none but incontestable facts, may we not be thought to come nearer the truth, than by recurring to suppositions that are destitute of any tolerable evidence. His first scheme of greatness, was from pulling down of the Duke of Somerset when Protector, which he managed with great dexterity (*52*). His next was to reconcile himself to that Duke, and to make an alliance between their families; but when he found that notwithstanding this alliance, the Duke either of himself, or through the persuasions of his Duchess, aimed at recovering his former post by his destruction; he saw plainly that they could not be any longer both safe, and being a far better politician, turned the Duke's attempt upon himself, and sacrificed him to his ambition (*53*). He next struck in with the Duke of Suffolk, and finding him more manageable, projected the maintenance of their greatness, by gaining as many of the nobility as it was possible to their interest, and depriving of all power such as he conceived to be irreconcilable (*54*). In this too he acted with great dexterity, and in all appearance with great success, and not without some violence also, as appeared in the prosecution of Dr Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, the Lord Paget, and some others, for all which however he used colourable pretences; so that his policy seemed rather to consist in improving occasions as they fell out, than in such desperate contrivances as he is charged with; for if he had really foreseen the King's death so long beforehand, as Heylin (*55*) and some other writers insinuate, it is not easy to conceive why he delayed so long the marriage of his son with Lady Jane, or why he was so late in settling the succession; for these things appear evidently to have been done in a hurry, and with a variety of circumstances that have much more the appearance of necessity than foresight. His procuring from the King such large grants of the estates of the Piercy's, and of the lands belonging to the bishoprick of Durham, are so far from being arguments of his taking measures to put the King out of the world, and to secure the Crown to his descendants, that they are rather evidences to the contrary; for they raised him many enemies, and exposed him to the clamours of the people, which he would probably have avoided, if at this time he had had any such hopes, since having his daughter-in-law a Queen, and his son perhaps a King, he might then have provided for the rest of his family with much more decency and security (*56*). It is indeed highly probable, that he had earlier and better intelligence of the nature of the King's disease than others;

and it seems to be owing to this intelligence that he had time to do what he did, in which however there was much precipitation, and some errors that afterwards cost him dear, such as not sending for the King's sisters in time, confiding as he did in his old enemy the Earl of Arundel, and relying upon his late alliance with the house of Huntingdon, who notwithstanding deserted him (*57*). But with respect to the Duke of Suffolk and his numerous family, they all stuck close to him, and as in their superior fortunes they rose, so they likewise fell together (*58*).

[*E*] *As may be seen at the bottom of the page*] We have an account of the preparations made for these marriages in Strype, who, with a kind of religion if not superstition, collected every thing that bore the stamp of antiquity, supposing that all things how slight and indifferent soever they may seem, become some time or other useful, and ought therefore to be laid by; or at the worst, will serve for the amusement of such as love to look back on past times, because they take no pleasure in what passes in their own. Let us now hear what he has collected out of the book of warrants, and the records of the wardrobe, in the time of King Edward (*59*). 'Anno Domini 1553. A little before this time (June) were great preparations making for the match, which was celebrated in May, of the Lady Jane with Guilford, Northumberland's son, and some other marriages that were to accompany that, as the Earl of Pembroke's eldest son with the Lady Katherine, the Duke of Suffolk's second daughter, and the Earl of Huntingdon's eldest son, with the Duke of Northumberland's youngest daughter, and another of the said Duke's near relations; Sir Andrew Dudley was likewise matched near the same time with Margaret Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland's daughter. And for the more solemnity and splendour of this day, the master of the wardrobe had divers warrants to deliver out of the King's wardrobe, much rich apparel and jewels. As to deliver to the Lady Frances Duchess of Suffolk, to the Duchess of Northumberland, to the Lady Marchioness of Northampton, to the Lady Jane, daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and to the Lord Guilford Dudley, for wedding apparel (which were certain parcels of tissues and cloth of gold and silver, which had been the late Duke and Duchess of Somerset's, forfeited to the King) and to the Lady Katherine, daughter to the said Duke of Suffolk, and the Lord Herbert, for wedding apparel, and to the Lord Hastings, and Lady Katherine, daughter to the Duke of Northumberland, for wedding apparel, certain parcels of stuffs and jewels. Dated from Greenwich, the 24th of April. A warrant also there came to the wardrobe, to deliver to the King's use, for the finishing certain chairs for his Majesty, six yards of green velvet, and six yards of green fatten: another, to deliver to the Lady Mary's Grace, his Majesty's sister, a table diamond with a pearl pendant at the same; and to the Duchess of Northumberland, one square tablet of gold enamelled black with a clock, late parcel of the Duchess of Somerset's

(*m*) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 130.

(*n*) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 259.

(*o*) Dialogue touching the Succession, p. II. chap. vi.

(*p*) Heylin, Baronet, St type.

(*q*) Cooper, Heyward, Stowe.

(*57*) Sanders, Parsons, Thuanus.

(*58*) Grafton, Holinshed, Speed.

(*59*) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425.

8) Sir John Heyward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Godwin's Annals. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 301, 302, 303.

7) Three Conversions of England, Vol. I. p. 602.

51) Heyward, Heylin, Parsons, &c.

52) Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 301, 302.

53) Fox, Cooper, Godwin, &c.

54) England's Three Conversions, Vol. I. p. 619, 620.

55) History of the Reformation, p. 139.

56) See his conduct in this respect in Heylin, Baronet, and St type.



The populace, as is commonly the case in all countries, were very far from being pleased with the exorbitant greatness of the Duke of Northumberland, and yet they could not help admiring that beauty and innocence which appeared in Lord Guilford and his bride; but the pomp and splendour attending the celebration of their nuptials, was the last gleam of joy that shone in the palace of King Edward, who grew so weak in a few days after, that Northumberland thought it high time to carry his great project into execution, without which he saw clearly, that himself or his friends could not long continue great, or even safe (r). Upon these motives therefore he determined in the beginning of the month of June, to set on foot that scheme for which he had been by these steps preparing, and to constrain all upon whom he had any influence, either from love or fear, to do their utmost in their respective stations, to bring about and support that disposition he meant should be made of the Crown (s). The first motion he knew must proceed from the young monarch, and he was unwilling to trust any but himself with the first overtures in relation to so delicate a subject, and at the same time there were certain circumstances that made it no easy or acceptable thing for him to break it to a Prince, who though so young, was so wise and worthy in all respects as Edward. But necessity pressed him not only in respect to the deed, but also with regard to the time, of which he had now none to spare (t). To bring about this contrivance, he suggested how happy the nation had been under his government, and what a glorious Reformation had been carried on by him: that when such a blessing was so far advanced, the next point was to secure its continuance, that religion being conveyed to posterity, in this condition of purity, the public happiness would be perpetuated, and the best provision made for the honour of his memory: that if the Crown should descend to the Lady Mary, both the civil and religious interest of the kingdom would be in great danger: for that it was well known, how strongly that princess was inclined to the doctrine and pretensions of the court of Rome: and in case she should marry with some powerful prince of that communion, the English constitution might probably be overthrown, and the country made a province to a foreign nation; that both his sisters were the issue of marriages censured and disallowed in parliament; and besides, the late King having them by several venters, they were only of the half blood, and by consequence could neither be heirs to his highness, nor to each other. As for the young Queen of Scots, she had rejected an alliance with his majesty, engaged with the French, and therefore was no farther to be thought on (u). That the Lady Jane, who stood next upon the royal line, was a person of extraordinary qualities, that her zeal for the Reformation was unquestioned, that nothing could be more acceptable to the nation than the prospect of such a princess; that in this case, he was bound to set aside all partialities of blood and nearness of relation, these were inferior considerations, and ought to be over-ruled by the public good. In order to corroborate this discourse, the Duke of Northumberland took care to place those about the King, who would make it their business to touch frequently upon this subject; to enlarge upon the accomplishments of the Lady Jane, and describe her with all imaginable advantages (w). The King's affections standing for this disposition of the Crown, he was gained at last to overlook his sisters, and break through his father's will (x). The next thing was to draw an instrument, and put the settlement in form of law. To this purpose, Sir Edward Montague, Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, received an order from the Privy-Council at Greenwich, to come thither the next day, and bring Sir John Baker, Chancellor of the First-fruits and Tenths, Justice Bromley, the Attorney and Solicitor-General along with him (y). This order was signified by the Lord-Treasurer, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, the Lords Clinton and Darcy, Sir John Gate, Sir William Petre, Sir William Cecil, and Sir John Cheke. When Sir Edward Montague and the rest came to Court, the King told them that his sickness had given him occasion to consider the state of the realm, the course of the succession, and the consequences likely to ensue. And here he represented the danger to religion and the laws, in case the Lady Mary should succeed him. And therefore, to prevent a misfortune of this nature, his pleasure was, the Crown should pass to such persons, and under such circumstances, as were specified in certain articles then laid before them:

‘Somerfet’s jewels. And lastly, another warrant to Sir Andrew Dudley, to take for the Lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, and to himself for their wedding apparel, sundry silks and jewels. This last warrant bearing date June the 8th.’ This passage though trivial in appearance, is notwithstanding clear and sufficient evidence of some points that contribute much to the giving us a right notion of this transaction. The contents of it shew plainly, that these marriages were much to the King’s satisfaction, and that he meant to express it, by having them celebrated in some measure at his expence, which with respect to Lady Jane, was so much the more reasonable, as she was his very near relation (60). It appears likewise from hence, that all was done in a hurry, and with a view to have things ready as soon as possible, for otherwise we cannot conceive that the spoils of the Duke of Somerfet’s family would have been employed upon this occasion. Necessity may excuse this, but no-

thing else can. Lastly, it renders it highly probable, that the design of altering the succession had not escaped from the brain of Northumberland, how long soever it had lodged there at this time, for otherwise some notice would have been taken of it; for though there was enough done for his cousin Jane, yet there was much too little for the presumptive heir to his Crown; besides the complement paid to the Lady Mary, carries another appearance, and though this might be appearance only to others, yet the King would not have suffered it, if he had understood it in this light (61). He was not so young or so weak as to be imposed upon grossly, for what he did afterwards with respect to the succession, was done sensibly and willingly; his understanding might be misled, but he could never have been thus misled, if he had not had a good understanding. This may seem strange to some, but those who are acquainted with courts, will know it to be truth.

(61) There is a letter extant of the Lady Mary acknowledging this mark of favour.

(r) Godwin’s Annals.  
Heylin’s History of the Reformation, p. 138.  
Churchill’s Divi Britannici, p. 302.  
Strype’s Memorials, Vol. II. p. 423.  
Holinshed’s Chronicle, p. 1083.

(s) Burnet’s History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 178.

(t) Cooper’s Chronicle, fol. 358. b.

(u) Collier’s Church History, Vol. II. p. 337.

(w) Life and Reign of Edward VI. by Sir John Hayward.

(x) Cooper’s Chronicle, fol. 358. b.

(y) See Sir Edward Montague’s account in Fuller’s Church History, b. viii. p. 2.

(60) Cooper’s Chronicle, fol. 358. b.



them: these articles they were to digest into method, and draw up an instrument to the best of their skill (z). The Chief-Justice and the rest excepted against the order, and desired to be excused: and when further pressed, moved for time to consult the statutes and consider the constitution; being afterwards required by a message from the Lords, to go on with expedition, they made their report at the council-board, that having compared the articles with the statutes of succession, they found his Majesty's command impracticable: that in case they should draw up an instrument pursuant to their instructions, not only themselves, but all their Lordships would be in danger of treason: that they thought it their duty to inform their Lordships how the laws stood: that they had not done any thing already, neither had they resolution enough to run such a risque, and cross so directly upon the constitution (a). The Duke of Northumberland was not in the council-chamber when this answer was returned, but being informed of it, he came immediately in. He was highly enraged at the disappointment, called Sir Edward Montague traitor, and he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel, and menaced them to that degree, that Montague and Bromley were afraid he would have struck them. When they appeared next at the board, the King reprimanded them for not dispatching the instrument (b). The Chief-Justice told him it would signify nothing in law after the King's decease, because the succession being settled by act of parliament, it could not be altered but by the same authority. In short, the Chief-Justice Montague and the rest, were at last overawed, and drew a settlement of the Crown upon the Lady Jane. However they took the best precautions the case would admit to indemnify themselves: for they only engaged upon the condition of being authorized under the broad seal, and having a general pardon when the instrument was finished (c). And to give the conveyance a stronger colour of law, all the judges were sent for, and being required to subscribe the instrument, they all put their hands to it, except Sir James Hales, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas (d). None of the Lords of the Council, as far as it appears, scrupled the signing this instrument, except the Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, though he approved the person, was not satisfied with the method, and therefore endeavoured to frustrate the project at it's first proposal. He took the freedom to argue against it with the King, the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Chamberlain Darcy being present. He desired to speak with the King alone, but that could not be granted. The Duke of Northumberland told him, he had misbehaved himself already, in remonstrating against the King's will. The Archbishop was not discouraged by this rebuke, but bore up against Northumberland at the council-board: he insisted on his being sworn to perform the late King's will, and urged the entail of the Crown upon the two Princesses Mary and Elizabeth (e). To this the Council opposed the resolution of the judges, and the opinions of others learned in the law, who affirmed, that notwithstanding this entail the King being in possession might dispose of the Crown as he thought fit. This was more than the Archbishop could understand; but being little skilled in the common-law, he suffered himself to be overcome by the learned in that profession, and more especially the King's Attorney and Solicitor, and yet in all probability he would not have ventured to sign, if it had not been for the young King's perswasion (f). The concurrence in this measure, all things considered, was very extraordinary, and it is equally difficult to conceive how so many grave and cautious men could be drawn to embark themselves so far as they did, and that after running such a hazard, and knowing their own force, they should notwithstanding undo all that they had done, and this purely through fear and want of confidence in each other, while their strength was entire, and they had suffered nothing either from accident or force (g). But revolutions are always sudden in this country, and precautions are vain, when the peoples affections are once alienated [F]. This difficult affair once accomplished,

(a) Strype, Bur-

(a) Sir Edward  
Montague, Ac-  
count, Hey-  
lyn, Burnet.

(b) Affirmed by  
Sir Edward Mon-  
tague, in his Ac-  
count.

(c) Heyward,  
Heylyn, Burnet,  
Strype, Collier.

(d) Cooper's  
Chronicle, fol.  
278. b.  
Heylyn's History  
of the Reforma-  
tion, p. 153.  
Strype's Memo-  
rials, Vol. II.

(e) Collier's Ec-  
clesiastical Histo-  
ry, Vol. II. p.  
227.  
Strype's Memo-  
rials of Abp.  
Crane, p. 229.  
Burnet's History  
of the Reforma-  
tion, Vol. II.  
p. 224.

(f) Burnet,  
Strype, Collier.  
Fox's MSS.

(g) Churchill's  
Dixi Britannici,  
p. 302, 303, 304.  
L'Estrange's Com-  
monwealth, p.  
85.  
The Reign of  
Queen Mary in  
Giles's Chro-  
nicle, which was  
written by George  
Ferrers, Esq;

[F] *When the peoples affections are once alienated.*

It is justly observed by as shrewd a political writer as any who ever meddled with the affairs of this kingdom, that nothing could be more artfully contrived than this scheme, considered in all it's branches. It was, to say the truth, the utmost effort of false politics, and one of the strongest instances of the power of faction, that is to be found in our own history or in any other. The two Dukes, by a variety of alliances, had connected so many great persons in point of interest to themselves, had disposed of all places and offices in such a manner amongst their friends, and under pretence of zeal for the Protestant religion, influenced the inferior clergy in such a manner, that those who disliked the act, durst not express themselves as freely as they desired to do, or persist in their behaviour, even to that degree which they expressed; so that what through hope, interest, and fear, a more extensive influence was hardly ever seen (62). The instrument which the lawyers were afraid to draw, and which for all that was very well drawn, was, after the execution, subscribed by thirty-three members of the Privy-Council, and amongst these, by all the great officers of the Crown, of whom none but the Archbishop of Canterbury shewed any scruple; the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor, the

Lord Chamberlain, and the rest not only subscribed but promoted it; and took as large a share both before and after (till they found themselves in danger), and seemed as much in earnest as the two Dukes themselves could desire or wish (63). This was going a great way, for besides this capital instrument, there was another drawn likewise by the King's special order, of which the more notice ought to be taken, because it is not mentioned by many of our historians. In this writing they engaged upon their oaths and honour, to adhere to and perform every article and branch contained in the settlement of the succession; and that if any of them should depart from this engagement, they should look upon it as a scandalous infraction, and endeavour to punish the offender as a disturber of the public repose. The persons subscribing are these (64). T. Cant. T. Ely. Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampton. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntingdon. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. T. Cheyne. R. Riche. John Gate. William Petres. Johan. Cheek. W. Cecyll. Edward Mountague. John Bakere. Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas. John Gosnald. One would have thought, that measures thus taken, thus supported, must have subsisted for some time, or at least must have created some struggle be-

(63) Burnet,  
Strype, Godwin.

(64) Collier's  
Ecclesiastical Hi-  
story, Vol. II.  
p. 337, 338.



(b) Sir John Heyward's Life and Reign of Edward VI. Cecil's MSS. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.

(i) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b. Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1084. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 1. Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 154.

complished, and the letters-patents having passed the seals before the close of the month, the Dukes had nothing to do but to concert in the best manner they were able, the properest method for carry this new settlement into execution, and till that was done, to keep it as secret as they could (b). Northumberland indeed had formed a project, which if he could have executed would have made all things easy and secure. He directed letters to the Lady Mary in her brother's name, requiring her attendance at Greenwich, where the Court then was, and she was within half a day's journey of that place when King Edward resigned his soul to his Creator, July the sixth, 1553 (i), of which she had immediately notice given her by the Earl of Arundel, and thereby avoided the snare which had been laid with so much artifice (k). The Dukes, though they had been so long contriving, and so long expecting this event, were notwithstanding in very great confusion when it happened, and therefore concealed it for more than two days, that they might have time to gain the magistrates and citizens of London, and to procure the consent of Lady Jane, who was so far from having any hand in this business, that as yet she was unacquainted with the pains that had been taken to procure her the title of Queen, for as to the power she never had it, and perhaps it was never meant she should (l). In the management of their affairs at this delicate conjuncture, the Lords, and those who adhered to them, which as yet was every man in the administration, had as much success as they could reasonably expect, so that they flattered themselves, the beginning of the new Queen's reign would not be attended with any considerable disturbance (m) [G]. It does not appear that they

(k) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 233.

(l) Leicester's Commonwealth, p. 85. See the Speech of Arundel to the Lords at Baynard's Castle.

(m) Cooper's Chronicle, fol. 358, b. Churchill's Divi Britannici, p. 304. G. Camden. præfat. ad Annal. Eliz.

fore they had been over-turned. The two Dukes no doubt thought so themselves, but they were disappointed, and this notwithstanding they had a considerable force at command; which is a lesson worthy the consideration of the gravest politicians; as it shews that how broad, how strong soever a faction may be, it loses all its power, as soon as the people comprehend it is but a faction.

[G] *With any considerable disturbance* ] The only method of understanding this curious but hitherto confused part of our history, is to refer every fact as far as it is practicable to the day on which it happened, and this at the same time that it will make the whole story clearer, by throwing things into that natural order in which they fell out, so it will afford us an opportunity of discovering many falsehoods and inaccuracies that for want of this precaution have escaped some very diligent writers (65). All agree that the two Dukes, and those who were most sincerely attached to them, used the utmost caution in order to conceal the King's death, which had it been in their power, they would willingly have done for a fortnight; amongst other reasons it is said, in hopes that the Lady Mary might fall into their hands. Of this there would be the more probability, if we could depend upon what a very bitter (66) but a very intelligent writer assures us, that Northumberland himself kept a secret correspondence with her highness, and actually wrote her a letter on the 20th of June, the very day before King Edward's letters-patents passed, with the strongest assurances possible of his duty and service. The very next day after the King's death, the Lord High-Treasurer Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord High-Admiral Clinton, went to the Tower (67), where they turned out Sir James Croft, who had the charge of that important fortress, and administered the oath of Constable to the Lord Admiral Clinton, who immediately gave the necessary directions for putting it in a state of defence; for the reception of those who were speedily expected, all which was the more easy, since some (68) steps for this purpose had been previously taken before the death of King Edward. The Tower being thus secured, the next step was to secure the City, and for this purpose, the Council, as it was very common in respect to affairs of moment, wrote their letters for Sir George Barnes, with six Aldermen, as many Merchant-Adventurers, and the same number of the Merchants of the Staple, to repair to the Court, which they accordingly did on Saturday the eighth of July; and being by the Council informed of the state things were in, and of the disposition the King by letters patents had made of the Crown; they were sworn to Queen Jane and dismissed, with directions to keep the King's death a secret (69). We may from hence perceive, that Mr Strype (70) must be mistaken, when he asserts that Dr Ridley preached the next day at Paul's-Cross, in maintenance of Queen Jane's title, who as yet was not proclaimed; and therefore when he says there were but two Paul's sermons preached in this short reign, and the latter by Mr Rogers, who preached only upon the gospel of the day, it is highly probable that he exchanged

the preachers, putting the first last, and the last first, as the subjects of their sermons very plainly testify, as well as the concurring evidence of the best writers (71) of those times, who fix the sermon of Bishop Ridley to the sixteenth, and not to the ninth. Indeed, what probability is there that the Council should recommend secrecy to the Lord-Mayer and Aldermen, and at the same time give or send instructions to Mr Rogers (72), who really preached on the ninth, or to Bishop Ridley, as Strype would have it, to declare Queen Jane's title to the people. So far was this from being their purpose, that in their first letters to the ambassadors at Brussels, which were dispatched on the Saturday (73), though they mention the King's death, yet they said nothing of the succession; but finding by the Lady Mary's letters the next day, that she was apprised of it, and that it could not be kept a secret; they then wrote to Sir Philip Hoby, Sir Richard Morrison, and the Bishop of Norwich, and acquainted them with Queen Jane's accession. At the same time they swore the guard and the head officers of the household to Jane (74), and took the resolution of proclaiming her the next day (75). It is very remarkable, that in pursuance of their engagement, the Council at this time stuck together, and acted in all outward appearance with the utmost harmony; and yet if they were in earnest now, they could not, consistent with the principles of conscience or justice, dislike any thing that passed afterwards, since that was only in maintenance of what was now done, which might indeed be more dangerous then, but not at all more illegal or unjust than now; the truth is, that several were unsatisfied and only wanted courage to declare themselves; nay, in the opinion of Sir William Cecil (76), who was at this time Secretary of State, the major part of the Council were rather inclined to Queen Mary's title; so that he ascribed it to some impropriety in the conduct of one Hungate, who was intrusted with her letters, than to the disposition of the Council that it did not succeed. If this seems inconsistent with that strong stile in which their answer to the Lady Mary is penned, the reader must consider that this was the business of Sir John Cheke, who was very hearty; and when he had drawn it while Northumberland was present (77), none of the Council was stout enough to decline signing it. They apprehended that the face of authority and the strength of the nation was with Jane and the two Dukes, and therefore with them they staid till hearing of the forces that resorted to Mary, they began to wish that they had stuck to their first notions in favour of her title. This is the plain and naked truth, not taken upon the authority of this or that author, or from a bias to, or prejudice against, either side of the question, but drawn from facts that cannot admit of dispute, and from the declarations not only of those who lived in these times, but of some of the principal persons of whose conduct we are speaking, such as Archbishop Cranmer, Sir William Cecil, Sir John Mason, and others. By this specimen the reader will find it no difficult matter to account for and form a right judgment of all that afterwards happened.

(71) Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1087.

(72) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3.

(73) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 234.

(74) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2, 4, 5.

(75) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 235.

(76) Cecil's MSS.

(77) Biblioth. Cotton. Titul. b. ii.

(65) Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Holinshed, Speed.

(66) Leicester's Commonwealth,

(67) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Heylin's Hist. Reform.

(68) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 424, 425.

(69) Stowe's Annals, p. 609.

(70) Memorials, Vol. III. p. 3.



suffered themselves to be undeceived in any degree by the letters which they received from Mary, in which, though she did not take the title of Queen, she clearly asserted her right to the Crown, took notice of their concealing her brother's death, and of the practices into which they had since entered, but intimated that there was still room for reconciliation; and that if they complied with their duty in proclaiming her Queen, she could forgive and even forget what was past (*n*). In their answer, the Lords and others of the Privy-Council, for it was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and twenty others, insist upon the indubitable right, and their own unalterable fidelity to Queen Jane, to whom they perswaded the Lady Mary to submit (*o*). These previous steps being taken, the Tower and the City of London secured, the Council quitted Greenwich, and came to London, and on Monday July the tenth in the forenoon, the two Dukes repaired to Durham-house, where the Lady Jane resided with her husband, as part of Northumberland's family (*p*). There the Duke of Suffolk with much solemnity explained to his daughter the disposition the late King had made of his Crown by letters-patents, the clear sense the Privy-Council had of her right, the consent of the magistrates and citizens of London; and when he had made an end of speaking, himself and Northumberland fell on their knees and paid their duty to her as Queen of England (*q*). The poor lady somewhat astonished at their discourse, but not at all affected by their reasons, or in the least elevated by such unexpected honours, returned them an answer to this effect (*r*). 'That the laws of the kingdom and natural right standing for the King's sisters, she would be ware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke which did belong to them; that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a scepter; that it were to mock God and deride Justice, to scruple at the stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a Crown. Besides (said she) I am not so young nor so little read in the guiles of fortune, to suffer myself to be taken by them. If she enrich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins; what she adored but yesterday, is to day her pastime. And if I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow suffer her to crush and tear me in pieces. Nay, with what Crown doth she present me? a Crown which hath been violently and shamefully wrested from Katherine of Arragon, made more unfortunate by the punishment of Anne Boleyn, and others that wore it after her; and why then would you have me add my blood to theirs, and be the third victim from whom this fatal Crown may be ravished, with the head that wears it? but in case it should not prove fatal unto me, and that all it's venom were consumed, if fortune should give me warranties of her constancy, should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns which would dilacerate, though not kill me out-right; to burthen myself with a yoke which would not fail to torment me, though I were assured not to be strangled with it? my liberty is better than the chain you proffer me, with what precious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me sincerely and in good earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and quiet fortune though mean, than an exalted condition, exposed to the wind, and followed by some dismal fall.' But notwithstanding the prudence, goodness, and eloquence of this speech, she was at length prevailed upon, by the exhortations of her father, the intercession of her mother, the artful perswasions of Northumberland, and above all, the earnest desires of her husband, whom she tenderly loved, to yield her assent to what had been and was to be done (*s*); and thus with a heavy heart she suffered herself to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where she entered with all the state of a Queen, attended by the principal nobility, and, which is very extraordinary, her train supported by the Duchesse of Suffolk her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of succession remained (*t*). About six o'clock in the afternoon she was proclaimed with all due solemnities in the city, which proclamation we are assured Sir William Cecil declined drawing (*u*), and it was therefore penned by Sir John Throckmorton, with great skill and elegance, and because it contains the substance of King Edward's letters-patents, and whatever else could cast any colour of right upon the title of Queen Jane, and this in the most concise terms (*w*), is inserted at the bottom of the page [*H*]. The concourse of people, as is usual on such occasions,

(n) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235. Heylin's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 159. Speed's Chronicle, p. 216.

(o) Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1085. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235. Speed's Chronicle, p. 216.

(p) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 159. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 234.

(q) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 159. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 235.

(r) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 159. Burnet's History, Vol. II. p. 235. Clarke's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, P. II. p. 58. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 334.

(s) Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235. Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 159. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 334.

(t) Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 334.

(u) Cooper's Chronicle, P. III. fol. 358. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 2. Stowe's Annals, p. 610. Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 158. Life of William Lord Burleigh, p. 19.

(w) From an ancient printed Copy. Life of William Lord Burleigh, p. 19.

[*H*] Is inserted at the bottom of the page.] There is nothing does more honour to Northumberland's management in this affair, than the skill and spirit with which the papers were drawn, which came either to the eye of the public, or to the hands of particular persons; and this is so much the more singular, as the Secretaries Cecil and Petre were not well disposed, but as far as they were able declined acting, which he passed by at this time, as being desirous to be assisted on such critical occasions by any, rather than concealed enemies; and therefore when Sir John Cheke was not present, he frequently drew the letters, and more frequently the minutes himself. As for this proclamation Cecil put it upon the Attorney-General, but after all it was thus penned by Sir John Throckmorton.

JANE, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith and of

the Church of England, and also of Ireland, under Christ in earth the supreme head. To all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, and to every of them greeting. Whereas our most dear cousin Edward the Sixth, late King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth the supreme head under Christ of the Church of England and Ireland; by his letters-patents signed with his own hand, and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the twenty-first day of June, in the seventh year of his reign, in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm thereto assenting and subscribing their names to the same; hath by the same his letters-patents recited. That for as much as the Imperial Crown of this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of

the



(\*) Strype's  
Memorials, Vol.  
III. p. 2.  
Holinshed, Vol.  
II. p. 1084.  
Burnet's Hist.  
Reform. Vol. II.  
p. 236.

was very great, but they came rather out of curiosity, than to testify their concurrence or consent; so that their acclamations were but faint, most being silent, some testifying their dislike, and amongst the crowd a vintner's boy had the boldness to vindicate Queen Mary's title, for which he was presently committed (\*). This day likewise Jane assuming the regal title, confirmed the Lords-Lieutenants throughout the kingdom, and wrote to the Marquis

the reign of the late King of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, was for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin King Edward the Sixth, by the same act limited and appointed to remain to the Lady Mary, by the name of the Lady Mary his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the Lady Elizabeth, by the name of the Lady Elizabeth his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as should be limited and appointed by the said late King of worthy memory, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, by his letters-patents under his great seal, or by his last will in writing signed with his hand. And for as much as the said limitation of the Imperial Crown of this realm being limited as is aforesaid to the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had between the said late King, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Katherine, mother to the said Lady Mary; and also the marriage had between the said late King, King Henry the Eighth, our progenitor and great uncle, and the Lady Anne, mother to the said Lady Elizabeth, were clearly and lawfully undone by sentences of divorces, according to the word of God and the Ecclesiastical Laws. And which said several divorcements have been severally ratified and confirmed by authority of parliament, and especially in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, remaining in force, strength, and effect, whereby, as well the said Lady Mary, as also the said Lady Elizabeth, to all intents and purposes are, and have been clearly disabled to ask, claim, or challenge the said Imperial Crown, or any other of the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, as heir or heirs, to our said late cousin King Edward the Sixth, or as heir or heirs to any other person or persons whosoever, as well for the cause before rehearsed, as also for that the said Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, were unto our said late cousin, but of the half blood, and therefore by the ancient laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, be not inheritable unto our said late cousin, although they had been born in lawful matrimony, as indeed they were not, as by the said sentences of divorce and the said statute of the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, our said progenitor and great uncle, plainly appeareth. And for as much also as it is to be thought, or at the least much to be doubted, that if the said Lady Mary or Lady Elizabeth should hereafter have and enjoy the said Imperial Crown of this realm, and should then happen to marry a stranger born out of this realm, that then the same stranger having the government and the Imperial Crown in his hands, would adhere and practise not only to bring this noble free realm into the tyranny and servitude of the Bishop of Rome, but also to have the laws and customs of his or their own native country or countries, to be practised and put in use within this realm, rather than the laws, statutes, and customs, here of long time used; whereupon the title of inheritance of all and singular the subjects of this realm, do depend to the peril of conscience, and the utter subversion of the common weal of this realm. Whereupon our said late dear cousin, weighing and considering with himself what ways and means were most convenient to be had for the stay of the said succession in the said Imperial Crown, if it should please God to call our said late cousin out of this transitory life, having no issue of his body, and calling to his remembrance, that we and the Lady Katherine and the Lady Mary, our sisters, being the daughters of the Lady Frances our natural mother, and then and yet wife to our natural and most loving father, Henry Duke of Suffolk, and the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Lady Eleanor, then deceased, sister to the said Lady Frances, and the

late wife of our cousin Henry Earl of Cumberland, were very nigh of his Grace's blood of the part of his father's side, our said progenitor and great uncle; and being naturally born here within the realm, and for the very good opinion our said late cousin had of our and our said sisters and cousin Margaret's good education, did therefore upon good deliberation and advice herein had and taken, by his said letters patents declare, order, assign, limit, and appoint, that if it should fortune himself our said late cousin King Edward the Sixth to decease, having no issue of his body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the confines of the same, and his title to the crown of the realm of France, and all and singular honours, castles, prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminences, authorities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and hereditaments, to our said late cousin King Edward the Sixth, or to the said Imperial Crown belonging, or in any wise appertaining, should for lack of such issue of his body remain, come, and be unto the eldest son of the body of the said Lady Frances lawfully begotten, being born into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of the same eldest son lawfully begotten, and so from son to son, as he should be of antienty in birth, of the body of the said Lady Frances lawfully begotten, being born into the world in our said late cousin's life-time, and to the heirs male of the body of every such son lawfully begotten, and for default of such son born into the world in his life-time, of the body of the said Lady Frances lawfully begotten; and for lack of heirs male of every such son lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all and singular other the premises should remain, come, and be to us by the name of the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said Lady Frances, and to the heirs male of our body lawfully begotten, and for lack of such heir male of our body lawfully begotten, that then the said Imperial Crown, and all other the premises, should remain, come, and be to the said Lady Katherine, our said second sister, and to the heirs male of the body of the said Lady Katherine lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders, as by the same letters-patents more plainly, and at large may, and doth appear. Sithens the making of which letters-patents, that is to say on thursday, which was the sixth day of this instant month of July, it hath pleased God to call to his infinite mercy, our said most dear and intirely beloved cousin Edward the Sixth, whose soul God pardon; and for as much as he is now deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten, and that also there remain at this present time, no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our said progenitor and great uncle King Henry the Eighth; and for as much also as the said Lady Frances our said mother, had no issue male begotten of her body, and born into the world in the life-time of our said cousin King Edward the Sixth, so as the said Imperial Crown, or other the premises to the same belonging, or in any wise appertaining, now be, and remain to us in our actual and royal possession, by authority of the said letters-patents: we do therefore by these presents signify unto all our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, that like as we for our part, shall by God's grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign sovereign Queen and Lady, to all our good subjects, in all their just and lawful suits and causes, and to the uttermost of our power, shall preserve and maintain God's most holy word, christian policy, and the good laws, customs, and liberties of these our realms and dominions; so we mistrust not but they and every of them will again for their parts, at all times, and in all cases, shew themselves unto us their natural liege Queen and Lady, most faithful, loving, and obedient subjects, according to their bounden duties and allegiances, whereby they shall please God, and do the thing that shall tend to their own preservations and sureties; willing and commanding all men of all estates, degrees, and conditions, to see our peace and accord



Marquis of Northampton, who was Lord Lieutenant of Surry, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, and Bucks, to assist and defend her title (j). On Tuesday the eleventh, Gilbert Pot, servant to Ninion Saunders a vintner, who was convicted of speaking seditious words the day before, on the evidence of his master a gunner of the Tower; stood in the pillory to which his ears were nailed, and when his time of standing was ended, they were cut off, a herald proclaiming his offence, and a trumpet sounding all the time. An unseasonable act of severity, which displeased rather than terrified the people (z), and which a subsequent accident made more remarkable, for his master, with one Owen, a gunsmith, coming from the Tower that evening, were drowned in shooting London-Bridge (a). On Wednesday the twelfth, a letter was written from Jane to the Emperor, notifying her accession, which was committed to the care of Richard Shelly, who was likewise intrusted with the Council's letters to the ambassadors at Brussels, in which they stiled that princess our Sovereign Lady (b). This Princess and her Council however had their thoughts diverted from matters of form, to things of greater consequence, by their receiving certain intelligence, that Mary was gone to Keninghall-Castle in Norfolk (c), attended by some of the nobility, and with such a resort of the commons, as plainly shewed she wanted not those who would support her claim to the Crown, which she had likewise shewn her own intention to maintain, by assuming the title of Queen (d). A Squadron had been before sent to cruize upon the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk, to prevent her escape to Flanders; but now the necessity of an army appeared, and the first resolution was, that it should be commanded by the Duke of Suffolk, who had a great stake in this business, and who wanted not either courage or any other abilities to qualify him for that office (e). But the Queen's tenderness over-ruled her judgment, and the Council falling easily into her opinion, consented that Suffolk, with the title of guardian to the Queen's person, should remain where he was, and that Northumberland, whose military talents they magnified, should put himself at the head of the forces, which he seemed chearfully to accept, because he saw that it could not possibly be refused (f). He then signified to the Council, that he would make ready his own power on the morrow after, not doubting but they would send theirs with him, or speed them after him; that he must recommend the Queen unto their fidelity, of whose sacred person he desired them to be very tender, all which they promised him to do (g). And having thus settled these affairs, they made the Queen acquainted in Northumberland's presence, with how great readiness he had taken the danger of that action upon himself, to give her the contentment of enjoying her father's company, till the present storm was over blown, who humbly thanked the Duke for so great a favour, and chearfully desired him not to be wanting to the public and his personal safety (h). The same day arms and ammunition were sent from the Tower, for the use of the troops that were quickly to be put in motion. On Thursday the thirteenth, after taking due care, so far as was in his power, for assembling troops sufficient for the intended enterprize, which was reducing those in arms against Queen Jane, and bringing Mary prisoner to the Tower (i); Northumberland went for the last time to Court, and having put the nobility and council in mind that Newmarket was the place of rendezvous, he delivered himself farther, to this effect (k). 'My Lords (said he) I and these other noble personages, with the whole army that now goes forth, as well for the behalf of you and your's, as for the establishing of the Queen's Highness, shall not only adventure our bodies and lives amongst the bloody strokes, and cruel assaults of our adversaries in the open fields; but also we do leave the conservation of ourselves, children, and families, at home here with you, as together committed to your trust and fidelity. Whom, if we thought you would, through malice, conspiracy, or dissention, leave us your friends in the briers, and betray us, we could as well findry ways foresee and provide for our own safe-guards as any of you by betraying us can do for your's. But now upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we think ourselves most assured, we hazard our lives, which trust and promise if you shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet God shall not count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the sacred holy oath of allegiance, made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the Queen's highness, who by your and our enticement, is rather of force placed therein, than by her own seeking and request. Consider also, that God's cause, which is the preferment of his word, and the fear of the return of Popery, hath been (as ye have heretofore always said) the original cause whereupon ye (even at the first motion) granted your good wills and consents thereunto, as

(j) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.  
Speed's Chronicle,  
p. 816.

(a) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.  
Speed's Chronicle,  
p. 816.

(b) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(c) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(d) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(e) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(f) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(g) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(h) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(i) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(j) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

(k) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 183.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 610.

' accord kept, and to be obedient to our laws, as they  
' tender our favour, and will answer for the contrary  
' at their extreme perils. In witness whereof, we have  
' caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness  
' ourself, at our Tower of London, the tenth day of  
' July, in the first year of our reign.'

Anno Domini  
M.D.LIII.

God Save the QUEEN.

Londini, in ædibus Ricardi Graftoni,  
Reginæ a typographia excusum.  
Cum privilegio ad imprimendum  
solum.

VOL. IV. No. 202.

If Mr Strype (78), had ever seen a printed copy of this proclamation, or if the last line had been preserved in that which Bishop Burnet printed amongst his records, he would not have been so angry, that Grafton, who likewise printed the proclamation of Queen Mary, was removed, and John Cawood appointed the Queen's printer in his room, or have attributed it as he does, to his being a Protestant, and having printed the Bible in English, since it is far more likely, that the cause of his being turned out of his employment and meeting with other hard usage, was for his printing this proclamation. At least this is so good a reason, that there is no need of looking for a better.

(78) Memorials,  
Vol. III. p. 13.



(l) Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 160.  
Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086.  
Speed's Chronicle, p. 816.  
Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(m) Fuller's Holy State, p. 296.  
Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 160.

(n) Stowe's Annals, p. 610, 611.  
Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1086.

(o) Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 161.  
Stowe's Annals, p. 610.

(p) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238.  
Stowe's Annals, Vol. III. p. 3.  
Fuller's Holy State, p. 296.  
Stowe's Annals, p. 611.

(q) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 162.

(r) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238.  
Life of Sir John Cheke.

(s) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239.

(t) Roger Ascham's Letter to Lord Burleigh, containing a collection of his conduct in these times.  
Cott. Titus, b. ii.

(u) Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. III. p. 1087.  
Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Vol. III. p. 409. in the appendix.

(79) Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238.

(80) Hist. Reform. p. 162.

‘ by your hand writing appeareth. And think not otherwise but that if you mean deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter God will revenge the same. I can say no more, but in this troublesome time wish you to use constant hearts; abandoning all malice, envy, and private affections. Which said, and having paused a little, he shut up his address in these following words: I have not spoken to you, my Lords, in this sort upon any mistrust that I have of your fidelities, of which always I have hitherto conceived a trusty confidence, but I have only put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance soever might grow amongst you in my absence. And this I pray you, that you would not wish me less good speed in this journey, than you would have yourselves.’ To which last words, one of them is reported to have thus replied: *My Lord, if you mistrust any of us in this matter, your Grace is much mistaken in us. For which of us can wash his hands clean of the present business; for if we should shrink from you, as one that is culpable, which of us can excuse himself as being guiltless (l)?* Little the more assured by this quick return he went to take his leave of the Queen, where he found his commission ready sealed, together with certain instructions subscribed by all the Lords of the Council, in which his marches were laid out and limited from one day to another. This is generally supposed to have been by his own advice, but that he might have the authority of the Privy-Council to plead, for every motion he made (m). At his departure the Earl of Arundel, who had been betraying them all the time, and who meditated their destruction now, which he soon accomplished, came to the Duke, professed his sorrow that he was not appointed to go with him, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood, and to lay his life down at his feet (n). Northumberland, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Grey, went in his barge to Durham-House, and from thence to Whitehall, where having mustered his forces, and given the necessary orders for their march, he returned to Durham-House for that night (o). On Friday the 14th of July, he marched with two-thousand horse and six-thousand foot through Shoreditch, accompanied by the Lord Grey of Wilton, and Sir John Gates his constant friend bringing up the rear (p). The Duke of Suffolk having the care of the Queen’s person and of the Tower, found himself very fully employed, and in a very little time perceived what a mistake had been made in sending Northumberland into a country where he was universally hated, and leaving the direction of the council to him who was no politician (q). On Saturday the fifteenth, those intrigues began which destroyed that unanimity that in appearance at least had subsisted in Jane’s little Court. Sir William Cecil seems to have been the person who first intimated a dislike of the condition they were in, and he very quickly found that many were in his sentiments. He had wisely declined executing his office of Secretary, so that most of the papers of state had been drawn by Sir John Cheke, which was certainly no disadvantage to the cause; for as he was one of the most learned and polite, he was also one of the clearest and correctest writers of that time (r). The person applied to by Cecil, was the Lord-Treasurer Winchester, whose maxim it was, that in stormy times, an oak was more exposed than a willow, and this gave him such a facility in bending, that we find him well rooted, and flourishing in every Court from the days of Henry, to the times of Elizabeth (s). Arundel was next tampered with, and he contented himself with saying, that he liked not that air; Paget and Petre were known to be in the same sentiments; these cabals were indeed very secret, but it was not long before their effects appeared (t). On Sunday July the sixteenth, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, preached at Paul’s-Cross, where he very justly commended the virtues and abilities of Queen Jane, maintained her title by the best arguments he could devise, and inveighed against the claims of King Henry’s daughters (u) [I]. In all this no doubt he acted with great sincerity,

[I] *Against the claims of King Henry’s daughters* ] It has been before shewn, that this sermon must have been preached upon the sixteenth of July, by directions from the Council, as it stands in Stowe and other old writers, and as it was understood to be by Bishop Burnet (79); for though that prelate does not expressly say this, yet he says it in effect, since he tells us that it was preached on the very same day that Dr Sands preached upon the very same subject at Cambridge, and the time of preaching that sermon was never liable to any doubt. But the best and most concise account of this we owe to Heylin (80), who speaks thus: ‘ On Sunday the sixteenth of the month, Dr Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, is ordered by the Lords of the Council to preach at St Paul’s-Cross, and in his sermon to advance the title of Queen Jane, and shew the invalidity of the claim of the Lady Mary. Which he performed according to such grounds of law and polity, as had been laid together in the Letters-Patents of King Edward, by the authority and consent of all the Lords of the Council, the greatest judges in the land, and almost all the peers of the kingdom. But then withal, he pressed the inconveniences and inconveniences which might arise by receiving Mary for their Queen, prophesying that which after came to pass: namely, that she would bring in a foreign power to reign over this nation, and that she would

‘ subvert the true religion then established by the laws of this realm. He also shewed, that at such time as she lived in his diocese, he had travelled much with her, to reduce her to the true religion, but that though otherwise, she had used him with great civility, she shewed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no hope to be conceived, but that she would disturb and destroy all that which with such great labour had been settled in the reign of her brother. For which sermon he incurred so much displeasure, that it could never be forgiven him when the rest were pardoned, by whose encouragement and command he had undertaken it.’ But this remark is only that author’s conjecture; for if we govern our notions of Queen Mary’s temper by facts, we shall find that heresy was with her a more heinous crime than treason. However this ought to be a warning to clergymen not to embark themselves in schemes of policy, with which the gospel has very little to do; and surely therefore it had been better if the Protestant cause had not mingled so much in this dispute, by which it was made so obnoxious to Mary; so that it is no wonder if she thought that all who were of her brother’s religion, were against his sister’s succeeding him, to which this conduct of Bishop Ridley might not a little contribute; so that after all, these kind of declarations should be left to those to whom they properly belong,



cerity, for he was a man of primitive piety and unspotted integrity; notwithstanding which, this sermon is with great probability believed to have cost him his life (x). That evening the Lord-Treasurer went privately out of the Tower, which was no longer known to the Duke of Suffolk, than he caused the gates to be shut, though it was but seven of the clock; and about midnight, we are told, the Lord-Treasurer was brought in again (x). On monday the seventeenth, the spirit of discord began to work powerfully, upon the Lord-Treasurer Winchester's reporting that the people in general were for Mary; that many of the nobility who were at liberty had joined her; that the ships had revolted to her which were sent to cruize on the coast of Norfolk, and that there was very little hopes of Northumberland's success (y). All this was abundantly confirmed by letters from Northumberland himself, complaining that they had not sent the powers they had promised to Newmarket; that this had discouraged his forces so, that they began to dwindle, and pressing them for the sake of religion, of the Queen, and of themselves, to hasten their supplies (z). These dispatches were read and debated upon in council, but in private they were busy in contriving how to get out of the Tower, in which they were already a kind of prisoners, and to which they were afraid of being sent by another authority for what they were then doing against their will (a). On tuesday the eighteenth, Queen Jane by the advice of her council, wrote to Sir John St Lowe, and Sir Anthony Kingston, to raise forces in Buckinghamshire for her support (b). Yet whatever they did of this kind, though with all the outward zeal and solemnity imaginable, was directly against their real sentiments, and entirely owing to the strictness and vigilance with which the forces under the command of the Duke of Suffolk kept the gates, so that their situation seemed equally desperate with respect to the measures they were taking, and with regard to their desired escape (c). On wednesday July the nineteenth, the council was assembled in the morning, on account of letters received from Lord Rich, Lieutenant of the county of Essex, giving them notice that the Earl of Oxford with the forces under his command, had deserted to the Lady Mary, upon which they wrote in the strongest terms that could be devised, to keep him to his fidelity and to express their own (d); and they had no sooner signed this letter, than some of the shrewdest amongst them, made it a handle for executing their design of getting out of the Tower (e) [K]. With this view they suggested the absolute necessity they were under of complying without any longer delay, with their engagements to the Duke of Northumberland, and that it was impossible for them to do this, without going to levy and press men for the service in person, and even marching with them, since it appeared how little trust could be reposed in some men's faith, instancing Sir Edward Hastings, the Earl of Oxford, and others, who had carried the forces, raised by their orders for the service of Queen Jane, to her competitor (f). The Duke of Suffolk, who was no deep politician, deceived by these appearances, and at the same time pressed by necessity, gave way to this motion, and agreed, that all should take the best measures they could for recruiting Northumberland's army, and for the support of his daughter's service, which most of these zealous people were about to desert (g). As soon as they found themselves at liberty, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, with Sir Thomas Cheyne and Sir John Mason, went immediately, under pretence of conferring with the French Ambassador, to Baynard's castle, a house in the city that belonged to the last of those lords; and, in a very little time, the rest of the council repaired thither likewise (h); where, as soon as they were set, the Earl of Arundel in a long and bitter speech, for malice is ever copious, ripped up all the failings of Northumberland, laid every grievance, and every reputed grievance, during the late reign, at his door, and concluded, with advising the assembly to follow his example, which was, to lay all the guilt upon Dudley, to take all the merit of repentance to themselves, by returning to their duty, and proclaiming Queen Mary without delay (i). The Earl of Pembroke spoke next; Heylin says he was an unlettered man (k); but how little soever he had read, certain it is that he

(x) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(y) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(z) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(a) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(b) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(c) See this letter in the Catalogue of records, annexed to the third volume of Strype's Memorials.

(d) Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 136.

(e) See the Council's letter in the note.

(f) Godwin's Annals.

(g) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(h) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(i) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 238. Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 162.

(j) Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 343, 344.

(k) Hist. Reform. p. 163.

belong, that is to the heralds and other instruments of state, and not the pastors or prelates of the Church.

[K] Of getting out of the Tower.] It is impossible to give the reader any notion of that strange height to which dissimulation was carried upon this occasion, without producing the very letter which the Lords of the Council signed, the very morning of that day on which they proclaimed Queen Mary (81).

To the Lord Rich, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Essex.

' After our right heartie commendations to your Lp. although the matter contained in your letters of therle of Oxfords departing to the Lady Mari, be grevous unto us for divers respects; yet we must needs give your Lp. our hartie thanks for your redi advertisement thereof. Requiring your Lp. nevertheles like a nobleman, to remain in that promise and steadfastnes to our soveraign Lady Queen Jane's service, as ye shall find us readi and firm with al our force to the same. Which neither with honor nor with fastie, nor yet with duty we mai now

forsaake. From the Toure of London, the sixth of Julie 1553.

' Your L. assured loving freends,

T. Cant.	T. Ely, Canc.	W. Petre, S.
	H. Suffolk.	Jo. Bakere.
	Pembroke.	J. Bedford.
	William Paget.	F. Shrewsbury.
	Winchester.	Rychard Cotton.
	Arundel.	Jo. Cheek.
	T. Darcy.	Robert Bowes.
	T. Cheyne.	

We may without believing the Duke of Suffolk so weak a man as some writers (82) represent him; easily apprehend he might be deceived by a measure like this; for supposing him to be, as all our historians (83) allow he was, a man of a plain, open, sincere, but hasty temper; we may without difficulty conclude, that this letter laid all jealousies in him asleep, and left him without the least suspicion. Besides, if he had not given them leave to go out, it would have been only the

(82) Stowe's Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 240. Sir John Heyward's Hist. of Edward VI.

(83) Fox's Acts and Monuments. Strype's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 95.

[81] Taken from the appendix to Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer; p. 164.



could think, and having been a principal manager of those councils which Arundel had set forth in such a sable dress, he conceived it necessary to do something extraordinary; and therefore not only seconded Arundel's motion, but clapped his hand to his sword, and avowed himself ready to fight in defence of Queen Mary's title, who had married his son but a month before to the sister of Queen Jane (1). This proposal was quickly closed with, and a message thereupon dispatched to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen to be ready, and then the Lords and others proceeded from Baynard's-castle through St Paul's Church-yard, to the cross in Cheap-side, where Sir Christopher Barker, Knight of the Bath and Garter King at Arms, proclaimed Mary, the daughter of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katharine, the undoubted Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the loudest acclamations of a numberless multitude of people assembled on this occasion (m). They went next to St Paul's church, and there sung *Te Deum*. On their return to Baynard's-castle, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget, with thirty horse, set out to carry this good news to Queen Mary, and some companies were detached to secure the Tower for the service of the new Queen (n) [L]. The Duke of Suffolk did not wait for new instructions from the Council; the shouts of the people, flying from street to street, had reached the Tower before their messengers arrived; and the Duke having not either power or will to resist went immediately to his daughter's apartment, and in the softest terms he could, acquainted her with the situation of their affairs, and that laying aside the state and dignity of a Queen, she must again return to that of a private person (o). To which, with a serene and settled countenance, she made this answer: *Sir, I better brook this message than my former advancement to royalty: out of obedience to you and my mother I have grievously sinned, and offered violence to myself. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my soul, relinquish the crown, and endeavour to salve those faults committed by others, if at least so great a fault can be salved, by a willing relinquishment and ingenuous acknowledgment of them* (p). Thus we are come to an end of the diary of that short reign, which, from the time of its continuance, is said to have given birth to the common proverb of *a nine days wonder* (q). A reign in which the seeming sovereign was always apprehensive of seeing herself suddenly sunk into the character of a guilty subject, and to find those the walls of her prison which served for a short space to enclose her court (r). A reign, upon which not to bestow a short reflection would argue an incapacity of writing it, and leave the reader room to think hardly of him who could pen such a scene unmoved [M]. The Duke of Suffolk having deposed

the worse for him, and the better for them, since the dispute would nevertheless have been determined by Northumberland's proclaiming Queen Mary at Cambridge (84), which he did, before he received the news of the revolution at London. How this happened, and what really produced so sudden and so surprising a turn, will appear in the next note.

[L] *For the service of the new Queen* ] We shall here as succinctly as possible represent the motions of Queen Mary, from the time of King Edward's death to that of her being proclaimed at London. It appears she was informed of that event almost as early as it was possible, for on the day after the King's demise (85), she quitted St Edmund's-Bury, under pretence of being afraid of the plague, one of her servants having died suddenly, and went directly to Keninghall in Norfolk (86), from whence on the eighth, she wrote letters to Sir George Somerset, Sir William Drury, Sir William Waldgrave, Knights, and Clement Higham, Esquire, signifying unto them the King's death, and thereby her right to the Crown, requiring them to obey no commandment to be issued out upon any pretence or gloss of the deceased King's authority, being bound now to be true liegemen unto her only. And lastly, charging them in all haste possible, to prepare and put themselves in order to repair to her, where at their coming, they should know farther of her pleasure. On the ninth, she wrote to the Council (87), and the same day to Sir Edward Hastings (88), who was a warm Papist, in the same terms she had used to Sir George Somerset; in a few days she was joined by the Earls of Bath and Suffex (89), and other persons of nobility and distinction. On the twelfth, she sent orders to the magistrates of Norwich to proclaim her Queen, which they refused, or rather were afraid to do, as having no certain intelligence of King Edward's death, but being the next day satisfied in that particular, they not only complied with her command, but sent her a supply of men, ammunition, and provisions (90). She removed notwithstanding this to Framlingham Castle (91) in Suffolk, as standing near the sea, and being at the distance of fourscore miles from London, by which her person was more secure, time gained for raising forces, and an opportunity procured of applying for foreign assistance, of which however she quickly stood in no need, her army being augmented in a few days to thirteen thousand men, and plentifully furnished with

provisions of all kinds (92). This was entirely owing to the general disposition of the nation in her favour, and more especially of the commons, who were in all places devoted to her service, and absolutely refused to act against her. What contributed not a little to her success, was her promises with respect to the Protestant religion; those who joined her at first from Suffolk and Norfolk, being for the most part zealous for the Reformation. Of these promises she was afterwards not forgetful only, but declared her resolution of breaking them (93), by causing Mr Dobbs, a gentleman of Suffolk, to be set in the pillory, only for reminding her of them. In proportion as her strength increased, Northumberland's diminished, and those that were left about him shewed plainly, that they had not either hands or hearts to fight against her; nay, when in compliance with the general inclination he had proclaimed her at Cambridge, his very guards seized (94) upon his person, that he might justify them from the guilt of rebellion. Thus it is evident that the people made her Queen, from a persuasion of her right, and overturned without bloodshed, that potent confederacy, which with so much art and address had been framed, by those who were at that time in authority, to defeat her succession.

[M] *Who could pen such a scene unmoved.* ] There is a very singular circumstance (95), which was preserved amongst John Fox's papers, from the information of the very person whom it concerned, that will serve to set the suddenness of this surprizing revolution, in a clearer light than almost any other thing that is to be met with. There was one Mr Edward Underhill, descended from a good family in Warwickshire, who for his services in the army, had been taken into the band of gentlemen-pensioners, in which he remained during the reign of Edward, and was now about Queen Jane. He had in his youth been what we call a man of pleasure, but being converted to the reformed religion, became so sincere and so zealous a Protestant, that those of the band, who were less religious, nick-named him the hot Gospeller. This gentleman was known to, and very well esteemed by the Queen, and it fell out while he was upon duty at the Tower, his wife was brought to bed of a son. At the christening of this child, which was fixed for the nineteenth of July, 1553, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke were godfathers by proxy, Queen Jane was godmother, and

(1) Styrpe's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 425.  
Collier's Eccle. Hist. Vol. II. p. 344.

(m) Cooper's Chron. P. iii. fol. 359.  
Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 164.  
Clarke's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, P. ii. p. 59.  
Stowe's Annals, p. 612.  
Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239.  
Styrpe's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 13.  
Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1087.  
Collier's Eccle. Hist. Vol. II. p. 344.  
Speed's Chron. p. 817.

(n) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 239.

(o) Collier's Eccle. Hist. Vol. II. p. 344.

(p) Clarke's Marrow of Eccle. Hist. P. ii. p. 59.

(q) Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 163.

(r) Cooper, Fox, Stowe, &c.

(84) Stowe, Holinshed, Speed.

(85) Godwin's Annals.

(86) Styrpe's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 9.

(87) Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 157.

(88) See the letter in the Catalogue of Records, annexed to the third volume of Styrpe's Memorials.

(89) Burnet's Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 237.

(90) Stowe's Annals, p. 610.  
Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 164.

(91) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 1085.

(92) Stowe's Annals, p. 613.

(93) Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. Styrpe's Memorials, Vol. III.

(94) Stowe's Annals.

(95) Styrpe's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 115.



deposed his daughter, whom he had forced to ascend the throne, went next to the Council, and subscribed the instructions, that were sent to the Duke of Northumberland, by Rote Pursuivant at Arms, requiring him to disband his forces and submit to Queen Mary. If he meant they should become humble suitors to their sovereign for him and his, as well as for themselves (s). In this however Northumberland prevented them; for finding how strong the current ran in the country, he suspected it's source to be at London, and had therefore proclaimed Queen Mary at Cambridge before the Pursuivant arrived (r). This did not hinder his being seized soon after, and sent to the Tower, where it must have added no small weight to the Lady Jane's misfortunes, to see the father of her husband, with all his family, and many of the nobility and gentry, brought prisoners (z), for having supported her claim to the crown; and this grief must have met with some accession, from his being condemned soon after and brought to the block (w). With him died Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates (x), the former (y) supposed to have been his instrument in the ruin of the Protector Somerset, which however he did not confess; and the latter (z) held his agent, in perswading King Edward to alter the succession, which the Duke denied, affirming him to have done it of his own accord, and to have been thereby the cause of all this mischief; with what degree of probability every man must judge for himself. On the 27th of July in some (a), or, as others say (b), on the 28th, she had the mortification of seeing her own father the Duke of Suffolk in the same circumstances with herself; but her mother the duchess not only remained exempt from all punishment, but had such an interest with the Queen, as to procure the duke his liberty on the last day of that month (c). Lady Jane, and her husband the Lord Guilford Dudley, remaining still in confinement, were, on the third of November, 1553, carried from the Tower to Guildhall, and with Archbishop Cranmer and others arraigned and convicted of high-treason (d) before Judge Morgan, who pronounced on them sentence of death, the remembrance of which afterwards affected him so far, that he died raving (e). From this time the unfortunate Lady Jane, and her no less unhappy husband, lived in the very shadow of death, and yet not without some gleams of comfort. For in the month of December, the Marquis of Northampton, who in the same cause had fallen into the like circumstances, was pardoned and discharged; and at the same time the strictness of their confinement mitigated, by permission granted to take the air in the Queen's garden (f), and other little indulgences, that would however have been so many acts of cruelty, if the Queen had then intended what she afterwards thought fit to inflict. But this, by the consent of our best historians (g), is allowed to be altogether improbable; and that there are good reasons to believe the Queen would have spared Lady Jane, since she had already pardoned her father who was much more guilty, and that she would have extended her mercy to Lord Guilford Dudley as well as to his elder brothers. However, in the first parliament of her reign, an act was passed for establishing the validity of such private contracts, as were dated during Jane's nine days administration, with a proviso, that all public acts, grants of lands, or the like, if any such there were, should be void. Another act likewise passed for confirming the attainders of Northumberland, Canterbury, and the rest, who had been convicted of high-treason, which perhaps was thought necessary, to confirm the opinion of the Judges, who had over-ruled their plea; that what they did was in obedience to the supreme authority then subsisting (h): but whatever hopes Lady Jane and her husband might entertain, whatever ease they might enjoy, were quickly taken away by an unhappy event, which it was impossible for them to foresee, and in which it is not so much as pretended that either of them had the least hand. There was a great spirit raised in the nation against the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain; and upon this a general insurrection (i) was concerted, which, if it had been executed with any degree of that prudence shewn in the planning of it, or rather if the Providence of God had not interposed, could scarce have failed of succeeding; Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent, a man of a great estate and a greater influence, managed those who were afraid, under colour of this marriage, the kingdom would be delivered up to a foreign prince and his partizans (k). Sir Peter Carew, in Cornwall, dealt with such as were desirous of seeing the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne, and in the arms of Courtney (l), whom the Queen had lately restored to the title of Devonshire, and the Duke of Suffolk, to whom danger had in vain preached discretion, and who could not learn loyalty even from mercy, made use of that great interest which his large estates gave him, though he held them by the Queen's favour, to mislead her subjects from their duty, and to take up arms against her person (m). What the real view of this design was even time has not discovered; but by rashness, and misintelligence of those at the head of it, all miscarried (n). The Duke of Suffolk, with his brothers Lord John and Lord Thomas Grey, were in arms, and with a body of three hundred

and as a still higher mark of her favour, directed that the child should be called Guilford after her husband. The person sent to represent the Queen, was Lady Throckmorton, the wife of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who at the time she left the Tower, in order to be present at the ceremony, received the commands of the Queen, in a manner suitable to that rank, and carried them to Mr Underhill's. But on her return to the Tower, her amazement must have been great, to find

the canopy of state removed, with all other ensigns of royalty, out of which she was quickly drawn, by an intimation from one of the new officers, that her Lady was a prisoner for high-treason, and that she was to attend her under the like circumstances. This relation is not indeed of any great moment in itself, but, all things considered, the reader will perhaps be of opinion, that there is hardly any thing like it in history.

Collier's Fecl.  
Vol. II.  
344.  
Heylin's Hist.  
Reform. p. 187.

Stowe's An-  
als, p. 612.

Cooper's  
Chronicle, P. iii.  
359.  
Stowe's Memo-  
als, Vol. III.  
15.

Cooper's  
Chronicle, P. iii.  
360.  
Stowe's Memo-  
als, Vol. III.  
21, 22.

Stowe's An-  
als, p. 615.  
Cooper's Chro-  
nicle, fol. 360.

Burnet's  
History of the  
Reformation,  
Vol. II. p. 239,  
40.

Godwin's  
Annals.

Stowe's An-  
als, p. 613.  
Stowe's Memo-  
als, Vol. III.  
16.

Holinshed,  
Ibid.

Stowe's Me-  
morial, Vol. III.  
16.  
Burnet's Hist.  
Reform. Vol. II.  
240.

Cooper's  
Chronicle, P. iii.  
362.  
Burnet's Hist.  
Reform. Vol. II.  
257.  
Holinshed's  
Chronicle, Vol.  
I. p. 1093.

Clarke's Mar-  
row of Ecclesi-  
astical History, P.  
p. 67.  
Burnet's Hist.  
Reform. Vol. II.  
272.

Stowe's An-  
als, p. 614.  
Stowe's Chroni-  
cle, p. 818.

(g) Holinshed;  
Speed, Burnet.

(h) Heylin's HI-  
story of the Re-  
formation, p.  
199.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 614.

(i) Burnet's Hist.  
Reform. Vol. II.  
p. 284.

(k) Heylin's Hist.  
Reform. p. 203.

(l) Burnet's Hist.  
Reform. Vol. II.  
p. 284.  
Stowe's Memo-  
rials, Vol. III.

(m) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol. II.  
p. 1095.  
Cooper's Chron.  
fol. 362.

(n) Stowe, Hey-  
lin, Burnet.



(s) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol. II.  
p. 1095.

(p) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 622.

(q) Cooper's  
Chronicle, fol.  
362.

(r) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 622.

(s) Burnet's  
Hist. Reform.  
Vol. II. p. 272.

(t) De Schismate  
Anglicano, lib. ii.  
p. 290.

(u) Heylin's Hist.  
Reform. p. 166.

(w) Burnet's  
Hist. Reform.  
Vol. II. p. 271.

(x) Heylin's Hist.  
Reform. p. 166.

dred horse presented themselves before the city of Coventry (o), in which they had a strong party; but the Queen having sent down the Earl of Huntingdon, he secured that place (p), and Suffolk finding his design abortive, and his people dropping away, retired, with as many as he could keep about him, to a house of his in Leicestershire, where, having distributed what money he had to those who were the companions of his fortune, he advised them to shift for themselves, trusting to the promises of one Underwood his park-keeper, who undertook to conceal, and who is suspected to have betrayed him to the Earl of Huntingdon (q), by whom himself and his brother Lord John being apprehended, were carried to Coventry, and, after some stay there, sent to London under a guard, where they did not arrive 'till the tenth of February, and were then committed to the Tower (r), out of which the Duke never came but to his trial and to his death [N]. This weak and ill managed business gave the ministers an opportunity of perswading the Queen, that her safety could be no otherwise provided for, than by putting Lady Jane and her husband to death; to which, a learned prelate assures us (s), the Queen was not wrought without much difficulty; and it is very remarkable, that Sanders (t) makes the very same observation, so that the truth of it can hardly be called in question. The news of this fatal resolution made no great impression upon this excellent lady; the bitterness of death was passed, she had expected it long, and was so well prepared to meet her fate, that she was very little discomposed. But the Queen's charity hurt her more than her justice. The day first fixed for her death was Friday February the ninth (u), and she had in some measure taken leave of the world, by writing a letter to her unhappy father, who she heard was more disturbed with the thoughts of his being the author of her death, than with the apprehension of his own; which letter the reader will find in the notes [O]. In this serene frame of mind, Dr Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster, came to her (w) from the Queen, who was very desirous she should follow her father-in-law's example, and be reconciled to the Church of Rome. He was indeed a very fit instrument (if any had been fit) for this purpose; for he had an acute wit, a very plausible manner of speaking, and a great tenderness in his nature. Lady Jane received him with much civility, and behaved towards him with so much calmness and sweetness of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her distress; so that either mistaking or pretending to mistake her meaning, he procured a respite of her execution 'till the twelfth (x). Yet he did not gain any thing upon her in regard

[N] But to his trial and to his death ] Our histories give us but very dark and indifferent accounts of this insurrection, which if we may credit one of our old chronicle writers (96), and his authority John Stowe, was purely to prevent the Queen's marriage with a foreign prince: the passage is very singular and worth reading. 'Upon saturday, being the 17th of February, the Duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned to die by his peers, the Earl of Arundel being that day chief judge. Where some have written, that he should at his last going down into the country, make proclamation in his daughter's name, that is not so; for whereas he stood by in Leicester, when at his commandment the proclamation was there made against the Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain, &c. Master Darnport, then Mayor of that town, said to him, My Lord, I trust your Grace meaneth no hurt to the Queen's Majesty. No, saith he, Master Mayor, laying his hand on his sword, he that would her any hurt, I would this sword were through his heart, for she is the mercifullest Prince, as I have truly found her, that ever reigned, in whose defence I am, and will be ready to die at her feet' But to this we may oppose the authority of a very learned prelate (97), who likewise wrote a chronicle, lived himself in those times, and published it within less than six years after the event. 'Henry Duke of Suffolk, says he, father to Lady Jane, lately proclaimed Queen, flying into Leicestershire and Warwicksire, with a small company, in divers places as he went, again proclaimed his daughter, but the people did not greatly incline unto him' A very judicious and impartial foreigner (98), who had great opportunities of knowing our affairs at this juncture, not only affirms the same thing that Bishop Cooper does, but acquaints us farther, that Queen Mary had an intention, as soon as Wyatt's rising in Kent was known, to put the Duke of Suffolk at the head of the troops that were sent against him; to avoid which, being conscious of his own engagements, and over perswaded by his brother Lord Thomas Grey, he departed from his house at Sheen, on the 25th of January in the evening, in order to raise the counties beforementioned. It is not however impossible that he might proclaim his daughter in his passage, and finding that not so well received as he expected, alter his language at Leicester; but this is barely a conjecture, and as such submitted

to the reader's judgment.

[O] Which letter the reader will find in the notes.]

This letter (99) must in all probability have been written before Dr Feckenham procured her reprieve; for upon the first of February (100), publick proclamation was made, that the Duke and his company were dispersed, and soon after that (101), himself and one of his brothers were taken and carried to Coventry, from whence Lady Jane might have at this time news of his great grief on her account. But it so fell out afterwards, that he was brought to the Tower two days before her execution (102), which as she could not possibly foresee, it is improbable she should delay her letter beyond the day first fixed for her death.

FATHER, Although it pleaseth God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woeful days, than if all the world had been given into my possession with life lengthened to my will; and albeit, I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and also as I hear, especially my unfortunate estate: yet my dear father, if I may without offence rejoice in my mishaps, methinks in this I may account myself blessed; that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, mercy to the innocent; and yet, tho' I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you well know, continually assailed in taking the Crown upon me; I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the Queen and her laws: and yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God, is so much the less, in that being in so royal an estate as I was, my enforced honour never mixed with my innocent heart; and thus, good father, I have opened my state to you, whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woeful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery, to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joys and pleasure with Christ our Saviour: In whose steadfast faith, if it be lawful for the daughter to write so to her father, the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at last we may meet in Heaven, with the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Amen.

(99) Fox's Act  
and Monument

(100) Stowe's  
Annals, p. 619

(101) Holinshed  
Chron. Vol. II.  
p. 1095.

(102) Stowe's  
Annals, p. 621



regard to the design upon which he was sent; on the contrary, though she heard him patiently, yet she answered all his arguments with such strength, such clearness, and such a steadiness of mind (y), as shewed plainly that religion had been her principal care, and that the hopes of being happy in a future state, from acting according to the dictates of her conscience in this, had fortified her not only against the fears of death, but against all doubts or apprehensions whatever [P]. On the Sunday evening, which was the last she was to spend in this world, she wrote a letter (z) in the Greek tongue, as some say on the blank leaves at the end of a Testament in the same language, which she bequeathed as a legacy to her sister the Lady Katherine; which piece of her's, if we had no other left, would be sufficient to render her memory immortal, and therefore the substance of it in English is inserted at the bottom of the page [Q]. The fatal morning being come, the

[P] But against all doubts or apprehensions whatever.] We have avoided loading these notes with more of this excellent person's writings than were absolutely necessary, and for this reason only we have omitted her letter to Dr Harding, her father's chaplain, and one of her tutors, upon his renouncing the Protestant religion, and reconciling himself to the Church of Rome. He had himself about the time of King Edward's death, discovered a clear foresight of all that followed, and exhorted his Protestant brethren to support those trials which they were about to undergo, with christian patience and fortitude. This in all probability induced Lady Jane to write with so much vehemence and zeal, as to one who in her own opinion had quitted his faith through fear, and taken up a new profession in order to escape danger. Dr Aylmer her tutor (103), and who had lived with Harding in the Marquis of Dorset's family, published this letter in his exile, which affords us the clearest proof of it's being genuine.

But Feckenham could know nothing of this, otherwise in all appearance he would not have undertaken Lady Jane's conversion. He thought he should have found her in great disorder and confusion, and that it would be no difficult matter to triumph over the feeble understanding of a dejected and heart-broken young woman; but he found it quite otherwise; notwithstanding which, she would have declined the dispute; telling him she had no time to spare, that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying, and that therefore, the truest sign of his having that compassion for her, of which he made such strong professions, would be to leave her undisturbed in making her peace with God. It was upon this, that he applied himself to the Queen for a short reprieve, with which, when he acquainted this admirable woman, she told him, *That he had entirely misunderstood her sense of her situation, that far from desiring her death might be delayed, she expected and wished for it as the period of her miseries, and her entrance into eternal happiness* (104).

Yet she could not then avoid entering into discourse with him, more especially when he desired her to give him a brief account of her faith, that he might clearly understand it, and make a true report thereof to the world. Upon this they discussed the doctrine of the real presence in the Sacrament, which Lady Jane denied in the sense that Feckenham asserted, and that posterity might not be imposed upon by any fallacious account of this conference, she drew up and subscribed a clear and concise account of it, to which, if the reader has any curiosity, he may easily have recourse (105). At length finding he could make no impression, he took his leave of her; and said, 'Madam, I am sorry for you and your obstinacy, and now I am assured you and I shall never meet again.' 'It is most true, Sir,' said she, 'we shall never meet again, except God turn your heart; for I stand undoubtedly assured, that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate case: and I pray to God in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his holy spirit, for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him to open the eyes of your heart to his truth.'

We must conceive that this was understood as it was spoken, as flowing from a religious zeal, and not from any distaste of contradiction, or any dislike to his person, since we find that Feckenham, far from deserting, attended her to the very last, and that the Lady Jane shewed a very proper sense of his attention and respect for her, in the sight and hearing of all who were upon or near the scaffold (106). Before we close this note, it may not be amiss to say something of the papers we have inserted, and of those to which we refer, that it

may appear we have taken some pains to satisfy ourselves, in order to the reader's satisfaction, that they are really her's. First then with respect to her capacity there can be no doubt at all, Bishop Aylmer was her tutor, Ascham knew her intimately, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Dr Parkhurst, John Fox, John Bale, were her contemporaries, and knew her likewise. Secondly; most of her papers are signed Jane Dudley, which in itself may be presumed a preservative against forgery. Thirdly; they were printed and published as the precious remains of that incomparable person, immediately after her death, and in every body's hands (107). Fourthly, the titles of them are to be found in John Bale's great work (108), and the first line of the several pieces, which as he tells us, he finished in 1558, within four years of her death, and almost as many years before, they were involved in John Fox's voluminous work. Lastly, they have been printed verbatim from the original edition in a late collection of ancient tracts (109), which from the value of those it contains, is now become not very common; taking therefore all this evidence together, there seems to be no colour left to doubt that these pious and extraordinary performances, are the very same that fell from the pen of that great and good woman, which intitled her to the universal compassion of those with whom she lived; and that ought to entitle her, as far as it is possible, to an immortal memory, towards which we have willingly bestowed some diligence in the construction of this little monument.

[Q] At the bottom of the page.] We shall in another note have occasion to speak more at large of this Lady Katherine Grey, sister in merit and learning, as well as by blood, to Lady Jane, and her sister likewise in misfortunes; which though they brought her not to die in the same manner, yet occasioned her dying in the same place, in a way, which if less violent was more grievous, she had therefore many years, in which she might practise those excellent lessons, bestowed upon her in this prophetic legacy (110).

'I have here sent you, my dear sister Katherine, a book, which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery of the artfullest needles, yet inwardly it is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of. It is the book, my only best and best loved sister, of the law of the Lord: It is the testament and last will which he bequeathed unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live, and learn you to die: it shall win you more, and endow you with greater felicity than you should have gained by the possession of our woful father's lands; for as if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his honours and manors; so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, my best sister, to understand the law of the Lord your God; live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life; and trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for unto God when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the Lord be glorified in the young as in the old. My good sister, once again more let me intreat thee to learn to die; deny the world, defy the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord

103) See  
trype's Life of  
p Aylmer, p. 2.

104) Fox's Acts  
and Monuments.

105) Phoenix,  
Vol. II. p. 28.

106) Thuan.  
Hist. lib. xiii.

107) See the note  
[Q].

(107) An old  
quarto without  
date.

(108) De Script.  
Britan. cent. xiii.  
in append. p.  
109.

(109) The Phoenix, or, a revival of scarce and valuable pieces no where to be found but in the closets of the curious, Lond. 1708. 8vo. in two volumes. Vol. II. p. 37.

(110) From an old printed copy of the piece written by Lady Jane Grey.



(a) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 167.

(b) Clarke's  
Marrow of Eccl.  
Hist. P. ii. p. 65.  
Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol. II.  
p. 1099.

(c) Heylin's Hist.  
Reform. p. 167.

(d) Fox's Mar-  
tyrs.

(e) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 622.  
Burnet's Hist.  
Reform. Vol. II.  
p. 272.

(f) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 167.  
Strype's Memo-  
rials.

(g) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 167.

(h) Godwin's  
Annals.

the Lord Guilford earnestly desired the officers that he might take his last farewell of her (a). Which though they willingly permitted, yet upon notice she advised the contrary, assuring him, that such a meeting would rather add to his afflictions, than increase that quiet where- with they had possessed their souls for the stroke of death; that he demanded a lenitive which would put fire into the wound, and that it was to be feared her presence would rather weaken than strengthen him; that he ought to take courage from his reason, and de- rive constancy from his own heart; that if his soul were not firm and settled, she could not settle it by her eyes nor confirm it by her words; that he should do well to remit this interview to the other world; that there indeed friendships were happy and unions indis- solvable, and that theirs would be eternal if their souls carried nothing with them of ter- restrial, which might hinder them from rejoicing. All she could do was to give him a farewell out of a window as he passed toward the place of his dissolution, which he suffered on the scaffold on Tower-Hill with much Christian meekness (b). His dead body being laid in a car and his head wrapped up in a linnen cloth, were carried to the chapel within the Tower, in the way to which, they were to pass under the window of the Lady Jane; which sad spectacle she likewise beheld (c), but of her own accord, and not either by ac- cident, or as some (d), without any colour of truth, have insinuated, by design, and with a view to increase the weight of her afflictions [R]. About an hour after the death of her husband, she was led out by the Lieutenant to the scaffold (e) that was prepared upon the green over-against the White-Tower. It is said that the court had once taken a resolu- tion (f) to have her beheaded on the same scaffold with her husband; but considering how much they were both pitied, and how generally Lady Jane was beloved, it was determined, to prevent any commotions, that this execution should be performed within the Tower. She was attended to and upon the scaffold by Feckenham (g), but she was observed not to give much heed to his discourses, keeping her eyes steadily fixed on a book of prayers which she had in her hand, after some short recollection she saluted those who were present with a countenance perfectly composed; then taking leave of Dr Feckenham, she said, *God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death* (b). She next addressed herself to the spectators in a plain and short speech, which is inserted in the notes [S]. Then

' Lord; be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, yet presume not; and desire with St Paul, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night, you be with the servants of darkness found sleeping; and lest for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish virgins, or like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you be cast into darkness, or banished from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I trust you do, and seeing you have the name of a Christian, as near as you can follow the steps, and be a true imitator of your master Christ Je- sus, and take up your cross, lay your sins on his back; and always embrace him. Now as touching my death; rejoice as I do, my dearest sister, that I shall be de- livered of this corruption, and put on incorruption; for I am assured that I shall for losing of a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting, the which I pray God grant you in his most blessed hour, and send you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith. From which, in God's name, I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life nor fear of death; for if you will deny his truth, to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your soul's loss would prolong; but if you will cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to an uncircum- scribed comfort, and to his own glory. To the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it shall please him to call you. Farewell once again, my beloved sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you. Amen.'

Your loving sister,

JANE DUDLEY.

[R] And with a view to increase the weight of her afflictions] The Lieutenant of the Tower at this time was Sir John Bridges (111), the ancestor of the present most noble family of that name Dukes of Chandos, and who in the month of April following, was himself created a Baron (112) by that title, and the same to whom she afterwards gave her prayer book upon the scaffold. He was with her in the apartment which she had at Mr Partridge's, from the windows of which she

had the last sight of her Lord living and dead: It was after this sad sight that she wrote three short sentences in her table book (113); in Greek, Latin, and English, and this very book, upon Sir John's intreaty that she would bestow upon him some memorial, she presented him as an acknowledgment for the civility she received from him. By this accident the world came to learn with what steadiness, and at the same time with what tenderness she looked upon those dear remains. The sense of the Greek sentence was.

If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his most blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence in the presence of God.

The Latin was to this effect.

The justice of men took away his body, but the di- vine mercy has preserved his soul.

The English ran thus.

If my fault deserved punishment, my youth at least, and my imprudence were worthy of excuse, God and posterity will shew me favour.

In the place of her confinement, these verses were found as some say, written with a pin (114).

Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt:  
Sors hodierna mihi, cras erat illi tibi.

Stand not secure, who stand in mortal state,  
What's mine to day, shall next day be thy fate.

Deo juvante nil nocet livor malus,  
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.

Post tenebras, spero lucem.

If Heaven protect, Hell's malice cannot wound,  
By Heaven deserted, peace can ne'er be found.  
These shadows past, I hope for light.

[S] Which is inserted in the notes.] This we find printed as her last speech by more authors than one, but we publish from that little collection (115) of pieces before mentioned, which seems to be the most authentic. The

(113) Heylin's  
Hist. Reform.  
p. 167.

(114) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol. II.  
p. 1100.

(115) From an  
old printed copy  
of the papers  
written by Lady  
Jane Grey.

(111) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol. II.  
p. 1100.

(112) Stowe's  
Annals, p. 623.



Then kneeling down she said the Miserere in English, after which she stood up, and gave her women, Mrs Elizabeth Tilney and Mrs Helen, her gloves (i), and her handkerchief; and to the Lieutenant of the Tower, whom Heylin (k) calls Sir John Gage, but Holinshed (l) Bridges, her prayer-book. When she untied her gown the executioner offered to assist her (m), but she desired him to let her alone; and turning to her women, they undressed, and gave her a handkerchief to bind about her eyes (n). The executioner kneeling, desired her pardon; to which she answered most willingly (o). He desiring her to stand upon the straw, which bringing her within sight of the block, she said, *I pray dispatch me quickly*; adding presently after, *Will you take it off before I lay me down* (p); the executioner said, *No Madam*: upon this, the handkerchief being bound close over her eyes, she began to feel for the block, to which she was guided by one of the spectators; when she felt it, she stretched herself forward and said, *Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit*, and immediately, at one stroke, her head was divided from her body (q). Her fate was universally deplored, even by those who were best affected to Queen Mary; and as she is allowed to have been a princess of great piety, it must certainly have given her much disquiet to begin her reign with such an unusual effusion of blood; and, in the present case, of her near relation, one formerly honoured with her friendship and favour, who had indeed usurped, but without desiring or enjoying, the royal diadem, which she assumed, by the constraint of an ambitious father and an imperious mother; and which, at the first motion, she cheerfully and willingly resigned. This made her exceedingly lamented at home and abroad, the fame of her learning and virtue having reached over Europe, so as to excite many commendations, and some express panegyrics in different nations and in different languages. But whereas, some of our own writers seem to doubt whether she was with child or not at the time of her decease, and foreigners have improved this into a direct assertion, that she was five months gone, it seems to be improbable, since there were at that time so many busy and inquisitive people, that if the fact had been true it must have been known, and would have been perpetually repeated in those pieces that were every day sent abroad, in order to exasperate the nation against the Queen and her ministers. On the twenty-first of the same month, the father of Queen Jane, Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk (r), lost his head upon Tower-hill: neither was the jealousy excited by King Edward's appointment, and their nearness in blood to the royal line, so fully extinguished by the blood of so many victims, but that it revived in the succeeding reign, and proved a new source of disquiet to the sad remains of this unhappy family [T]. We have treated this article the more largely, because hitherto, excepting Heylin, none of our historians have represented the public and private life of this admirable person with any tolerable degree of distinctness; but have been content to hurry over her short possession of the crown, as if it had been an ordinary

(i) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.  
(k) Heylin's  
History of the  
Reformation,  
p. 168.  
(l) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(m) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(n) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(o) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(p) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(q) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(r) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(s) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(t) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(u) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(v) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(w) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(x) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(y) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(z) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(aa) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(ab) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(ac) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(ad) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

(ae) Holinshed's  
Chron. Vol.  
II. p. 1100.

The close varies in words, but not from the sense of what is set down in the text.

'My Lords, and you good christian people which come to see me die; I am under a law, and by that law, as a never erring judge, I am condemned to die, not for any thing I have offended the Queen's Majesty, for I will wash my hands guiltless thereof, and deliver to my God, a soul as pure from such trespass, as innocence from injustice; but only for that I consented to the thing I was forced unto, constraint making the law believe I did that which I never understood, notwithstanding I have offended Almighty God, in that I have followed over much the lust of mine own flesh, and the pleasures of this wretched world; neither have I lived according to the knowledge that God hath given me, for which cause God hath appointed unto me this kind of death, and that most worthily according to my deserts; howbeit I thank him heartily that he hath given me time to repent of my sins here in this world, and to reconcile myself to my Redeemer, whom my former vanities had in a great measure displeased. Wherefore (my Lords, and all you good christian people) I most earnestly desire you all to pray with me, and for me, whilst I am yet alive, that God of his infinite goodness and mercy will forgive me my sins, how numberless and grievous soever against him: and I beseech you all to bear me witness, that I here die a true christian woman, professing and avouching from my soul, that I trust to be saved by the blood, passion, and merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour only, and by no other means, casting far behind me all the works and merits of mine own actions, as things so far short of the true duty I owe, that I quake to think how much they may stand up against me. And now I pray you all pray for me and with me.' And at those words she repeated the Psalm of Miserere mei; which done she said, Lord, save my soul, which now I commend into thy hands. And so with all meekness of spirit and a faint-like patience, she prepared herself to the block.

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We find these Latin verses written to her memory (116).

Regia stirps tristis cinxi diademate crines:  
Regna sed omnipotens hinc meliora dedit.

From Kings descended, crown'd on earth with care,  
But now in Heaven, an olive-crown I wear.

It is impossible to close this account of her better, or more truly, than by this distich written by John Fox (117).

Tu quibus ista legis incertum est, lector, ocellis:  
Ipse quidem sic scribere non potui.

How thine eyes feel, kind reader, know I not:  
Mine were not dry, when I this story wrot.

[T] To the sad remains of this unhappy family.] We have shewn in the text how strangely the Duke of Suffolk involved those who ought to have been, and who without doubt were nearest in blood, and dearest to him in affection, in his last, as well as in his first misfortunes. It is indeed said, that his brother, Lord Thomas Grey, persuaded him to concur with Wyat, and if this was proved, it is no great wonder that he felt the stroke of justice (118) as well as the Duke. However that be, certain it is, that he lost his head on the 27th of April, being taken in Wales, whither he fled after their defeat in Leicestershire. But Lord John Grey following the Duke rather out of fraternal love, than any principle of disloyalty, was pardoned by the Queen, (119), and we find him often mentioned afterwards in the next reign, by the title of Lord John Grey of Pyrgo in Essex, but his son Sir Henry Grey, was again ennobled by King James the First, who created him Baron of Groby (120), in the county of Leicester, and his grandson Henry, was raised to the title of Earl of Stamford, by Charles (121) the First, which honours are now enjoyed by his descendant (122), with a very considerable

(116) Clarke's  
Marrow of Eccl.  
Hist. P. ii. p. 69.

(117) Fox's  
Acts and Monu-  
ments,

(118) Stowe's  
Annals.

(119) Holinshed's  
Chron.  
Styke's Annals.

(120) Pat. Jac.  
I. p. 14.

(121) Pat. 3 Car.  
I. p. 6.

(122) Collins's  
Peerage, Vol. II.  
p. 232.



ordinary insurrection, and to speak of her death in general terms of compassion, with an exaggeration of some and a suppression of other circumstances, so as to put it out of the power of the reader to form a just notion of the whole transaction, which we have laboured to describe as accurately and with as much impartiality as possible.

considerable part of the old family estate of the Marquis's of Dorset. Frances Duchess of Suffolk survived her husband many years, ending a miserable life as Camden (123) tells us, in 1563, after forgetting her greatness so far, to use the words of the same author, as to accept for her husband, Adrian Stokes, a gentleman in low circumstances (one of her domesticks) which how much soever it might tend to her discredit, yet seemed to answer the view with which it was done, by contributing to her security. Her second daughter, Katherine, being left by the husband of her good fortune, who presently after espoused another Katherine (124), daughter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, lamented for some years the distresses of her family and her own. She was ever looked upon with jealousy in the Court of Elizabeth, more especially after it was discovered that the (125) Spaniards in 1559, had formed a design of stealing her away. About two years after this, she privately married the Earl of Hertford's eldest son, by whom proving with child (126), the Queen treated this as an affair of state, and committed both the parties. A suit was also commenced, and being brought before a court of delegates, where the Archbishop of Canterbury sat as chief, a definitive sentence (127) was pronounced, that their cohabitation was unlawful, and that for their incontinence, they both deserved to be

punished; but notwithstanding this, procuring access to her in the Tower, she became again with child, and brought him another son (128). Upon this he was charged in the Star-Chamber, with having seduced a virgin of the royal blood in the Queen's palace, with breaking prison, and with abusing her a second time, and for these crimes he was fined five thousand pounds, and condemned to nine years imprisonment (129). Lady Katherine remained in the Tower to the time of her decease, January 26, 1567. But in a succeeding and less jealous reign, the validity of her marriage was brought to the decision of a jury, of which John Digby, Esq; (130) was the foreman, and the rest, gentlemen, who, upon the oath of the minister that married them, and other circumstances, found it to be good; and from the issue of this lady, descended the late Duke of Somerset, and the noble families of Northumberland and Egremont, by the female line descend; as for the third sister, Lady Mary Grey, though contracted in her nonage to a person of equal quality (131), yet she afterwards thought it more safe to follow her mother's example, than to hazard the like fate with her elder sisters, and therefore took to her bed (132) Martin Keyes, Esq; Serjeant-Porter to Queen Elizabeth, and by this humble marriage, having no issue, she died April 20, 1578 (133).

GRIMSTON [Sir HARBOTTLE], a famous Lawyer, and Master of the Rolls, in the last century, was descended from a very antient and good family [A], and born at Bradfield-Hall near Maningtree in Essex, about the year 1594 [B]. In what school he received his education, or whether he was ever a member of one of our universities, unless it were Cambridge, I am not able to learn. However, he studied the municipal laws of the land, at Lincoln's Inn (a), with great industry and success; and practised in that profession with considerable applause and esteem. In August, 1638, he was chosen Recorder of Colchester (b), and having purchased the house of the late dissolved Crouched-Friers in that town, made it the place of his residence. And so great did his interest become there, that he was chosen one of the representatives of the same, in the Parliament which met at Westminster, April 13, 1640; and again in the Parliament which met November 3, the same year (c). He was then a disgusted person, and one of those anti-courtiers who were branded with the name of Puritans, as appears by some printed violent speeches of

[A] Was descended from a very ancient and good family. The pedigree of this family is derived from Silvester Grimston, of Grimston, who was Standard-bearer to William the Conqueror, at the battle of Hastings; and afterwards did homage to that prince for Grimston, Horton, and Tunsted; and other lands he held of the Lord Roos, as of his manor of Roos in Holderness in the county of York: [which Lord Roos, was Chamberlain of the household to King William, and not our Silvester, as the author of the Irish Compendium asserts]

(1). The three immediate descendants of this Silvester, were Daniel; Sir Thomas, Kt. who lived in King Stephen's time; and John. This last had issue William, living in 1231; who by — his wife, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Callam, of Callam, Knight, had two sons, Alexander that died without issue; and Roger, his eldest son and heir: this Roger marrying — daughter of Fulk Constable, of Frysemarsh, had by her Gerard, that left no issue; and Walter, who by — his wife, daughter and heir of Herbert Flinton, of Flinton in Holderness, had these three sons, John, Dean of Rochester, and afterwards Abbot of Selby; Gerard, that died without issue; and William, whose wife was Armetruda, daughter of Roland Rysonn, of Rysonn in Holderness: by her he had three sons, Thomas, living in 1410; who by Dionysia his wife, daughter of Guzins Sutton, Baron of Sayre, and Lord of Sutton, had issue Robert, that had no children; and Thomas, whose posterity remained settled at Grimston in Yorkshire. — The two other sons of William Grimston above-mentioned, were, John, Dean of Rochester in the time of King Henry V. and VI. and ROBERT, who came and fixed himself at Ipswich: by his wife — daughter of Antony Spilman of Suffolk, he had his only son and heir, Edward Grimston, of Refing-hall and Ipswich in the same county, who married two wives, 1.

Mary, daughter of William Drury, of Rougham in Suffolk, and 2. Philippa Lady Roos, daughter and heir of John Lord Tiptoft, and widow of Thomas Lord Roos. By this last lady he had no children; but by the first he had, John, who died without issue, Edward, born 24 March, 1451, Thomas, born 5 July, 1453, Anne, born 26 July, 1457, Elizabeth, born 17 November, 1458, Alice, born 15 February, 1459, Christopher, born 3 July, 1456, and John, who became seated with his posterity at Oxborough in Norfolk. Edward, last mentioned, married Margaret, daughter to Thomas Harvey Esq; and had issue Edward; who marrying Anne, daughter of John Garnish, of Kenton, Suffolk, had a son, named Edward, knighted afterwards; and some other children. This last Edward, was father of another Edward, seated at Bradfield in the county of Essex; and also of Edmund, Serjeant at Arms to King James I. Edward the eldest son and heir, died 15 August, 1610. By Joanna his wife, second daughter and co-heir of Thomas Risby, of Lavenham in the county of Suffolk (by — daughter and heir of — Harbottle), he had issue, Mary the wife of Tho. Cornwallis, Esq; Harbottle Grimston, of Bradfield, Esq; made a Knight, and one of the first 200 Baronets created by King James I; and Henry, also knighted. Sir Harbottle married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Ralph Coppinger, of Stoke in Kent; by which he had Edward, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Tho. Marsham, Esq; but had no surviving issue; Sir Harbottle, concerning whom we are writing; Henry, and Elizabeth (2).

[B] And born — about the year 1594. He must have been born about that time; considering that he was aged 90, on the 31st of December 1683 when he died; as A. Wood informs us (3).

[C] A

(123) Annal. Eliz. p. 105.

(124) Heylin's Hist. Reform. p. 203.

(125) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 89.

(126) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 107.

(127) Life of Sir Thomas Smith, p. 123.

(128) Strype's Life of Parker, p. 119.

(129) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 89.

(130) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 369.

(131) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 423.

(132) Stowe's Annals.

(133) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 548. Collins's Peerage Vol. II. p. 23.

(a) As appears by several letters of his in my possession.

(b) From his letters, M.S.

(c) Rushworth's Hist. Col. Vol. III. p. 1107. List of the representatives in the History of Colchester.

(1) Edit. 1735, p. 254.

(2) MS. Gene of T. Jekyll, Esq; Irish Compend. ubi supra.

(3) Athenæ Oxon. edit. 172 Vol. II. col. 1



of his [C]. And he not only spoke, but acted also, with vehemence against the Court measures, as is manifest from some original letters of his, of which abstracts are given in the note [D]; as also from this other instance, that he was in most of the committees for

[C] *As appears by some printed speeches of his*. He was the first that stood up in the House of Commons, April 16, 1640, after the reading of the petition from the county of Hertford against ship-money, projects, monopolies, star-chamber, high commission-courts, and other grievances; and, in his speech, has these words. — 'The Commonwealth hath been miserably torn and mangled, and all property and liberty shaken, the Church distracted, the Gospel and professors of it persecuted, and the whole nation over-run with swarms of projecting canker-worms and caterpillars, the worst of all the Egyptian plagues: Then, as the case now stands with us, I conceive there are two points very considerable in it. The first is, what hath been done any way to impeach the liberties of the subjects, contrary to the petition of right? the second is, who have been the authors and causes of it? the serious examination and discussion of these two questions, do highly concern his Majesty in point of honour, and his subjects in point of interest. And all that I shall say to it, are but the words that Ezra used to King Artaxerxes — Whosoever hath not done the laws of God and the King, let judgment be speedily executed upon him, whether it be unto banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment. — His Majesty yesterday did graciously confirm unto us, our great and ancient liberties of freedom of speech; and having his kingly word for it, I shall rest as confidently upon it, as the greatest security under heaven, whilst I have the honour to have a place here, and I shall with all humility be bold to express myself like a freeman (4). — In the next parliament, November 9, 1640, when the nation's spirits were in general much embittered by the hasty dissolution of the former, he spoke in a much severer manner against the grievances then complained of, viz. The Speaker's refusing to put the question in the last parliament; adjourning the house without the consent of the same; imprisoning some of the members, and searching their studies and pockets, the new canons, and the oath, et cætera. Towards the conclusion, he breaks out thus. 'Mr Speaker, This is the age; this is the age, Mr Speaker, that hath produced and brought forth Achitophels, Hamans, Woolfies, Empsons and Dudleys, Tresilians, and Belknaps. Vipers and monsters of all sorts (5). — However he adds, I doubt not but when his Majesty shall be truly informed of such matters, as we are able to charge them withal, we shall have the same justice against these, which heretofore hath been against their predecessors, in whose wicked steps they have trodden.' And that shews, he retained a due reverence for the regal dignity. — The 18th of December following, he made a virulent speech against Archbishop Laud, wherein he hath these furious words. — 'We are now fallen upon the great man, the Archbishop of Canterbury; look upon him as he is in highness, and he is the sty of all pestilential filth that hath infected the state and government of this Commonwealth: look upon him in his dependances, and he is the man, the only man, that hath raised and advanced all those, that together with himself have been the authors and causes of all our ruins, miseries, and calamities we now groan under. Who is it but he only that hath brought the Earl of Strafford to all his great places and employments; a fit spirit and instrument to act and execute all his wicked and bloody designs in these kingdoms? who is it but he only that brought in Secretary Windbank into this place of service of trust, the very broker and pander to the whore of Babylon? who is it, Mr Speaker, but he only that hath advanced all our Popish Bishops. I shall name but some of them, Bishop Manwaring, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, [William Pierce] the Bishop of Oxford, [John Bancroft] and Bishop Wren, the least of all these birds, but one of the most unclean ones.' — And he concludes with advising, that the Archbishop should be immediately accused of high-treason (6). — He was much more moderate in his next speech, Feb. 9, 1640-1, concerning Episcopacy, wherein is this paragraph; — 'I must confess, when I look upon the Bishops, or at least upon some of them, and the way of their government, I wonder not at all at the mul-

titude of petitioners, and petitions that have this parliament been preferred against them. — But it is necessary we should distinguish between the persons of the Bishops, which are to obnoxious, and their functions and offices; for there is no more reason to the argument, that because the Bishops have committed, therefore take away Episcopacy, than there is to it, because the judges of the common law are in fault, therefore take away judges, and take away the common law (7)'

[D] *As is manifest from some original letters of his*. The first to Mr Wade, Mayor of Colchester, is as follows.

'MR MAYOR,

'I received a letter the last weeke from Mr Alderman Cole, in your absence when you were att Norwich; it came not to my hands 'till the Frydaie morninge, after I had dispatched my letter to you with the intelligence of such occurrences, as happened that weeke heere in Parliament; thereupon I thought fitt immediately to give some direcons in the busines of Mrs Payne, to examine Mr Paine whether hee had sent awaie into Ireland Sir John Sylyard's letter; if it were gone, then to knowe to whome it was directed; if otherwise, uppon the producinge of it, to open it, and to see whether their bee any thinge of danger in it: soe soone as I came to the Parliament-house I acquainted the Parliament with it, whereupon they made an order for the searchinge of Mrs Paine's house, and to disarme her, and to intercept all letters; I doubt not but Mr Cole hath imparted the busines to you. And I should have bene glad this weeke to have heard from you what hath bene done in it; I would likewise advise, that att the next quarter sessions of the peace to be holden for our borrough, that Mrs Paine, and soe many of her companie and servants who come not to church, that they should bee indicted, and proclamacion made thereupon accordinge to the statute, that they maie bee convicted. As for newes, wee had letters out of Ireland uppon Saterdaie last, whereby wee are informed, that the rebells do everie day gather strength and increase in number; that there is a total defection of nyne counties, and that they expect their approach to Doblin very suddainely. Wee have already sent over fyfty thousand pounds, and are borrowinge two hundred thousand pounds more for that service. The Lo. Leiuenteante is goeing over with ten regiments, which are to be divided into three briggades. The first is to bee under the command of my Lo. himself, the second under his Leiuenteante generall, and the third under Sir Symon Harcourt, who is to lie with his forces at Doblin. The Charge of a regiment for a yeare will come to threescore and fix thousand pownds att the least, which beinge multiplied by tenn does come to a mighty some of money, which must goe out of our purses; and tis thought that that will not doe it, for the rebells are very stronge, and have already gotten most of the greatest townes of consequence in Ireland, and where they meet with any opposition from the English they cutt their throats, and where they submitte, they stripp them and turne them out of all they have. Sir Symon Harcourt is now goeing downe into Cheshire with Sir William Brewerton, to beat upp drummes, and to raise men in those parts beinge neerest, and beinge most convenient to bee sent over from thence. Wee have likewise sent awaie instructions to the Parliament of Scotland for the raisinge of men in the north parte of that kingdome. A fleete is preparinge to guard and secure the Irish partes for feare they should have releif from forraigne partes. It is heere confidently reported, that the Kinge will bee at Yorke uppon Thurздаie next; and Sir Arthur Ingram tells mee that his Majestie is to lie att his house, which makes mee give the better credit to myne intelligence. Yeasterdaie one Thomas Beale came to the House of Commons, and informed that beinge under a bankes side, hee heard two men saie that they had, with two hundred more, taken an oath of secrecie att a lord's house who must not yett be named. The busines they were to doe was this, uppon

(1) Nalson, ubi supra, p. 774.

(4) Rushworth, ubi supra, p. 1129. Nalson's Collect. Vol. I. p. 319.

(5) Nalson, ubi supra, p. 508, &c. Rushworth, p. 1349, 1353, 1354, 1356.

(6) Nalson, ubi supra, p. 690.



(d) Nalfon, Vol. I. p. 679, 690. Vol. II. p. 7, 11, &c.

(e) Whitelock's Memorials, edit. 1732, p. 59.

(f) Ibid. p. 62. Mercurius Rusticus, edit. 1646, p. 5.

for the redress of grievances [E], and for bringing those to justice who had rendered themselves most obnoxious to the people (d). In 1642, he was made one of the Lieutenants of the county of Essex, in pursuance of the Parliament's ordinance for the militia (e); and in August the same year came down to his borough, and with Sir Thomas Barrington, the other representative of it, published two orders against Sir John Lucas, proclaiming him guilty of high-treason, for intending to assist the King, &c. (f). But in process of time, shocked at those dangerous extremes which some were driving at, he appeared to be one of the worthy patriots who were for reforming the government, and not for totally subverting of it, like Cromwell, and other detestable tools of ambition. And therefore, from about the year 1644, though he continued in the House of Commons, he concurred not with all the violent measures there taken (g). However, he so well maintained his reputation with all persons of honesty, candour, and moderation, that in September 1647, he was appointed one of the Parliament's Commissioners at the treaty of Newport in the isle of Wight (h). There he behaved himself so handsomely to

(g) 'And continued rather than concurred with them,' as the Lord Clarendon expresses it. History of the Rebellion, edit. 1731, 8vo. Vol. VI. p. 755.

(h) Ibid. Rushworth's Hist. Col. Vol. VII. p. 1263. Whitelock's Memorials, p. 334. Sir Edw. Walker's Historical Discourses.

King

' upon this daie they should have come to the house, and quarteringe themselves in severall places about the passages from our house (being armed with swords and pistalls) they should have cutt all our throats; at last they discovered this man; whereupon, one of them swearing a great oath that they were discovered, ranne his sword att him, and thought hee had killed him, but the hurt proves to bee very slight; this man is now under examination, and the Earle of Worcester's house and other great recusants have bene this daie searched, but the men discribed cannot bee mett withall, nor any thinge yet of just feare discovered: The Lord More hath given some of rebels in Ireland a defeate; with one thousand men hee mett with five thousand Irish, and killed about a thousand of their men and made the rest runne awaie; it is hoped that this losse will give them some discouragement. The Kinge of Portugall is in great distresse, and in great danger of loosing his kingdome againe; I sent the order for disarminge of Mrs Paine, and intercepting of letters down to Mr Cole the last weeke, and my man delivered the letter to Mr Humberston; and the Parliament havinge bene possessed with the busines, I shall bee glad to knowe what hath bene done in it. And soe with the remembrance of my kinde respects and love to yourself and the rest of the Aldermen your brethren, I rest

Lyncolnes Inne,  
gber 17, 1641.

' Your assured lovinge friend,

' HAR. GRIMSTON.'

Another letter of his, dated November 4, 1642, runs thus:

' MR MAYOR,

' I had intelligence yeafterdaie, about 3 of the clock, that some horses were come from Hamburg, where of 3 were at Maningtree, and the rest still on ship-board at Harwich; whereupon immediately I sent downe my warrant to staie them at Maningtree, and likewise another warrant to the Mayor of Harwich and the Capaine of Langerfort, to seize upon those horses that are there on shippboard, with order to sett riders of our owne upon them, and to carrie them to the Parliament. Praie make staie of those horses att Colchester, and soe soone as I heare from Harwich I will give your further direccions in this busines; there came out a declaracion not longe since, discoveringe thus much, that horses were providinge at Hamburg and in Denmarke to be brought over hether to the kinge. That declaracion, together with those instruccions which myself and the rest of the Deputie-Lieutenants of this county have received from both houses of Parliament, givinge us authoritie to seaze upon all horses, money, and plate, which wee shall suspect to bee intended to bee employed against the kingdome.'

In another letter to the Mayor of the same town, dated the next day, he hath these words:

' I received yeafternight late an order from the Parliament concerning the speeding away of our horses for draggoones, whereof I have here inclosed sent you a coppie. I doubt not but you knowe by this time the great straightes wee are in; the kinge beinge now approached very neare to the cittie with a great army; and our army att a great distance, soe as I feare the Earle of Essex will not bee able to come in time enough to relieve us; by this order you maie

' perceive wee are commanded to appoint receivers of the horses, as for this parte of the country noe place soe fit as Colchester—Therefore I must intreate you to take the care of this busines.—I have made out warrants into all these partes to the constables, for the callinge in of such monies as are subscribed for, as allsoe to return the names of such as have not subscribed, or not in a proportion answerable to their estates.'

Another letter of his to the same, dated November 16, 1642, is as follows:

' We have received letters from Mr Strickland, agent for the Parliament in the Low-Countries, that the queene is cominge over with many shippes, in which shee brings with her money, amunition, and 3000 old souldiers, and that her purpose is to land att Harwich; by his intelligence shee should sett out to sea this day, but the winde is crosse, which I hope will staie her a while, untill wee bee a little better provided for her cominge in our parts. I suppose the designe is to make Kent and Essex the seat of the warre, for the kinge is gone over the Thames at Kingston, and tis thought hee will passe through Surrey into Kent. And if the kinge with his forces on the one side, and the queene with her forces on the other side, shall comand the Thames eastward, they will then bee able not onely to intercept all manner of releif of fewell or victuall which maie bee brought to the cittie that waie, but likewise overthrowe their trade, which evidently in a short time wil bee their ruine and destruction. If the queene doe land there, Colchester is likely to bee the first towne they will fall upon'

In another letter of the 23d following, he has these words:

' Since my last letter wee have received advertisements out of the Low-Countries, that the queene hath altered her resolution of landing at Harwich; nevertheless I thinke it very necessary you should take into your considerations the fortifying of your towne, for it is possible that this is given out to make us the more secure.—You knowe the Parliament hath given 1500l. for the makinge your towne and the blockhouse defensible; if that will not doe it wee must straine ourselves, rather than hazzard the towne together with our lives and estates.—As for the men you sent upp with a fortnight's pay in hand, they say it was given them but to come upp, and they will have paie heere likewise for that time, or else they will not serve; and they wil bee commanded but by whome they list, and goe noe further than they please. They have most of them discharged themselves.'

[E] He was in most of the committees for the redress of grievances.] Namely, in the year 1640, in the committee that examined the new canons (8); and in the committee appointed to consider of the breach of privileges, in the two former parliaments (9). He was, in 1641, one of the committee to prepare the charge against the Earl of Strafford; and one of those members of the House of Commons, who were appointed to be present at the examination of witnesses, preparatory to that Earl's tryal (10). In 1642, he was in the committee, named for vindicating the privileges of parliament, upon occasion of the King's going to the House of Commons to demand the five members: and in the committee for Irish affairs; in which last he made, January 5, 1641-2, an excellent speech, at Guild-hall, concerning the power and privileges of parliament.

(8) Nalfon, Vol. I. p. 679.

(9) Ibid. p. 690.

(10) Idem. Vol. II. p. 7, 11.

[F] That



King Charles the First, that his Majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return to parliament, he pressed the acceptance of the King's concessions: on which account, and because he was one of the commissioners for disbanding the army, he was in the number of those who were forcibly excluded the House by a party of soldiers (i). After the cruel and violent death of King Charles the First, he seems to have so much disliked his own country, and the new form of government, that he quitted his recordership of Colchester, and went and travelled beyond-sea for a while [F]. How long he staid abroad doth not appear; but, in 1656, he was elected one of the sixteen representatives for the county of Essex, in Oliver Cromwell's parliament, according to the new instrument of government. And not being approved by the Council, he joined in a most excellent remonstrance with several other persons of the greatest worth and estates, thus disapproved and set aside (k). In February 1659-60, he was chosen one of the new Council of State [G]; in whom the executive power was lodged by the remains of the Long-Parliament that restored King Charles the Second (l). And a few months after, was also chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in the Healing Parliament, which met April 25, 1660 (m). May 11, following, he sailed to Holland with Sir John Granville, in order to wait upon King Charles the Second at Breda (n). After the King's arrival in his dominions Sir Harbottle was much in his favour, and had the honour of entertaining him, on the 25th of June, at his house in Lincoln's-inn-fields (o). Upon presenting the money-bills to his Majesty, September 13, he made an elegant and loyal speech, of which part is given in the note [H]. Having thus heartily concurred in the restoration and establishment of King Charles the Second, he was rewarded, on the third of November, 1660, with the Mastership of the Rolls (p); which honourable office he discharged for above three and twenty years (q) with great abilities and integrity (r). He was also appointed, in 1660, Chief-Steward of the Burgh of St Albans (s), and Recorder of Harwich (t); and from the Restoration to the time of his death, continued one of the representatives in Parliament for the Burgh of Colchester (u). For several years he entertained Dr Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, as his chaplain, or preacher at the Rolls (w), and greatly assisted and encouraged him in his History of the Reformation of the Church of England [I]. Sir Harbottle never obliged the world with any thing of his own, but he published the Reports of his father-in-law Sir George Croke, Knight [K]. He died December 31, 1683, aged about ninety (x); and was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church in St Albans [L]. He was twice married: His first lady was Mary, daughter of Sir George Croke just now mentioned, by whom he had issue, George, Samuel, Mary, and Elizabeth. George married Sarah, daughter and co-heir of Sir Edward Alston of London, M. D. but died without issue. Whereupon the title and estate descended to Samuel the second

[F] *That he quitted his recordership of Colchester.* Upon which occasion, he writ the following letter, July 6, 1649, to the Mayor of that town.

'Soe long as I was in a capacitie of serveing the towne of Colchester, with a possibility of resettling myself in the county, I was willing to retayne the place of Recorder there, but a sad band of Providence hath nowe otherwise disposed of affayres, and having lost my deare yooke fellow, I knowe not howe to spend my tyme better, than in givinge my sonne some education abroad, with whom I intend to travell, if I may have leave so to do, which I hope to obteyne, therefore out of conscience, and the true love and affection which I beare to the towne, that their service may not suffer by my absence, I do hereby absolutely make void the place by my surrender, desiring you to enter it amongst your records, and to give notice thereof to the free-burgisses, at a general hall, where according to your charter and constitutions, you may procede to the choice of another' (11).

[G] *He was chosen one of the new Council of State.* This council consisted of thirty-one persons, with General Monk at their head: most of them men of integrity, and well affected to kingsly government, as J. Phillips affirms (12). Or, according to Dr Skinner (13), most of them for their character, and good inclinations towards the King's service, were accounted of the very choice and flower of the House of Commons.

[H] *He made an elegant and loyal speech, of which part is given in the note.* It began thus, 'Sir, The royal favour and fatherly kindness unto your people, hath naturalized their affections to your person, and their obedience to your precepts. And as it is their duty, so it is their desire to manifest the truth and reality thereof, by supporting and upholding that grandeur and splendor which is due to the majesty of so meritorious a prince as yourself. And therefore they have resolved *uno flatu* and *nemine contradicente*, to make up your Majesty's constant and ordinary re-

venue, twelve hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, &c (14).'

[I] *And greatly assisted and encouraged him in his History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* This the Doctor thankfully acknowledges in the following words,——'I must acknowledge myself highly obliged by the favour and bounty of the honourable Master of the Rolls, Sir Harebottle Grimstone, of whose worth and goodness to me I must make a large digression, if I would undertake to say all that the subject will bear: the whole nation expressed their value of him, upon the most signal occasion, when they made him their mouth and speaker in that blessed assembly which called home their King, after which real evidence, all little commendations may be well forborn. The obligations he has laid on me are such, that as the gratitude and service of my whole life, is the only equal return I can make for them; so, as a small tribute, I judge myself obliged to make my acknowledgements in this manner, for the leisure I enjoy under his protection, and the support I receive from him; and if this work does the world any service, the best part of the thanks is due to him, that furnished me with particular opportunities of carrying it on (15).'

[K] *But he published the reports of his father-in-law Sir George Croke, Knight.* They were published under the title of, 'Reports and select cases of law, &c.' in three volumes folio: the first containing cases and reports in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: the second, in the reign of King James I. and the third, in the reign of King Charles I. Lond. 1657, 1658, 1661. Sir George Croke was one of the justices of the King's Bench, and died 15 February, 1641-2 (16).

[L] *And was buried in the chancel of St Michael's church in St Albans.* And not in the church of Gorhambury, as Mr Wood says by a mistake (17), there being no such church. Gorhambury is a manor in the parish of St Michael's, famous for having been the residence of St Nicolas Bacon, Lord-Keeper, and of his son, Francis Lord Viscount Verulam (18).

(i) Kennet, *ibid.* p. 149.

(k) The *History of Harwich*, edit. by S. H. Chauncy, p. 374.

(l) *Ibid.* p. 377.

(m) Not 26 years, as Sir Henry Chauncy affirms, *ubi supra*, p. 465.

(n) Chauncy, *ibid.* p. 465.

(o) *Ibid.* p. 457.

(p) S. Taylor's *History of Harwich*, edit. 1730, 4to. p. 218.

(q) *History of Colchester*, in list of the representatives.

(w) See above, the article BURNET [GILBERT].

(x) Wood, *ubi supra*.

(14) Kennet, *ubi supra*, &c. p. 254.

(15) Preface to Part I. of the *History of the Reformation*, p. 3.

(16) Wood's *Athenæ*, as above, col. 15.

(17) *Ubi supra*, col. 15.

(18) Chauncy, *ubi supra*, p. 464.



second son, who married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Heneage Finch Earl of Nottingham; and secondly, Anne, daughter of John Tufton Earl of Thanet, and left a daughter by each of them, but no son. Of Sir Harbottle's two daughters, Mary was married to Sir Capel Luckyn of Messing-hall in Essex, and was grandmother to the present Lord Grimston, whose father was adoptive heir to Sir Samuel Grimston; and Elizabeth became the wife of Sir George Grubham-How, of Banvick in the county of Wilts, Bart. Sir Harbottle's second lady was Anne, daughter of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Culford-hall in Suffolk, Knight, and relict of Sir Thomas Meautys, of Gorhambury near St Alban's, of whose heirs Sir Harbottle bought that manor and estate (y). Sir Henry Chauncy gives this character of him (z). He had a nimble fancy, a quick apprehension, a rare memory, an eloquent tongue, and a sound judgment, which parts he held to the last: he was a person of free access, sociable in company, sincere to his friend, hospitable in his house, charitable to the poor, and an excellent master to his servants.

(y) Chauncy, ubi supra, p. 465. T. Jekyll's Gen. MS. Irish Compendium, edit. 1735, p. 254.

(z) Pag. 465.

GRINDAL [EDMUND], a very learned and pious prelate of the XVIth century, and one of the first reformers of our religion under Queen Elizabeth, was born about the year 1519, in a little angle of the county of Cumberland, called Cowpland or Copland, at Hensingham in the parish of St Begh's. The historian of his life, the laborious Mr Strype, gives us no account of his family, which he says (a) he is unable to trace. Our prelate, after having gone through his grammar studies, was sent to the university of Cambridge, where three colleges may boast of him; Magdalen college first entertained him, and gave him his earliest seasoning; afterwards he became a member of Christ's college, probably with a view of some exhibition or other encouragement; and from thence removed to Pembroke-Hall, where he was chosen fellow in 1538, as soon as he was capable of a fellowship, being then Bachelor of Arts \*. In 1540 he was chosen Junior-Treasurer of the college, and next year commenced Master of Arts. In 1548 he was declared public Proctor of the university, and next year became President of Pembroke-College (b), and is often called in the acts of the university, *Assistens Vicecancellarii in judiciis*, i. e. the Vicechancellor's assistant in matters judiciary. Being now Bachelor in Divinity, he was this same year, 1549, admitted Lady Margaret's public preacher in Cambridge, by the unanimous consent of the Masters and Presidents of the university (c); and when an extraordinary Act was commenced this year for the entertainment of King Edward's visitors at Cambridge, Grindal was one of the four disputants chosen out of the whole university [A]; at which disputation he acquitted himself with great honour and applause. Thus our divine made a very considerable figure in the university before he began to be distinguished in the Church, where his first appearance was in 1550, when he removed to London, being appointed by Ridley, then Bishop of that see, to be his chaplain [B]; and the year following, August 24, was collated to the chantorship of St Paul's cathedral, by his patron Bishop Ridley, who had before designed him the prebend of Cantrelles in the church of St Paul's, but was obstructed by the Council [C]. The same year he was, through Ridley's means, made one of the King's chaplains [D]. In July 1552 a Prebend of Westminster was conferred on him for life †, though he afterwards resigned it to Bishop Bonner. In November following he was nominated for a Bishopric in the North, but

(a) Pag. 3.

\* Reg. Acad.

(b) MS. de Cust. Pembrochian. Fasti Eccl. Ang. p. 394. Le Neve's Lives of the Bishops, &c. P. i. p. 30.

(c) Ex Regist. Acad.

† Reg. West.

[A] Grindal was one of the four disputants selected out of the whole university. The visitors appointed by King Edward VI. were, Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr Mey, and Dr Wendy, all very learned men; and the questions to be disputed were, 'Whether transubstantiation could be proved by plain and manifest words of scripture; and, whether it might be collected and confirmed by the consent of Fathers for these thousand years past (1). Grindal was one who asserted the negative, the other three disputants being Pern, Guest, and Pilkington (2). The disputation may be seen at large in Fox's Martyrology.

(1) Mr Strype, who by mistake quotes Fuller's Ch. Hist. for this passage, instead of his Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 127, thinks these last words should rather be, For 1000 years after Christ.

(2) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 127.

[B] In 1550 he removed to London, being appointed Bishop Ridley's chaplain. Soon after his removal, Martin Bucer, the King's Divinity-Professor, having occasion to write from Cambridge, upon certain business of the Bishop, styles our divine, *eximium eruditione & pietate, membrum Christi præcipuum, & collegam suum in sanctissimo administrandi verbi Dei munere*; i. e. 'eminent for his learning and piety, a chief member of Christ, and his associate in the most sacred ministry of the word of God.' Such a character, from so great a man, does too much honour to our prelate, to be passed over in silence.

[C] He designed him the prebend of Cantrelles, but was obstructed by the Council. When the Bishop, upon a vacancy of this prebendship, was going to collate his chaplain Grindal to it, one Thomas, clerk of the Council and a great favourite with King Edward, laboured with the King and Council to obtain it for himself;

but the Bishop not caring to bestow it upon him, letters were written to the Bishop by some of the Council, to stay his collation of the prebend; some of them having procured it to be settled for the furnishing the King's stables. This extremely troubled the Bishop, who thereupon applied to Cheke, Wroth, and Cecyl, at Court, to interpose with the King, that with the favour of the Council he might have leave to give this living to his 'well-deserving chaplain, who was without preferment, and to whom he would grant it with all his heart, that so he might have him continually with him, and in his diocese to preach, adding, that 'he was known to be both of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning.' Mr Strype says, he cannot tell whether, after all this, Grindal enjoyed Cantrelles or not, but the Chantorship of St Paul's, which was of greater value, becoming vacant soon after, the Bishop gave him that (3).

(3) Strype, p. 5, 6.

[D] Was appointed one of the King's chaplains. In December 1551, a resolution was taken by the King's Council, that his Majesty should retain six chaplains, whose employment was thus fixed. Two of them were always to be with the King in waiting; the other four to be sent over the kingdom, especially the remoter counties, to preach to the common people, and to instruct them in the principles of true religion, and obedience to their prince. These six were afterwards reduced to four, and Grindal was one of these; the others being Dr Bill, Dr Harley, (afterwards Bishop of Hereford) and Dr Pern. Their annual salaries were 40 l. each (4).

(4) Fuller, ubi supra.

[E] He



but did not obtain it [E]; and a little before King Edward's death, a report went, that Ridley being to be translated to the see of Durham, Grindal was to succeed him in London, being then but 33 years old. Upon the death of King Edward in 1553, he retired into Germany, to avoid the persecution under Queen Mary, and settled at Strasburg, and applied himself with great diligence to learn the German language, in order that he might preach in the churches there. In 1554 he was engaged in the disputes among the English at Franckfort, concerning a new model and form of worship, varying from the last corrected liturgy under King Edward the Sixth. He was also a most diligent collector of the writings and accounts of the sufferers in England for the Protestant religion, and greatly assisted Mr John Fox in compiling his Martyrology, both by his continual advice, and by supplying him with materials for it, most of which he drew up and methodized himself, so that Fox's work was only to translate into Latin (e). Upon the death of Queen Mary, in 1558, he returned to England, and was employed in many weighty ecclesiastical affairs for the reformation of religion, under Queen Elizabeth. He was concerned in drawing up a form of prayer and public worship, which was to be presented to the Queen's first Parliament; and was also one of the eight Protestant divines, chosen to enter the list against the Popish prelates, in a public disputation, a more particular account of which is to be found in Strype's Annals of the Reformation (f). He was generally appointed to preach before the Queen, Privy-Council, &c. upon public occasions; and was likewise one of her Majesty's commissioners in the North for the royal visitation, to require the oath of supremacy, to inspect cathedrals and the manners of the clergy, to destroy the instruments of superstition and idolatry, &c. This visitation also extended to the universities; and at that of Cambridge, Dr Young was removed from the Mastership of Pembroke-hall for refusing the oath of supremacy, and Grindal chosen in his room in 1559\*, though he at first declined it; but the college urged him so strongly to accept it, that at last he yielded to their solicitations [F]. The same year he was nominated to the bishopric of London, in the room of Bishop Bonner deposed; but labouring under some scruples with regard to the habits, and certain ceremonies required to be used by such as were Bishops, he consulted Peter Martyr, then Professor of Divinity at Zurich in Switzerland [G]; and

*See the Life of John Fox in this work.*

*See the Life of John Fox in this work.*

(f) Annals of the Reformation, chap. v. p. 88.

\* Le Neve's Fasti, p. 424. P. 1.

[E] *He was nominated for a bishopric in the North; but did not obtain it.* What this northern bishopric was, to which Grindal was nominated, we are left to conjecture. It was concluded in the year 1552, by the King and his Council, that the bishopric of Durham, then void by the deprivation of Tonsil, should be divided into two, and they had it under consideration how to place fit and able persons in them, as appears by King Edward's memorial, published by Mr Strype, in his life of Archbishop Cranmer (5). There is little doubt but that Grindal, being a north country man, was pitched upon for one of these bishoprics; for the King's memorial, just mentioned, was writ by him in October, 1552, and in the next month Bishop Ridley wrote a letter to Sir John Gate and Sir William Cecil, wherein he gives God thanks, 'for that it had pleased him to move the heart of the King's Majesty to chuse such a man, of such godly qualities as Grindal, unto such a room;' and begs to have the collation of the prebend which would be vacant upon Grindal's remove. But all this came to nothing, there being then, says Mr Strype, a great topping courtier, that put an end to this pious purpose of supplying those parts where ignorance and superstition most prevailed, with two Bishops. For by his sway he got the whole bishopric dissolved, and settled as a temporal estate upon himself (6).

[F] *The college urged him so strongly to accept it, that at last he yielded to their solicitations.* The college now looked on Grindal, who was at this time Bishop elect of London, as designed for the highest honours of the Church, and therefore, as well as in regard to his superior merit, they were very desirous of securing him for their patron, and wrote him a most affectionate letter, upon the removal of their late master Dr Young, saying, 'The time was now come, that they had the liberty to choose him not only for their Master, but also their Patron and Defender. That the very day after Dr Young's deprivation, they hastened, and, with one mind and vote, unanimously chose him their Custos: adding, that they hoped he would not refuse that house which educated him, nor reject the highest place there, since there was a time when he had not refused the lowest; nor yet forsake those men who had preserved his memory when he was absent; and lastly, they prayed him to embrace them who strove together in loving him; and to receive them into his protection.' And when Grindal declined their offer, they wrote to the King's visitors, to desire them to exhort him by their influence and authority to accept

'it;' and also wrote again to him, to persuade him; notwithstanding his advancement to the bishopric, to be their head, telling him they had had several Bishops for their Masters. He was prevailed on by this renewed entreaty, to accept the government of their college, which he held but a little time, his other weighty affairs in the Church hindring his residence there; and he seems to have resigned in May 1562, if not before (7). The three next masters who succeeded were all recommended by him, so great was the respect and esteem the college bore him; and which they took every opportunity of testifying. In one of their letters to him, (and there are several preserved in the college, expressing the love, honour, and high veneration they had for him) there is this passage; 'From the time you first purged us from the dregs of Popery, and took us under your care, we have had ample experience of your patronage and favour, and in you alone we have reposed all our counsel and hope.'

[G] *But labouring under some scruples with regard to the habits and certain ceremonies required to be used by Bishops, he consulted Peter Martyr.* The Reformed in those times thought, that in order to the compleat freeing the Church of Christ from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and custom practised by that apostate and idolatrous Church should be abolished; that all the ceremonies and circumstances of religious worship should be entirely abrogated, and that the service of God should be most simple, stripped of all that shew, pomp, and appearance, that had been used before. This opinion, which the late English exiles had more particularly imbibed, gave rise to Grindal's doubts, whether he might with a safe conscience accept of a bishopric, as he must submit to many of these things if he did; therefore he communicated his doubts in a letter to Peter Martyr, in August 1559, which came to his hands in October following, desiring his speedy resolution of them, that he might, according to the light which he should give him, accept the episcopal office, or refuse it. One of these doubts was concerning impropriations which were to be annexed to bishoprics: for the Queen, chiefly to gratify some of her courtiers, now made exchanges with her Bishops, by the authority of a late act of parliament, taking to herself their antient good manors and lordships, and making over to them in exchange, tythes and impropriations. This was extremely regretted by those first Bishops, who scrupled whether they should comply in a point so injurious to the revenues of their respective

(7) Strype, p. 310.

Strype's Life of Abp Cranmer, ii. c. 5.

Strype, p. 8.



(g) Strype's Life of Abp. Grindal, p. 53. The instrument for uniting the parish of St Mary Axe to St Andrew Undershaft, may be seen at large in the appendix to the Repertorium Ecclesiasticum, No. iii.

and though he was nominated to the bishopric in July, he did not absolutely accept it 'till December, being consecrated the 21st of that month, together with Cox Bishop elect of Ely, Barlow of Chichester, and Scory of Hereford; and these four (together with Parker, preferred to the see of Canterbury) were the first made prelates in the reign of Queen Elizabeth [H]. In the year 1560, our Bishop was made one of the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, appointed by the Parliament to inspect into the manners of the clergy, and regulate all matters of the Church. He was also appointed by the Queen's special letters to be one of her commissioners for changing certain chapters used for lessons, for others more edifying to the common people; and for the making a new calendar for the Book of Common-Prayer, for adorning of chancels, and prescribing good orders for the collegiate churches. The same year he, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely, wrote a private letter to the Queen, to persuade her to marry. He also, with the Archbishop of Canterbury, this year reformed the calendar, and ordered that the ten commandments in English should be set upon the east wall of every church throughout the kingdom. In the year 1561, our Bishop united the parish church of St Mary Axe to St Andrew Undershaft, upon the special petition of the parishioners of the former, who for several years had been without an incumbent, on account of the narrow revenue of the living (g). This year the Bishop also held his primary visitation of his diocese. In

1563,

sees, which must suffer considerably by these exchanges, and by which all hope would be cut off of restoring the tythes so long unjustly detained from the respective churches for the maintenance of the incumbents. Another point at which Grindal stuck, was wearing certain peculiar garments, whether *extra sacra*, or *in sacris*. Peter Martyr, in the beginning of November wrote him an answer. And first with regard to impropriations, he thought that Grindal had no occasion to be solicitous; since it was a thing not in his power, whence, or how the Queen thought proper to provide a support for her Bishops and the parish ministers. With respect to wearing a cap, whether round or square, and a gown upon ordinary occasions, when they were not employed about holy things, his judgment was, that they should not dispute more than was necessary about them, since superstition seemed not properly concerned in them. But as for the habits to be used in the ministry of holy things, since they carried an appearance of the mass, and were mere remains of Popery, he observed that it was the opinion of Bullinger the chief minister of Zurich, that they were to be refrained from by Grindal, lest by his example, a thing that was scandalous, should be confirmed. But Martyr said, that though he was always against the use of such ornaments, yet he saw the present danger, lest they should be excluded the office of preaching; and that perhaps there might be some hopes, that as altars and images were already taken away, so those appearances of the mass might in time be likewise removed, if Mr Grindal and others, who had taken upon them episcopacy, would use their endeavours. But notwithstanding, if it came not to good effect, yet if he should decline the office, another might succeed in his place, who would not care to have those relics rejected, but perhaps would rather defend, cherish, and maintain them. He was therefore, he said, more backward to advise him to refuse the bishopric, than to refuse the use of vestments. But because he saw that scandals of that kind were by all means to be avoided, he more easily had yielded to Bullinger's opinion abovementioned. But if altars and images had been continued and preserved, then he plainly thought that Grindal ought not by any means to engage in the episcopal office. In general, he advised him to do nothing against his conscience. He acknowledged that the questions he had sent him, had difficulty in them; and therefore excused himself that he had not imparted his counsel sooner, since it could not be easily given. He added, that when he was at Oxford, though he was a canon, he would never wear a surplice in the choir. He knew that his example was no just confirmation of Grindal, but that which moved him then, and still did, might perhaps have some force with him, viz. that that was not to be done which might confirm the practice of what his conscience did not approve. The same year, in October and November, Mr Grindal wrote other letters to Martyr, for his advice. One of his questions was, Whether, seeing he was not at liberty with regard to the vestments, he should accept of the episcopal function offered him, because of the imposition of the matters abovementioned? Martyr's answer came too late, for Grindal had accepted of the

bishopric before he received it: but Martyr's advice was agreeable to what Grindal had done, that he should not decline it, because of the great want of ministers (8), for that it was greatly to be hoped, that if such men as he sat at the helm, many, if not all, of these things might be redressed. Grindal had also asked his advice in other matters; first, as to the dealing with obnoxious papists, and whether popish priests should be continued in their places, or admitted to livings. Martyr advised, that for peace sake, all past should be forgotten, but for the future nothing should be admitted contrary to the present religion, and that such as should hereafter be presented by patrons to the Bishops for livings, should not be by them instituted, unless they subscribed to the religion established. Secondly, whether the sacramental bread should be unleavened; that is, wafer. Martyr answered, the Churches abroad every where used it. Thirdly, about going the perambulation in the Rogation weeks, which seemed to have been derived from the perambulations or walkings of the heathens. Martyr answered, that if God only were prayed to therein, superstition would be avoided; but that endeavours ought to be used to explode such customs as relics of the Amorites, and both magistrates and people ought to be instructed against them. In pursuance of this advice, Grindal, the first Rogation season after his consecration, ordered that the ministers should make a perambulation only, not a procession; that they should suffer no banners, or other marks of superstition to be carried; that the ministers should go without surplices or lights, and use no drinkings, except the distance of the place required some necessary relief; and to use at convenient places, the form of prayers and thanksgivings appointed by the Queen's injunctions.

[H] These were the first made prelates in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.] It ought to be remembered, that these five prelates had the honesty and courage to prefer a petition to the Queen, for the granting several things of great use and benefit to the Church: as, to stop the exchanging of Bishops lands for the great tythes and impropriations in the Crown, which the Parliament had empowered her to do, to the great detriment of the episcopal sees, and disabling the Bishops from encouraging learning, and exercising that hospitality which was expected from them: and they offered her as an equivalent, 1000 marks a year during their lives. They also besought her Majesty, in behalf of small bishoprics, and of the inferior clergy, as may be seen more at large in the annals of the Reformation (9). The excellent letter itself may also be seen in the life of Archbishop Parker. The petition however had but little effect.

It must be observed, that an exchange of lands was in hand between the Queen and our Bishop, even before his consecration, but was not fully settled; and till this was done, he could not compound for his first fruits, the consequence of which was, that it hindered him from exercising his episcopal function; to remedy which inconvenience, he was obliged to have the Queen's express authority, which she gave him by letter, to empower him to exercise his ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

(8) Ibid. p. 28, 29, 30.

(9) Annal. Reform. p. 98.



1563, he, together with the Archbishop and some Civilians, was employed in preparing a book of statutes for Christ Church Oxford, which as yet had no fixed statutes. This year he also greatly assisted the English Merchants in their settlement at Embden in East-Frizeland (b) [I]. The same year he wrote animadversions upon Justus Velsius's *Christiani Hominis Norma* [K]. April 15, 1564, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge; and the same year, by the Queen's peremptory command, he began to press the clergy to uniformity [L]. October 3, the same year, he preached at St Paul's at the celebration of the Emperor Ferdinand's funeral, and his sermon was afterwards printed [M].

In

[I] *He assisted the English merchants in their settlement at Embden in East-Frizeland.* Our merchants settled at Antwerp, and other places in the dominions of Spain, being provoked with the repeated exactions and ill usage of the Spaniards, thought of removing out of their territories, and fixed upon Embden as the most convenient place both for freedom of religion and of trade. To obtain which, they made the Bishop their friend, they having been formerly serviceable to the exiles in Queen Mary's reign, and he cheerfully espoused their cause, was their mediator with the Queen, and treated with the agent appointed by the Countess and Earl of East-Frizeland; and, in short, managed the affair so dextrously, that the merchants were soon settled at Embden.

[K] *He wrote animadversions upon Justus Velsius's Christiani Hominis Norma.* This Velsius was of the Hague in Holland, a man of learning, but very enthusiastic, and held some peculiar opinions, and had some followers and admirers. He drew up at London, a summary of his religion under this title: *Christiani Hominis Norma, ad quam se explorare perpetuo quis debet*: i. e. 'The rule of a Christian man, according to which every one ought continually to try himself.' It was composed by way of question and answer. The first question was, *What is a Christian?* the answer to which was, *one who by participation and grace is rendered, and to be rendered, that which Christ was, and is of himself, and by nature.* The next question was, *What Christ was, and is of himself and by nature?* to which is answered, *God in man, and afterwards man God.* Velsius likewise affirmed in this piece, that *while the Word was made flesh and dwelt in us, he brought down God from Heaven to us, joined and united him to our passible nature; and that by his glorious resurrection the flesh was made the Word, and dwelt in God, and lifted up man to God.* He spoke of a double regeneration, one of the internal man, and the other of the external; and asserted, that the one made Christians *God in man*, in this world; and the other made them *Men-Gods*, in the world to come. Mr Strype has published this piece in the appendix, No 8. to the first book of the life of Grindal. In March, Velsius wrote bold letters to Sir William Cecil the Secretary, and even to the Queen herself, sending his *Norma* to them, which he had done also two months before to our Bishop, who thought fit, upon the Secretary's advice, to write animadversions upon that piece, extant in the paper office, and published from thence by Mr Strype, in the appendix No 9, to the first book of his life of our Bishop. Velsius fancied himself endued with the spirit of prophecy, and that Christ dwelt in him. By this authority he took upon him to denounce judgments upon persons and places, and particularly upon the Queen and the kingdom, in his letter to her, unless she and her subjects received his doctrine. He solemnly by a writing excommunicated Peter Delane, minister of the Dutch congregation in London, and delivered him up to Satan, because he would not allow of a challenge to a public disputation, which Velsius made to one Nicholas, a preacher there. Velsius being cited before the ecclesiastical commission, Bishop Grindal, the Bishop of Winchester, and the Dean of St Paul's, represented to him the erroneous doctrine of his *Norma*, which he obstinately defending, they at last charged him in the Queen's name to depart the kingdom. This he complained of in very rude terms to the Queen, telling her, that he could not obey their order, pretending some miracle from God to confirm his doctrine (10).

[L] *He began to press the clergy to uniformity.* An agreement and uniformity among the clergy in wearing the same habits, and using the same rites in divine service, was hitherto neglected, especially in London, where many of them rejected the orders of the book of Common-Prayer. The plague of late spreading itself in London and other places, the Bishops could not take

that cognizance, and exercise the discipline requisite for this purpose. But towards the latter end of the year, by a peremptory order from the Queen to the Archbishop of Canterbury, uniformity in the habit and ceremonies were required of the clergy; whereas hitherto she said, had taken a liberty of varying from her injunctions in this regard. The Archbishop therefore having this order, immediately dispatched his letters to our Bishop, to signify the Queen's mind and resolution to the rest of the Bishop of the province, and that they should see the laws and ordinances already established, set forth and complied with every where, and to send up those of the clergy who were incontinent. The greatest difficulty was to correct these neglects in London, where there were many who neither wore surplice, tippet, nor square cap, and did not use the other ceremonies prescribed in the book of Common-Prayer. This work was incumbent upon our Bishop, who found great difficulty in redressing these matters among the city ministers, after whose example the clergy in other parts of the nation would be apt to govern themselves. So that throughout this and some other part of the next year, Bishop Grindal frequently sat in ecclesiastical commission with the Archbishop and other commissioners, for the regulating the city clergy, and trying all gentle methods to bring them to conformity. In the beginning of this work, the Archbishop of Canterbury thought fit to excite and quicken our Bishop now and then to set diligently upon reforming his London clergy, as he was otherwise slow in his proceedings against them. And by the archdeacon's means, the Archbishop procured a special letter from the Queen to him, to look particularly after uniformity in those under his charge in London; and he charged him, as he would answer it to God, to be diligent in punishing all recusants, by censures ecclesiastical, since the Bishops had power and authority by act of parliament to use them. Mr Strype says, the Bishop went thus tenderly about this work, because he knew the scarcity of ministers at that time; and therefore used all gentleness and meekness with them. But afterwards observing the ignorance and obduracy of some, and the dangerous principles of others, striking at the very ecclesiastical order itself, he proceeded with more resolution, and reduced many to compliance; some were sequestered, others suspended, and even deprived; some, who were Papists, went beyond sea, and some were afterwards put in prison for their disobedience. Mr Strype says (12), that the puritan party, because our Bishop

(12) P. 105;

[M] *He preached the Emperor Ferdinand's funeral sermon at St Paul's.* It was customary in those days to celebrate the funerals of crowned heads, with as much solemnity as if their bodies were actually deposited here. Thus at this of the Emperor's, the choir was hung with black, and adorned with escutcheons of his arms, of sundry forts, and in it was erected an

(13) Ibid. p. 105.

(10) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 91, 92, 93, 94.



In 1567 he converted some Separatists before him [N], and prohibited unlicensed preachers. In 1568 he made a contribution for the persecuted Protestants abroad, by way of benevolence, or collection from his clergy, for which he was threatened by some of them, disaffected to this cause, with a premunire, for laying a charge upon the clergy without authority from the Queen. But this did not discourage him. In 1569 he procured the liberty of several Puritan Separatists who had been in prison, for holding private assemblies, and using a form of prayer different from that allowed and enjoined by law; and yet these very men complained of the Bishop this same year to the Privy Council, which occasioned him to write a vindication of himself to the Council [O]. The last piece of service our Bishop did in his diocese, before his translation to the see of York, was the reformation of the hospital of the Savoy, a charitable foundation for the relief and entertainment of poor travellers, which was almost brought to utter ruin by the abuses and ill conduct of its master, whom the Bishop, having procured a commission from the Queen to visit the hospital, deprived. The same year, May 1, 1570, the Bishop was translated to the archbishopric of York [P]. One of his first services to this see was, his recovering

hearse richly garnished; the Queen, by proxy, was chief mourner, attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the prime nobility. In the sermon, our Bishop set forth with much eloquence, the Emperor's quality, descent, and virtues; and is, as Mr Strype thinks, the only discourse, except one, that was ever printed, and being very scarce, he has given part of it in his life of the Bishop (14).

[N] In 1567, he converted some Separatists before him.] Mr Strype observes, that the refusers of the orders of the Church, who by this time were commonly called Puritans, were now grown into two factions. The one was of a more quiet and peaceable demeanor, who indeed would not use the habits, nor subscribe to the ceremonies enjoined, as kneeling at the Sacrament, the cross in Baptism, the ring in Marriage; but held the Communion of the Church, and willingly and devoutly joined with the common prayers. But there was another sort who disliked the whole constitution of the Church lately reformed, charging it with many gross remainders of Popery, and that it was still full of corruptions not to be tolerated, and anti-christian; and especially the habits which the clergy were enjoined to use upon ordinary occasions, and in their ministrations. These latter separated themselves into private assemblies, meeting together not in churches, but in private houses, where they had ministers of their own. At these meetings they rejecting wholly the book of Common-Prayer, used a book of prayers framed at Geneva for the congregation of English exiles lately sojourning there. This book had been revised and allowed by Calvin and the rest of the divines there, and indeed was for the most part taken out of the Geneva form. At these private congregations they had not only prayers and sermons, but the Lord's Supper likewise sometimes administered. This gave great offence to the Queen, who issued out her letters to the ecclesiastical commissioners, which were subscribed by the Privy-Council, and were to this effect; That they should move these Non-conformists by gentle means to conformity, or else for their first punishment to lose their freedom of the city, and afterwards to suffer what would follow. About an hundred of these Separatists having hired Plumber's-Hall, upon pretence of keeping a wedding there, but in reality for a religious meeting, on the 19th of June, they were disturbed by the Sheriffs, and about fourteen or fifteen of the chief of them seized, and examined the next day before the Lord-Mayor, the Bishop of London, and others of the Queen's commissioners. The Bishop argued with them with great mildness, and endeavoured by arguments and reasoning to convince them of their errors, but was treated by some of them with reproaches and rude language, insomuch, says Mr Strype, 'That much notice was taken of it; and finding them so irreclaimable, it abated much of the favour which he was inclinable to shew them. Beza, the chief minister of Geneva, otherwise a great favourer of this sort of men, liked not of their behaviour, and signified his disallowance of it, in an epistle to this our Bishop, wherein he commended his lenity and his patience. They were very severe upon him afterwards in their prints, by slander of him in a most high manner; and therefore it is the less wonder, that this mild and patient man was some years after provoked, (observing also their unquiet disposition) to express himself somewhat severely against them.' As we shall see in the next note.

[O] He was complained of to the Privy-Council, which occasioned him to write a vindication of himself.] The ground of the Separatists complaint against the Bishop was this. The Separatists who at the beginning of this year had the favour shewn them, to be set at liberty by that Bishop, still continued their former practices of having private assemblies, and performing religious offices in their own way, notwithstanding the Bishop's admonition to them at their dismissal, and the threatnings of the Council read to them. Their chief teachers were Bonham and Crane, who at these meetings used to preach and expound the Scriptures, baptize, administer the communion, marry, (according to the Geneva book, which they styled *the most sincere order*) and withal would inveigh very vehemently against the government and religious usages of the Church of England. When these men had been set at liberty, through the Bishop's intercession, they promised before the Bishop's vicar-general, and Bonham gave it under his hand, that for the future they would neither preach, nor be present at any preaching, contrary to the laws of the land. After which, the Bishop granted Bonham the liberty of preaching, which he abused, and married and baptized according to another form, and so did Crane also; wherefore Bonham was taken up again by the Bishop's order, and Crane was forbid to preach any more in his diocese. Upon this, the Londoners of their party, who had also been under confinement in Bridewell and set at liberty, were very angry with the Bishop, and had even the impudence to lodge a complaint against him to the Privy-Council, as though he had broke his word with them, as having allowed them to absent themselves from their parish churches, and tolerated their different ways and modes of divine service, and given licence to Bonham and Crane to hold private lectures. The Council sent this petition to the Bishop, and also wrote him a letter, desiring to know how he had proceeded with them, and what course, in his opinion, was fit to be used with them. The Bishop was touched with the ungrateful behaviour of those people, to whom he had shewed such gentleness and mercy, and especially when he saw that they had wrongfully represented his dealings with them; he therefore dispatched an answer to the Council's letter, and shewed particularly what he had done in the affair, and withal gave his opinion, 'That all the heads of this unhappy faction should be with all expedition severely punished, to the example of others, as people fanatical and incurable. Which punishment would breed the greater terror, if it proceeded from their Lordships. And because all prisoners, for any colour of any religion, be it never so wicked, find great support and comfort in London, it would not be amiss that six of the most desperate of them should be sent to the common goal of Cambridge, and six likewise to Oxford, and others of them to other goals near London (15).'

[P] He was translated to the archbishopric of York.] By the original instrument in vellum, of the Dean and Chapter of York, it appears that the Queen's letters-patent to them, to permit them to chuse a pastor for their church, bore date at Windsor, April 1st, 1570, and they in their letters to the Queen, April 11, declare their election of Grindal for their and for the metropolitanical church of York's Archbishop (16). This see had been vacant ever since June 1568, by the death of archbishop Young (17). The Lord Henry Howard, brother to

(14) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

(15) Strype, p. 154, 155, 156.

(16) MS.

(17) Fasti, p. 311.



recovering by law a house at Battersea in Surry, formerly belonging to the Archbishops of York, together with 80 acres of demesne land; which house and lands were for the convenience of the Archbishops, when they came up to parliament or convocation, or other business at court \*. The same year, 1570, the famous Thomas Cartwright having attacked the government of the Church, in his lectures at Cambridge, and thereby occasioned great disorders and disturbances in the university, our Archbishop wrote a letter to Secretary Cecil, that a stop might be put thereto, and Cartwright silenced. This letter Mr Strype has preserved, and our Church historian, Mr Collier, has also given it at length, in order, as he says, to do justice to the Archbishop's memory, and clear him from all imputation of Puritanism (2). The year following, 1571, he began his metropolitan visitation, and gave forth his own injunctions to the clergy and laity, consisting of 25 articles, in which he shewed a becoming zeal for the discipline and good government of the Church. This visitation continued the next year, 1572, and then the Archbishop visited the Dean and Chapter of York, and gave them also injunctions consisting of 19 articles. In 1573, he interceded for the clergy oppressed by concealments [2]. In 1574 he held an ecclesiastical commission, took an account of some Papists, and sent a certificate up of the proceedings against them, who were only five in number; for by the great care and diligence of the good Archbishop, the number of Papists daily diminished in his diocese, who a few years before were many and powerful. For one of his chief cares ever since the ecclesiastical power and conduct had been committed to him, was, to supply the churches under him with preachers, of which there was a great scarcity every where in his time, though the people then the most wanted them, when superstition and ignorance had, by popish policy, so much overpread them. And it must be observed, to the honour of our Archbishop, that while he presided in the see of York, he procured above forty learned preachers, and they Graduates, within less than six years, to be placed in that diocese, (a great number in these times) besides those he found there; 'the fruits of whose travails' in preaching, as he told the Queen, she was like to reap daily, by most assured daily 'obedience of her subjects in those parts.' For his opinion firmly was, that by frequent preaching the word of God, two very good things would prevail among the people, viz. true religion towards God, and obedience and loyalty towards the prince. As a proof of the latter, he mentioned a remarkable instance which happened some time before in the Queen's reign; which was, that in 1569, when almost all the North had rose and rebelled, the town of Hallifax, which had been better instructed than the rest by good preaching, remained firm and loyal to her, and sent forth 4000 men armed to quell the rebellion. Our Archbishop however was extremely careful in his choice of the ministry, he

\* Strype, p. 113.

(2) Collier, Eccles. Hist. of G. Br. Vol. II. p. 220.

the Duke of Norfolk, aspired to it, and had made great interest to obtain it, but being popishly inclined, his endeavours proved vain, and Grindal was at length preferred to it, through the favour and interest of Secretary Cecyl, and with the approbation of Archbishop Parker, who was consulted about it, and declared, 'That he liked well of his removal, for he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of London; since many of the ministers and people thereof, notwithstanding all his pains, still leaned much to their former prejudices against the ecclesiastical constitution.' But withal he told the Secretary, 'That my Lord of London would be very fit for York, who were *abeady and stout people*; witty, but yet able to be dealt with by good governance, as long as good laws could be executed, and men backed.' When the see of York first became vacant in 1568, Dr Matthew Hutton, Dean of York, sensible of the great need that province stood in of a fit and able pastor, wrote a letter to Secretary Cecyl, shewing what qualifications he that was to be sent among them ought to have, viz. 'That he should be a teacher, because the country was ignorant; a virtuous and godly man, because the country was given to sift such a man's life: a stout and courageous man in God's cause, because the country otherwise would abuse him; and yet a sober and discreet man, lest too much rigour should harden the hearts of some, who by fair means might be mollified, &c. and such a bishop likewise as was both learned himself, and also loved learning, that that rude and blind country might be furnished with learned preachers.' And all these excellent qualities he reckoned centred in Grindal, for, he adds, '*Such a man was the bishop of London known to be*; and therefore he wished that London were translated to York (18).' This agrees very well with the account our Archbishop gives of the state of this people, at his first coming among them, in a letter to Secretary Cecyl; 'The greatest part of our gentlemen, says he, as I am informed, are not well affected to godly religion, and that among the people there are many remnants of the old. They

'keep holy days and fasts abrogated. They offer money, eggs, &c. at the burial of their dead. They pray beads, &c. so as this seems to be another Church, as it were, rather than a member of the rest. And for the little experience I have of this people, methinks I see in them three evil qualities; which are great ignorance, much dulness to conceive better instruction, and great stiffness to return to their wonted errors. I will labour as much as I can, to cure every of these, committing the success to God.'

[2] He interceded for the clergy oppressed by concealments. The Queen had by her letters-patent, granted to her Gentlemen-Pensioners, the penalties incurred and forfeited by the clergy, under pretence of concealment of lands and rents given for superstitious uses, belonging now by Act of Parliament to the Crown. Upon this they sent deputies through the kingdom, who being indigent men used great extortion, and extremely oppressed the clergy. This occasioned our Archbishop to make complaint thereof to the Lord-Treasurer, who, though he approved not of the thing itself, yet the letters-patent being passed, wrote back to the Archbishop, that the Gentlemen-Pensioners might enjoy the penalties forfeited by the clergy, since it was so appointed by the Queen, and bestowed upon them. The Archbishop then shewed his Lordship that he did not intend they should be abridged of it, but that he found fault with their manner of proceeding, which was troublesome, chargeable, and dishonourable, since they summoned all the clergy, as well innocent as faulty, as others of good reputation, to appear before them as the Queen's commissioners, whereas they had no such commission; and that they compounded with the clergy for offences past and to come; which tended not to the restraint of abuses, but was rather a means to increase them. And lastly, that they were men noted formerly for evil dealing and bribery. He desired therefore, that for the preventing of these troubles, the Gentlemen-Pensioners would send him down in articles, a form of proceeding to be observed by their deputies, by which the inconveniencies abovementioned might be avoided (19).

(1) Epistle dedicated to the Life of bp. Grindal, p.

(19) Strype,

[R] That p. 182, 183.



he allowed that none but men of some learning and abilities might be admitted to the cure of souls. [R]. For this purpose he provided, that all who came for institution to livings should be well examined first, and such as were found unlearned he rejected, notwithstanding their presentations. We shall give an instance of this in the note [S], which may serve to shew how grossly ignorant some of those who pretended to serve God in his Church were in those days. Upon the Death of Dr Matthew Parker in 1575, our prelate was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in which he was confirmed February 15 (4) [T]. The same year a Convocation was held under him, in which, among other things for the advantage of the Church and State, some articles for the regulation of the clergy were agreed upon, entitled, 'Articles touching the admission of apt and fit persons to the Ministry, and the establishing of good order in the Church;' which were published and printed by the Queen's authority (1). The next year he procured a new ecclesiastical commission, which was very extensive, as may be seen in Mr Strype's Appendix, No. VI. b. ii. He also set about reforming several abuses and disorders in his courts, regulated dispensations, inhibitions, &c. in which he was assisted at his own desire by the most learned lawyers and civilians of those times. The same year he held a metropolitical visitation; and perceiving still the ignorance and sloth of the clergy, and the great need there was of more frequent preaching, for the instruction of the people in the grounds and truth of religion, upon his first coming to the see of Canterbury, he shewed himself more favourable to the exercise of prophesying than his predecessor had been, and not only attempted to regulate it, but to bring the Queen and Council to have a favourable opinion of it. These exercises or prophesyings had been used before (but with some abuses) in most dioceses, and had the countenance of the respective Bishops [U]. But the well-meaning

(4) Strype, p. 190, 193.

(1) See Mr Strype's Appendix, No. IV. to b. ii.

[R] *That none but men of some learning and abilities might be admitted to the cure of souls.* Our Archbishop once made protestation of this to the Queen 'That for his part, be it spoken without ostentation, he was very careful in allowing such persons only, as were able and sufficient to be preachers, both for their knowledge in the scriptures, and also for testimony of their good life and conversation; and that he gave great charge to the rest of the Bishops of the province to do the like. That he admitted no man to that office, that professed either *Papistry*, or *Puritanism*; and that generally the graduates of the University, were only admitted to be preachers; unless it were some few, that had excellent gifts of knowledge in the scriptures, joined with good utterance, and godly perswasion.'

[S] *We shall give an instance of this in the note.* In May 1574, one William Ireland having been presented to the rectory of Harthil, came to the Archbishop to be instituted, and was examined by his Grace's chaplain. In his presentation were the words *vestri homines & obediētes*, which the chaplain requiring him to translate, he expounded them, *your humbleness and obedience*. The chaplain then asked him who brought up the people of Israel out of Egypt? he answered, *King Saul*. And being asked, who was first circumcised, he could not answer. Upon this the Archbishop rejected him, and one Hugh Casson was presented to and obtained the benefice of Harthil, which he enjoyed fifty years (20).

(20) Strype, p. 193.

[T] *In 1575, he was advanced to the archbishopric of Canterbury.* Archbishop Parker died in August, and the Queen, after three months deliberation, who was fittest to succeed to that high station, pitched upon Grindal, recommended by the Lord-Treasurer, his patron. But this honour was not of our Archbishop's seeking; on the contrary, he had many inward motions to decline it, being very diffident of his own abilities for so exalted a station, but was swayed thereto by the fears of giving offence; and when the Lord-Treasurer advised him by letter of the Queen's intention to remove him to the see of Canterbury, the Archbishop did not answer his letter till after fifteen days consideration, the Lord-Treasurer's letter being dated 25th November, and the Archbishop's answer 10th December from Bishopthorpe, in which he says, 'I understand by your Lordship's letter of the 25th of November, what your Lordship thinketh of her Majesties inclination for my remove. If her Majesty should so resolve, (although I have had heretofore many conflicts with myself about that matter) yet I have in the end determined to yield unto the ordinary vocation, least in resisting of the same, I might with Jonas offend God, occasion a tempest, &c. Beseeching God to assist me with his grace, if that weighty charge be laid upon me: to the sustaining whereof I find great insufficiency in myself.' Grindal was succeeded in the archbishopric of York, as he

had been before in the see of London, by Dr Edward Sandys, Bishop of London; and it is remarkable, that these two prelates both sprung from the town of St Bees, lived together in the University, and were both fellow-exiles in the time of persecution. Our Archbishop, as a standing memorial of his rising in three removes, from a private station, to the highest advancement in the Church, caused to be painted upon glass, four coats of arms; and to be set up at Bekebourn, near Canterbury, where was formerly a palace of the archbishops of that diocese. The first was the coat of Grindal by itself; the second, significative of his first advance, was the coat of the see of London, impaled with Grindal. The third, that of York, and the fourth of Canterbury. And though that palace hath been now long demolished, yet, as Mr Strype tells us, 'These four panes of glass are yet preserved in a gentleman's house in that parish, as some remembrance of this good man (21).' We must not omit here, the compliments paid him by Pembroke-Hall, upon his promotion to the metropolitical see of Canterbury, in a congratulatory address, elegantly penned in Latin, wherein after thanking him for some late endowment of their college, from his foundation of the school of St Bees, they take notice, 'How in the height of his honour he still spake most affectionately of their college, and of the care he still took of them and their concerns. And what could be more advantageous, more glorious, for Pembroke-Hall, than to be under the kind eye, not only of an excellently learned and singularly pious man, but of a Bishop, an Archbishop, and, in one word, of GRINDAL. That never was there any nurtured in that university, educated in their college, of greatest fame in history for learning; to whose fidelity, virtue, and integrity, they would sooner recommend themselves, than his; that in him, now Primate of all England, the Pembrokeians gloried; that divers Bishops, as of Carlisle, Exon, Winton, Durham, London, York, formerly scholars of their college, were praise worthy for their notable learning and virtue; but now at last, to their eternal honour, they had not only an Archbishop of Canterbury, a Metropolitan, a Primate, and the first prelate of the whole realm, but him adorned with all the ornaments of mind and fortune. They triumphed in such a learned Mæcenæ, and right noble patron: And conclude with their earnest prayers for him, that God would long preserve and protect his Grace, as well for their own private benefit, as for the common good of Church and State, &c.' Mr Strype has printed the original Latin letter; in the appendix to his life of our Archbishop, No. 21. B. 2d.

(21) Pag. 19

[U] *He applied himself to encourage and regulate the exercises called prophesyings, which had been used in most dioceses before, but with some abuses.* The method of these exercises was thus. The ministers of a particular division, at a set time met together in some church belonging to a market town, or other large town; and there



meaning Archbishop could not succeed in his design, being checked in it very angrily by the Queen, who disapproved of them because they were practised by the Puritans, to confirm them in their dislike of the established religion; nor did she like that the laity should neglect their secular affairs by repairing to these meetings; which she likewise thought might fill their heads with notions and opinions that might occasion dissensions, and render them turbulent to the State. Add to this, that the Queen saw how apt they were to be abused; and there had been some disorders at one of these conferences, the report of which had been brought and aggravated to the Queen, which so provoked her, that she was resolved to have them all put down; and the Archbishop being at Court, she particularly declared herself offended at the number of preachers as well as at the exercises, and ordered him to redress both, urging that it was good for the Church to have few preachers, that three or four might suffice for a county, and that the reading of the Homilies to the people was sufficient. In short, she required him to do these two things, viz. to abridge the number of preachers, and to put down the exercises. This was no small affliction to the Archbishop, who thought she encroached upon his office, to whom the highest trust in the Church of England, next to herself, was committed; and therefore that she was somewhat too peremptory in requiring this to be done, without advising at all with him in a matter so directly regarding religion: nor could he in conscience comply with her commands, having quite different sentiments of these exercises, believing they tended much to the improving the clergy, and the exciting them to the study of the scriptures, as well as to the edifying of the people. When he came home therefore, he resolved to write his mind to the Queen at large, which he did with such a noble spirit as became a virtuous man and an English prelate. We have inserted the substance of this famous letter in the note [W]. But it was impossible to get Elizabeth over her prepossessions in matters of religion;

there each in their order explained, according to their ability, some particular portion of scripture allotted them before. And after they had all done, a moderator, who was one of the gravest and best learned amongst them, made his observations upon what the rest had said, and determined the true sense of the place. All this was to be dispatched within a set space of time. At these assemblies there was commonly a great concourse of people to hear and learn, which obliged the ministers and curates to read authors, and consult expositors and commentators, and to follow their studies, that they might speak to the purpose when they were to appear in public, and thus they considerably profited themselves in the knowledge of the scriptures. But the exercises were attended with some inconveniencies, which occasioned confusion and disturbances. For the laity as well as clergy being here allowed to speak, they would sometimes hold forth, and affect to shew their parts, and confute the clergy. Sometimes they would advance heterodox opinions; and some who had been silenced from preaching, or suspended, or deprived for nonconformity, would intrude themselves here, and take the liberty to declaim against the liturgy, and government of the Church. Sometimes their satire was played against the State. Sometimes they glanced upon persons, and run out into particular invectives. The people also fell to arguing and disputing much about religion, in short, the exercises degenerated into factions, divisions, and censurings, which brought them into some disreputation. Our Archbishop believing these irregularities only accidental to the exercises laboured to redress them, being unwilling utterly to abolish a practice, the design of which he thought was serviceable for the improvement of the people and clergy, and therefore endeavoured to make it answer upon experiment, and bring the practice up to the plan. To this purpose he drew up a set of rules and orders for the better management of the exercises, and which would have effectually removed all occasions of disorder thereat. They are digested into articles or heads, and are extant in the Cotton Library, and also published by Mr Strype (22), and Mr Collier (23).

[W] He wrote his mind to the Queen at large in a letter, the substance of which is in the note.] The Archbishop takes notice, that the Queen's not being pleased to hear him out upon the argument at his last waiting upon her, was the occasion of his addressing this way. He begins with a profession, that nothing but necessity and conscience should make him incontinent. He believes her zeal and meaning were of the best, but good princes may be sometimes mistaken. He then expostulates with her about keeping in the Church but a few preachers, shewing her, 'That nothing was more plain in Scripture, than that the gospel of Christ should be plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest.' Then he shews the great benefit of preaching, not only to re-

ligion, but to the State; and in answer to what the Queen had said to him, that the reading of the Homilies to the people was sufficient, he says, 'The Homilies have their use, but were nothing comparable to the office of preaching. That the preacher could apply his speech according to the difference of times, places, and hearers, which could not be done in Homilies. That exhortations, reprehensions, and persuasions, were uttered with more affection to the moving of the hearers in sermons than in Homilies. That they were only devised in King Edward's time to supply the want of preachers, and were by his statute not to be preferred, but to give place to sermons, whenever they might be had. And lastly, they were never thought in themselves alone to contain sufficient instruction for the Church of England.' With regard to the second point, concerning learned exercises and conferences amongst the ministers, he said, 'He had conferred with diverse of his brethren the bishops, by letters, who thought as he did, that it was a thing profitable to the Church, and therefore expedient to be continued. And he hoped, that her Majesty would also think the same, when she should be informed of the manner and order thereof, and what authority they had from scripture; what use they were of, and what inconveniencies would follow if they should be absolutely taken away.' Then he proceeded to give her an account of these exercises; 'That both Samuel and Eliza practised them. That St Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. makes express mention, that the like in effect was used in the primitive Church, and gives rules for the order of the same. That he calls them prophecies, and the speakers, prophets; names odious in our days, because not rightly understood; for St Paul, by prophecies, does not mean prediction of things, but the interpretation and exposition of the scriptures; and therefore he attributes to those he calls prophets, (in the same chapter) doctrine to edification, exhortation, and comfort.' Then he observes, that many bishops, as of London, Winchester, Bath and Wells, Lichfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exeter, and St Davids, had signified by letter to him, the profit and advantage which had accrued by these exercises; particularly, 'That the ministers of the Church became more skilful and ready in the scriptures, that it restrained them from idleness; and that some, suspected in doctrine, were brought to open confession of the truth. That ignorant ministers were induced to study, if not for conscience, yet for shame. That the opinion of the laymen concerning the ignorance of the clergy was removed. That nothing was so successful in demolishing of popery. That where before there were not three able preachers, there were now thirty qualified to preach at St Paul's cross, and forty or fifty besides capable of instructing their own cures. That only men backward in religion, and contempt of learning

22) Pag. 220.

23) Collier's  
Ecc. Hist. b. ii.  
p. 553.



religion, and therefore the Archbishop's letter availed nothing. She repeated her orders to him for suppressing the prophesyings, as he did his excellent remonstrances to her for regulating and tolerating them; and the Queen finding that he was inflexible on that head, in May 1577 sent her letters to the bishops to do what the archbishop could not be persuaded to do, viz. to forbid all Exercises and Prophesyings, and all preachers and teachers not lawfully called, of which there was no small number. In June, the Archbishop still refusing any compliance, which the Queen and several of the lords in the star-chamber had required of him; the said lords, by virtue of their ecclesiastical commission, confined him to his house, and sequestered him from his jurisdiction for six months (m) [X].

Towards

(m) Strype, ubi  
supra,

learning set themselves against those exercises. That the dissolution of them would occasion the adversary to triumph. That abuses might be reformed, and what was good be retained; and that he could not with a safe conscience, and without the offence of the Majesty of God, give his assent to the suppressing of these exercises, much less could he send out any injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. And that if it were her Majesty's pleasure, for this or any other cause, to remove him out of this place, he would with all humility yield thereto, and render again to her Majesty that which he received of her. That he considered with himself what an horrible thing it was to fall into the hands of the living God; and that he that acted against his conscience, *edified to Hell*. And what should he win if he gained (he would not say a bishopric but) the whole world and lost his own soul. He then, like an archbishop and chief governor of the Church, took upon him to advise and warn her in two things, wherein she seemed to have gone somewhat beyond the limits of her duty. The first was, 'That she would refer all ecclesiastical matters which concerned religion, or the doctrine and discipline of the Church, unto the bishops and divines of her realm, according to the examples of all godly Christian emperors and princes in all ages. For that they were things to be judged, as an ancient Father writ, in the Church or Synod, not in the palace. That when her Majesty had question of the laws of her realm, she did not decide the same in her court, but sent them to her judges to be determined. Likewise for doubts in matters of religion or discipline of the Church, the ordinary way was to refer the decision of the same to the bishops, and other head ministers of the Church.' And he quoted to her the words of St Ambrose to an emperor, for this purpose, 'That in case of the faith, the bishops were wont to judge of Christian emperors, not emperors of the bishops.' The other advice, which he prudently called by the name of a petition, was, 'That when she dealt in matters of faith and religion, or that touched the Church of Christ, she would not use to pronounce so resolutely and peremptorily, *quasi ex autoritate*, as she might do in civil and external matters; but always remember that in God's causes, his will, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place. That it was the anti-christian voice of the Pope, *sic volo, sic jubeo*, and that in God's matters, all princes ought to bow their sceptres to the son of God.' He further exhorted her to remember, that she was a mortal creature; and to look not only, as it was said to Theodosius, upon the purple and princely array where-with she was apparelled, but to consider withal, what it was that was covered therewith. Was it not flesh and blood? was it not dust and ashes? was it not a corruptible body, which must return to it's earth again, God knew how soon? Must you not, added he, appear also one day before the dreadful tribunal of the crucified Christ, to receive according as you have done in the body? although you are a mighty princess, yet remember that he that dwelleth in heaven is mightier. Take care you never once think of declining from God, lest that be verified of you, which is written of Joash, who continued a prince of good and godly government for many years together; and afterwards when he was strengthened, saith the text, *his heart was lifted up to his destruction*; and he neglected the Lord. You have done many things well, but except you persevere to the end, you cannot be blessed. For if you turn away from God, then God will turn away his merciful countenance from you.' A reproof proceeding, probably, from an observation the Archbishop had made, of some lukewarmness into which the Queen of late had seemed to have sunk. There is so much honesty, freedom, and plainness in this declara-

tion of his mind to the Queen, as does honour to his memory; he offers freely the resignation of the highest and noblest preferment in the Church, and to be turned again into private life, rather than do any thing against conscience, though the command of his sovereign, which in all indifferent things bore, as it ought to do, a great sway with him. Fuller has published this memorable letter (24), but very incorrectly and imperfectly; and is mistaken in assigning the time when it was written, which he is confident to have been in 1580, whereas it appears to have been written four years before, in December 1576. Mr Strype however is not quite correct in his date of it, which is, 20th of December, whereas it must have been about the 8th, because there is a letter wrote by the Archbishop to the Lord-Treasurer, dated the 16th, wherein he says, 'I writt my opinion to her Majesty about eight days ago, touching the two matters wherewith her Highness shewed herself offended at my last beying at Courte. My Lord of Leycester delivered my said writing to her Majesty. I thank him therefore. But I cannot yet understande whether her Highness hath redde it or no; moche lesse whether she lyke or dislyke of it. The writing was somewhat long, and could not be otherwise, if any proofes should be used.' This letter is taken from a manuscript, which the author of this life has in his hands of Mr Strype's own hand writing, containing a great number of additions and alterations to his life of Archbishop Grindal. The next day the Lord-Treasurer assured the Archbishop, that he would be careful of this cause of the Church. The Earl of Leicester also wrote to him the same day his opinion concerning the exercises, and seeming to object only against the lay-people being present at those meetings, the Archbishop sent an answer, which he inclosed together with the Earl's letter, in one to the Lord-Treasurer, dated 17th December, as follows, 'I thank your Lordship that you are so careful in this cause of the Church. My Lord of Leycester writeth to me in forme as you see. I pray your Lordship return me his letter. I see no reason why the people should be excluded, seeing St Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. giveth so great commendation to that which was used in the primitive Church, specially for the benefit that growed thereby to the hearers. I have written thanks to my Lord of Leycester. I pray your Lordship let one of your servants deliver my letter, &c (25).' The Archbishop to give himself, or rather others, full satisfaction in the lawfulness, nay divine authority, of the exercise of prophesying, employed several of his chaplains or other divines to transcribe what diverse Fathers, and other modern learned men, had writ concerning the interpretation of the Apostle in 1 Cor. xiv; as Chrysostom, Hom. 36. Greg. Nazianzen, Ambrose, Lyra, Calvin, Peter Martyr, &c (26). All which transcripts Mr Strype, in this manuscript, says he has in his hands.

[X] The lords confined him to his house, and sequestered him for six months. This was an extraordinary thing, says Mr Strype (27), to tie up the hands of an archbishop of Canterbury, who is the great mover under the prince in ecclesiastical matters, and the government of the Church; the archbishop being now also in the midst of his visitation (28). Cox, bishop of Ely, was much troubled at this resentment of the Queen against the Archbishop, and thought it had been better for him at this juncture to have complied with the Queen, for the stop of these exercises for the present; and that in convenient time good rules being made and enjoined for them, they might be renewed again, knowing how very useful they were for the improving of the clergy in knowledge (29). Of this disgrace put upon the Archbishop, and of the injury religion seemed to suffer by it, Sir Robert Cotton hath these words, 'In those days there was an emulation between the clergy and the laity; and a strife whether of them should

(24) Ch. Hist.  
b. ix. 123.

(25) MSS.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Pag 231.

(28) Ibid.

(29) MSS. ubi  
supra.



Towards the expiration whereof, in November following, the Lord-Treasurer wrote the Archbishop a friendly letter, to acquaint him in what manner the star-chamber would proceed further against him, and advised him to declare his approbation of the Queen's proceedings in suppressing the prophesyings; to own himself sorry for his in-compliance; to make a general acknowledgment of his fault, and beg the Queen's pardon. The Archbishop not conscious of any crime, refused to betray his innocence, and gave into so absolute a submission; nor did he appear in person before the lords in the star-chamber. However he sent them a very dutiful though no mean letter, submitting to their censure, but apologizing for his conduct, and desiring they would intercede with the Queen for his liberty, and for the taking off his sequestration, which he had suffered for six months patiently, and declaring his great trouble of mind at the Queen's displeasure. But as he had not expressly owned himself to be in the fault, neither this letter, nor a declaration of the inconveniencies and mischiefs attending this sequestration of the Archbishop, as they were drawn up by some learned civilian at that time, would procure him either his liberty or the exercise of his jurisdiction; and in January following there was even a talk of depriving him, but the design was laid aside [Y]. In 1579 his confinement was either taken off, or else he had leave for his health sake to retire to his house at Croydon, for we find him there then, consecrating Dr John Wolton Bishop of Exeter, August 2; and in 1580 he consecrated Dr John Watson, Bishop of Winchester, at Croydon, also Dr Overton Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry; so that he exercised this part of his archiepiscopal function, by commission from the Queen, even under his sequestration. The other affairs of his see during this interval were managed by two civilians appointed by the Queen and Council for that purpose (two of the Archbishop's nomination being set aside), from whom issued all licences to preach, &c. institutions to benefices, commissions to visitations, and the like; yet still with deference to the Archbishop, and consultation with him in what they did. But sometimes upon letters sent to him from the Queen or the lords of the Council, he acted in person, and issued out orders in his own name, was employed upon several occasions during his sequestration, and was, as much as may be, active and vigilant in the care of his diocese as occasion offered. In 1580, when there was a violent earthquake, our Archbishop, after having issued out an order for prayers and humiliations, composed a prayer for families throughout his diocese, which was allowed of by the Council, who in a letter to him commended his great zeal, and required him to enjoin the observation of his new order of prayer in all other dioceses (#). The same year the Council referred to the Archbishop the decision of a dispute that happened in Merton college, Oxford, where he was visitor(o); and soon afterwards he was employed by the Lord Treasurer in a controversy between the vice-chancellor and doctors of the town of Cambridge, and the masters and heads of colleges (p). This year also the metropolitical visitation, which had been begun by our Archbishop upon his first entrance into the see of Canterbury, but had been interrupted by his troubles and disgrace, was renewed; but the commission did not issue from the Archbishop, but from the civilians who officiated for him. The same year a Convocation met at St Paul's, at which, though our Archbishop did not appear, yet he had a principal share in the transactions of it [Z]. Some of the members of this synod were

(n) Strype, p. 248.

(o) Ibid. p. 249.

(p) Pag. 250.

should shew themselves most affectionate to the Gospel. Ministers haunted the houses of the worthiest men, where jesuits now build their tabernacles; and poor country churches were frequented with the best of the shire. The word of God was precious: prayer and preaching went hand in hand together: until Archbishop Grindal's disgrace, Hatfield's (perhaps Hatton's) hard conceit of prophesying, brought the flowing of these good graces to a still water (30).

[Y] There was a talk of depriving him, but this design was laid aside.] This design of depriving the Archbishop, says Mr Strype (31), was very much resented by the true Protestants, and they were highly concerned at it, urging how much it would prove the encouragement and joy of Papists. Sir Francis Knowles, treasurer of the Queen's chamber, wrote to this purpose, to Secretary Wyllon: 'If her Majesty will be safe, says he, she must comfort the hearts of those that be her most faithful subjects, even for conscience sake. But if the Archbishop of Canterbury shall be deprived, then up starts the pride and practice of the Papists, and down declines the comfort and strength of her Majesty's safety: and then King Richard the Second's men will flock in court apace, and will shew themselves in their colours. From the which company, the Lord bless her Majesty: and the thinking thereof doth so abhor me, that I am more fit to die in a private life, than to live a courtier, unless a preventing heart may enter into her Majesty betimes.' Upon the whole, when it was considered that the deprivation of the Archbishop, especially for a crime that did not merit it, would give so great disgust, it was determined to proceed more mild-

ly, and that he should only continue under his sequestration (32).

[Z] At which, though our Archbishop did not appear, he had a principal share in the transactions of it.] Elmer, Bishop of London presided at this Synod, in the room of our Archbishop. Though Fuller (33) calls this a Silent Convocation, yet several weighty affairs were treated of, and laboured to be rectified; as concerning making of ministers; concerning faculties, commutation of penance and excommunication, and a foundation was laid for some good regulations which afterwards took place. Our Archbishop, as Mr Strype believes (34), drew up a writing, shewing an expedient for keeping up the authority of the spiritual courts, against such as contemned and disobeyed them, whereby they incurred the crime of contumacy, commonly punished by excommunication; in the room of which, he proposed that this censure should be wholly abolished, but the consequence of it, imprisonment after forty days, should remain in force; and that instead of a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, should be a writ *de contemptore jurisdictionis ecclesiasticæ capiendo*. This is a very good paper, and is preserved by Mr Strype (35). The writer shews that this terrible Church-censure was to be used very sparingly, as it was formerly. That in all crimes of the most heinous nature, excommunications might be pronounced by the Archbishops and bishops in their own persons, as was wont to be in the Primitive Church. The handling this weighty subject of excommunication, which had been so abused, was owing in a great measure to our archbishop, who earnestly recommended the consideration and reformation of it to this synod. He also laboured the reformation

(32) Strype, p. 239.

(33) Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 135.

(34) Pag. 259.

(35) Appendix, No. XV. to b. ii.

(30) Strype, p. 230, 231.

(31) Pag. 238.



were so strongly affected with the disgrace of the Archbishop's sequestration, that out of a generous zeal for their metropolitan, they moved against entering upon any business, or so much as granting a subsidy, 'till the sequestration was taken off, and the Archbishop restored. But the majority being fearful of offending the Queen, they came to an unanimous resolution to draw up an humble address to her, for the Archbishop's restitution. Though this petition was presented to the Queen it proved ineffectual [AA]; nor does it clearly appear at what precise time his sequestration was taken off, though it seems most probable to have been in the year 1582; but it is certain the severity used towards him was far from bringing him over, and the furthest advances he made, were only such a submission as became a dutiful subject to his sovereign [BB], though he does not seem ever after to have enjoyed much of the Queen's favour. In the year 1583, finding himself under great infirmities by the loss of his sight, which had failed him some time before, as also by the stone, strangury, and colic [CC], he resigned his archbishopric, and retired upon a pension to Croydon [DD], where he died two months after, July 6, 1583 (g), aged

(g) Fasti Angl.  
Ecol. p. 8.

of another great and necessary part of ecclesiastical discipline, that of penance for open sins; and that it might not be performed merely as a matter of form, but produce a good effect, to bring the sinner to amendment, and to serve as a seasonable warning and example to all; our Archbishop did himself draw a form of penance to be for the future observed, and laid it before the Synod. The reader may see it in Mr Strype's Life of our archbishop (36).

(36) Pag. 261.

[AA] The Convocation, at their first meeting, drew up an humble petition to the Queen in favour of the Archbishop. This was done in Latin by the elegant pen of Toby Matthew, Dean of Christ-church, in the name of the whole Synod; in this petition, they not only, as far as they dare, endeavour to lessen his offence to the Queen in respect of his conscience, but also set forth how well he deserved of the Church, and how exceedingly grieved they were, that he should, after so many years, fall into so great and so durable an offence of her Majesty: that he was a man that did not often offend, and but once in his life seemed to have displeased her, and that not so much with a wilful mind as by a tender conscience, of which, so great was the force, that eminent authors and the best men had writ, that whatsoever was done, (the conscience reclaiming, or erring, or doubting) was done amiss, and to be condemned as no little sin. That the Archbishop had led a life free not only of all crime, but even from the suspicion of a crime; preserved his religion not only from all corruption of popery, but from schism, and had suffered persecution for righteousness sake, having wandered abroad in other countries for the cause of the Gospel. Therefore they most humbly and unanimously beseeched her, not only to lift up the Archbishop, broken and feeble with grief, but to restore the Church to him and him to the Church, to her subjects, to his own brethren, to foreign nations, and, in a word, to all pious people, &c. Fuller says (37), that this petition was presented, but failed of success. That such an address was presented is not to be doubted, but that it was passed as an act of Convocation, is more than appears by the extracts from the journal. And the learned Dr Heylin, who perused the Convocation records at length, says he found no such petition (38).

(37) Fuller's Ch.  
Hist. b. ix. p.  
120.

(38) Journal  
Convoc. fol. 144.

(39) P. 271.

[BB] The furthest advances he made, extended only to such a submission as became a dutiful subject to his sovereign.] Mr Strype (39) tells us, that he has seen a submission made by the Archbishop, without mention of the month or year, which being well taken of the Queen, he thinks might occasion the taking off his suspension. After this submission, the lords of the Council signified to him the reason of the Queen's displeasure against him: upon which the Archbishop made this following further confession and declaration. That being advertised of the cause of her Majesty's offence, as was set down by the lords of the Council, and of her gracious inclination towards him upon his humble submission, doth confess, that he is most heartily sorry that her Majesty hath been offended with him, as a matter more grievous to him than any worldly calamity. And though he refused to execute her Majesty's commandment by reason of scruple of conscience, which moved him to think that the Exercises might have been in some points reformed, and so continued; and understanding that her Majesty therein did use the advice and allowance of certain bishops, his brethren, who by likelihood certified, that they in their own dioceses found the same more hurtful

than profitable; in and for that he is persuaded that she had herein a sincere and Godly meaning, to the quietness of her people; and that also her commandment was not against positive law or constitution of the realm; he cannot but think and speak honourably and dutifully of her Majesty's doings, as of a Godly prince, meaning well of the Church and her people in this her Majesty's direction and commandment. And as he is most heartily sorry that he hath incurred her Majesty's grievous offence, for not observing that her commandment, so doth he most humbly and lowly beseech her Highness, not to impute the same to any obstinate intent, meaning to disobey her Majesty, but only that he was then moved in conscience to be an humble suitor to her Majesty, to be spared from being the special instrument in suppressing the said exercises. And to the intent her Majesty may think that he meant no disobedience in any maintenance of them to continue contrary to her commandment, he doth pray her Majesty to be truly informed how he himself did in his own bishopric, and other peculiar jurisdictions suffer no such exercises to be used after the time of her Majesty's said commandment. This submission is as much an excuse or apology for the Queen's conduct as for the Archbishop's, and is far from amounting to a confession that he was in fault, only that he had no fixed purpose or intention of offending the Queen, and that he acted only according to the dictates of his own conscience. Mr Strype places this transaction in the year 1582, because there appears to have been a commission issued out January 20 that year, in the Archbishop's own name, to visit the city and diocese of Lichfield; and also an inhibition to the bishop of Coventry, issued out likewise from the Archbishop himself Feb. 18; so that he must at this time have been restored to the exercise of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and his sequestration taken off; though Mr Strype (40) mentions also a commission for the commissaryship of Canterbury, dated January 30, 1581, granted by the Archbishop himself in his own proper person; so that it cannot be certainly known when he was restored.

(40) Pag. 268.

[CC] As also by the stone, colic, and strangury.] The Archbishop had been long afflicted with these disorders, as appears from a letter of his to the Lord-Treasurer in 1547 (41); wherein he says, 'I am glad to understand by your chaplain, that your Lordship's health hath of late been better than afore; my fits of colic, stone, and strangury, are very grievous when they come, but God sendeth me some intervals, else they were intolerable.'

(41) M.SS. ut  
supra.

[DD] He resigned his archbishopric, and retired upon a pension to Croydon.] We are not exactly informed when this was done, nor indeed whether it was done at all. The bishop had formerly desired leave to resign, which the Queen would not then grant; but, in consideration of his infirmities, it was now thought reasonable, and in January 1582, the Queen sent Piers, bishop of Sarum her almoner, to the Archbishop, to signify that it was her pleasure that he might resign, and have an honourable pension for life: and she soon after signified the same by the Lord-Treasurer, to whom the Archbishop sent an answer, shewing the reasons that had hindered him from again offering a resignation after he had been refused, and that knowing her Majesty's pleasure, he would now very willingly resign, but hoped that he might be permitted to continue in his place till Michaelmas, when the audit of the see was kept for the whole year, and that the Queen would grant him the



aged 63. He was, at his own desire, buried in the chancel of the church of Croydon; where a stone monument, with his effigies lying at length, is erected on the south side of the communion table, against the wall [E E]. His common motto was, *Turris fortissima nomen Domini* (r). He lived and died unmarried. He had a brother named Robert, who with his wife and only son died in 1567, leaving four daughters, orphans; the second of whom, Anne, married, against the Archbishop's consent, William Dacres, son of Richard Dacres, Gent. (s), which William Dacres was in the rebellion in Cumberland in 1760. The archbishop had likewise several nieces by his sister Elizabeth Woodhall. He does not seem to have amassed much wealth, which is the more admirable, considering the large revenues he possessed, and the length of time he enjoyed them in the three sees of London, York, and Canterbury, and that all the time free from the incumbrance of a family. This, as Fuller observes, may perhaps be imputed erroneously to his prodigality, which more truly is to be ascribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die *guilty of much wealth*. The little he had, as it was well gotten, was well bestowed in pious uses on the two universities, and the building and endowing a free-school at St Begh's, his native place; of which, together with some charitable benefactions and legacies left by his will, we shall give an account in the note [FF]. We do not find that our Archbishop left

r. L. Strev.  
Lives of the B.  
Dacres, p. 42.

(s) Strype, p. 111.

the house at Croydon, with some land belonging to it, that he might retire to, shewing that in all resignations of bishops, there had been always one house at least belonging to the see, assigned to the resigner, for which he cited Matthew Paris. The Queen however would only allow the Archbishop till Lady-day to resign his see; which drawing near, and his pension, the proportioning of which lay very much in the appointment of the Lord-Treasurer, not being yet settled, the Lord-Treasurer, being then absent from Court, sent to put the Queen in mind, that the Archbishop was ready to resign; that he yielded himself to her Majesty's goodness to have some pension during his short life, which he (the Treasurer) wished to be great and honourable, although it should be to the successor burthenous for the present. But he that should have it, must shape his garment with his cloth for the time. That he had seen into the value of the archbishop's possessions, and found them to be above 2780 l. per ann. according to the rate of the book of first-fruits; that he had also seen the particular books of the annual receipts, which grew somewhat, but not much above; and if the then archbishop might have seven or eight hundred pound a year pension, he thought his successor with good husbandry might make the rest to be 2000 l. according to which he might compound for his first-fruits, and for no more. The letter itself written by the Lord-Treasurer, we find among his memorials (42). The Archbishop's resignation however was not compleated at Lady-day, and in April 1583, being then in a bad state of health, besides the loss of his sight, and growing weary of his burthen, he again signified to the Lord-Treasurer that he was ready to resign, and transmitted a draught of his resignation to this minister, which it is probable was but imperfect, neither signed nor sealed, and only put into the Treasurer's hands for his approbation: and in this condition we have it in the paper-office, without date, seal, or subscription. And indeed it seems probable, as Mr Strype supposes (43), that the Queen was not yet provided with a successor for the archbishop, Whitgift, bishop of Worcester, (according to Fuller, refusing the Queen to accept of it) (44), resolving not to enter upon that see while Grindal was alive (45). That the resignation was not executed before the 8th of May following, appears from his will which bears date that day, and wherein he styles himself *Archbishop of Canterbury, whole of mind and of perfect remembrance*, and in about two months after, he died; neither does it appear the resignation was further pressed during this interval; nor was the see filled till near a month after Grindal's decease (46), by Whitgift, a divine who had already distinguished himself by his learning, and regard for the Church of England.

[E E] His monument is erected on the south side of the communion table, against the wall.] In one part of the monument are these verses placed, as a character of him.

*Grindallus doctus, prudens, Gravitate verendus,  
Justus, munificus, sub cruce fortis erat.  
Post crucis ærumnas Christi gregis Anglia fecit  
Signiferum, Christus cœlica regna dedit.*

Beneath his effigies on one side are these verses.

*Præfulis eximii ter postquam est auctus honore,  
Pervigilique greges rexit moderamine sacro,  
Confectum senio, durisque laboribus, ecce  
Transsulit in placidam mors exoptata quietem.*

On the other side these.

*Mortua marmoreo conduntur membra sepulchro,  
Sed mens sancta viget, fama perennis erit.  
Nam studia et Musæ, quas magnis censibus auxit;  
Grindalli nomen tempus in omne ferent.*

The epitaph or inscription upon his monument is long, and being only historical, containing a recital of his charitable benefactions, which we shall give an account of in another place, we shall not insert it here.

[FF] He founded and endowed a free school at St Begh's, of which, together with some charitable benefactions, and legacies left by his will, we shall give an account in the note.] The school of St Begh's was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth, her letters-patent bearing date the 15th of June, in the 27th year of her reign, by the name of the *Wardens and governors of the possessions, revenues, and goods, of the free grammar-school of Edmund Grindal Archbishop of Canterbury, in Kirkby Beacock, alias St Begh's, in the county of Cumberland*. The pious founder drew up some excellent statutes for the good government of the school before his death, and gave 366 l. 13 s. 4 d. for building and furnishing it, which was done by his executors, upon a piece of ground given by Thomas Chaloner, Esq; (son of Sir Thomas Chaloner) who also gave forty loads of coals yearly out of his coal-mines at St Begh's, for the use of the school, reserving a right of placing two scholars there by the name of Chaloner's scholars. The Archbishop settled 30 l. per ann. upon the school, viz. 20 l. to the school-master; 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. to a poor scholar to be uiler there; and the remaining 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. to the repairs of the school, and to be laid up for the purchase of revenues from time to time, for the maintenance of poor scholars in the Universities. Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, added a fair library to the school, and a benefaction of 5 l. a year. Dr Lamplugh, archbishop of York, also gave 5 l. per ann. to it, but this is said to be since withdrawn (47). The most remarkable of our Archbishop's other charitable benefactions and legacies, are these. In yearly revenues to Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, 22 l. viz. to the reader of Greek, 2 l. for the maintenance of a fellow, 10 l. of two scholars, 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. the residue to the use of the college. The fellow and scholars to be chosen out of such as have been brought up at St Begh's school. This college had at several times experienced the Archbishop's good will and bounty to them. They had enjoyed the stipend of 40 s. a year for a Greek reader ever since the year 1568, and the inheritance of it was confirmed to them by the Archbishop's last will. It was about the same time that he obtained from a widow lady a perpetual scholarship for the college. In 1570, he obtained a licence for the college, to purchase lands in mortmain to the value of forty pounds. He likewise appointed, that out of the

(47) Strype, ut  
supra, p. 291,  
292.  
Ex inform.  
Ralph Thoresby  
Arm. & D. Guil.  
D. Episc. Carlcol.

(42) M.SS. ut  
supra.

(43) Pag. 286.

(44) See Re-  
ords, No. 90.

(45) Fuller, p.  
63. b. viii.

(46) Reg. Whit-  
ft.  
Strype's Life of  
bp. Whitgift,  
111.



(*t*) *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, p. 1263.

(*u*) Fuller, b. ix. p. 164.  
Oldys's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, p. 73.

(*w*) *Epistle Dedicatory to Grindal's Life*, p. 3.

(*x*) *Pag.* 295.

left much in print behind him. We have already mentioned the share he had in the *Acts and Monuments of the Church*, published by J. Fox; we shall only add, that he wrote a *Dialogue between Custom and Truth*, soon after his coming back into England, which is extant in Mr Fox's work (*t*) [GG]. It ought not to be forgot that our Archbishop, when he returned home from his exile, first brought the tamarisk into England, so useful in medicine against diseases of the spleen (*u*). We shall conclude this article with the character of our prelate as given by Mr Strype, the faithful historian of his life, backed with the testimony of many learned historians, contemporaries of the Archbishop. Mr Strype observes (*w*), that it has been Archbishop Grindal's misfortune to be of later times deemed an ill governor of this Church; but in the time wherein he lived (when he was better known) his episcopal abilities and admirable endowments for spiritual government, as well as his singular learning, were much celebrated. In order therefore to revive the memory, and do right to the name of this holy Primate, Mr Strype (*x*) proceeds to make some observations upon his temper and qualifications, as a man, as a christian, as a minister, a bishop and chief pastor of the Church of Christ in this kingdom. He always led, says he, an unblemished and useful life, devoting himself to the service of God and the advancement of pure religion, purged from all the dregs of Popish superstition, and for these ends saved by the good providence of God out of the Romish fires, wherein several of his companions perished under Queen Mary. He was a man of great firmness and resolution, though of a mild and affable temper, and friendly disposition; in his deportment courteous and engaging, not easily provoked, well spoken, and easy of access, and that even in his elation, not at all affecting grandeur or state, always obliging in his carriage, kind and grateful to his servants, and of a free and generous spirit. His fear of God

(48) *Pag.* 310, 311.

monies arising from the foundation of St Begh's school, every eighth year for ever, some new fund should be purchased for the maintaining of a scholar. And that this college, and that of Queen's in Oxford, should alternately enjoy the benefit accruing from thence every eighth year. But Mr Strype says (48), that this has never been done but once, of which the college has complained. The Archbishop also left the college several books, some of which were Greek of the curious print of Henry Stephens. He also gave to the master's study, a curious Hebrew Bible, in several tomes in sixteens, which formerly belonged to Thomas Watts, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and was preserved in an oval box. He also gave them a standing cup of above forty ounces, double gilt, which in honour of him they called, *Poculum Cantuariense*, i. e. *The Canterbury Cup*. This was a present from the Queen to the Archbishop the year after his promotion to the see of Canterbury. In yearly revenues to Queen's-college, Oxon, he gave 20*l.* and 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* yearly for the maintenance of a fellow and two scholars, to be chosen out of St Begh's school. He also gave them some books, a nest of bowls, and 50*l.* in money. To Magdalen-college, Cambridge, he gave 100*l.* to purchase 5*l.* a year for the maintenance of a scholar, to be chosen of such as come from St Begh's school. To Christ's-college, Cambridge, a standing-cup value 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To the city of Canterbury, to set the poor to work, 100*l.* To the poor of Lambeth and Croydon, 20*l.* For the purchase of lands, or other profits, for the relief of the poor alms-houses in Croydon, 50*l.* For the repairs of the parish church there, 5*l.* To the poor of St Begh's, 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To the parish church of St Begh's, his communion cup and cover double gilt, and his best great Bible. To the Queen, a curious Greek Testament of Stephens's impression. To his successors several pictures and implements. To his old patron and friend the Lord-Treasurer Burleigh, a standing cup of fifty ounces, which the Queen had given him the last new year's day before he died. To Sir Francis Walsingham, a standing cup of forty ounces. Besides these, there are many other legacies to relations, friends, and servants, not material to insert here, but the reader may see them in the will itself. No 20, in Mr Strype's appendix (49). Thus did this good Archbishop die, poor in estate, but rich in good works. He had been very liberal in his benefactions to St Paul's church, having bestowed on the repairs thereof, at several times, when he was bishop of London, 1184*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.* as his executors made appear when they were sued for dilapidations, by Whitgift his successor in the see of Canterbury. They also proved that he had expended upon London-House, during his incumbency, 147*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* on Fulham-House and the bridges, 356*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* and upon Hadham-house, 200*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* Thus it appears how freely the Archbishop bestowed a share of his revenues in repairing and keeping up the edifices belonging to the sees

over which he presided, which he thought it no less his duty to do, than to preserve their revenues. Yet would not this save his executors from being troubled for dilapidations, though they affirmed to the Lord-Treasurer and Secretary Walsingham, the overseers of the Archbishop's will, to whom they appealed, that in general he left his houses in much better condition than he found them at his predecessor Parker's death.

[GG] He wrote a *dialogue between Custom and Truth*, extant in Mr Fox's *Acts and Monuments of the Church*.] Mr Strype says (50), this piece is written in a clear method, and with much rational evidence, against the real, that is, the gross and corporeal, presence in the Sacrament. That Grindal was the author of it, Mr Strype is informed, from the manuscript before cited, wrote by bishop Wren, and preserved in Pembroke-hall. Fox indeed has concealed the author's name, (forbid probably by him to disclose it) and only says, 'That it was writ by a certain learned and reverend person of this realm, and who, under the persons of Custom and Verity, manifestly laid open before our eyes, and taught all men not to measure religion by custom, but to try custom by truth, and the word of God.' He has thought fit to place this discourse next after a public disputation upon the same argument, of the learned Peter Martyr at Oxon, and another by the other learned men before the King's visitors at Cambridge, and the determination by bishop Ridley, as a full and satisfactory dispatch of the gross papal transubstantiation. Our author wrote this discourse soon after his coming back into England, for the better service of the Church, that was then to be purged of Popish doctrines and superstitions; as appears from this passage, wherein Custom is brought in speaking thus. 'Are you so great a stranger in these parts? hear you not how men do daily speak against the sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the real body of Christ?' Verity answers, 'In sooth, I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this country. Wherefore you must pardon me if my answers be to seek in such questions. But you have been longer here, &c.' In this tract, after the author had excellently explained the sense of those words of Christ, *this is my body*, he proceeded to produce divers sentences out of the ancient bishops and doctors of the Church to confirm his interpretation; because Custom had boasted of doctors and old writers, and men inspired with the Holy Ghost, that were against the doctrine of the Protestants; and that in these days the wisest and best learned called them heretics; and at length in the conclusion of the discourse he tells Custom, 'That as shortly and in as few words as he could, he had declared unto him what Christ meant by those words, *this is my body*, what the Apostles thought thereof, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors; and in what sense and meaning the holy Fathers and old writers, and the universal and catholic Church had always taken them.'

(50) *Pag.* 313.

(49) *Pag.* 103, 104, & seq.



God and sincere love of religion, evidently appeared in his willingly foregoing of his own country, his ease, his presideatship in Pembroke-hall, his good prebends in the churches of St Paul and Westminster, and all his preferments and hopes; and living abroad in a strange land, that he might preserve his conscience, and serve God in purity and truth. He was a great preacher in King Edward the Sixth's time, and one of the most eminent both at court and university; and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Protestant Religion was to be declared and inculcated to the people, he was one of the chief employed to that end, frequently in the pulpit at St Paul's, and before the Queen and nobility. He was a prelate of great moderation towards the Puritans, and it was perhaps owing to their interest in the cabinet, as well as to his own merits, that he was preferred. He is indeed generally thought to have held the reins too loose in respect to this sort of men, and is commonly blamed for his slackness in his government of the Church's affairs. But, as Mr Strype observes, this seems to be an unjust accusation, by what it is evident he did towards them. He best knew what courses were fittest to be used, who lived in those times, and observed how things then stood in the State and Church; and if Grindal be condemned for gentle usage, Whitgift, his successor, is commended for the same by Sir George Paul, who writes thus: 'Happy sure it was for that ' crazy state of the Church, not to meet with too rough and boisterous a Physician. ' For he preserved it with conserves and electuaries, and some gentle purges, which with ' strong purges, in all likelihood, might have been much more in danger.' And again that author professes, ' He could not sufficiently express that Archbishop's singular wisdom ' and clemency, albeit some younger spirits were of opinion that he was much to blame in ' that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage (y). Which words may well enough be applied to our Archbishop, when his mildness is censured, especially since that upon occasion was joined with severity too. Certainly his zeal and affection for the reformed Church shewed itself particularly, in his endeavouring to reclaim these Puritans and Precisians, as they were called, who for some little ceremonies made a breach in Christian Communion. Yet when all his mild persuasions and arguments proved ineffectual, when he saw that rigour was necessary, he thought himself bound, as a faithful and careful overseer of the Church, to make use of the severer methods warranted by the laws against them. There is nothing, as Mr Strype observes (z), that lies so heavy upon our Archbishop, as the matter of the exercises and his suspension. ' This, says he, is the ' stumbling block and the rock of offence, whence many have surmized an inclination in ' him towards a discipline in this Church, different to what was established.' In order therefore to vindicate our Archbishop from any seeming compliance with the innovators, or doing any thing, by his countenancing these exercises, to the prejudice of the religion established, but rather to the general edification of clergy and people, we have thrown together some further remarks upon the use and practice of prophesying in the note [H H].

(y) Strype's Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 82.

(z) Epistle Dedicatory, p. 3.

Our

[H H] We have thrown together some further remarks upon the use and practice of prophesying in the note.] Whether the exercises were suppressed in the province of York, as well as that of Canterbury, or whether the Queen had a better opinion of them afterwards, upon some regulation made, is uncertain; but it is certain that not above a year or two after they were forbidden, in 1578, Archbishop Sandys in his metropolitical visitation of his province of York, enjoined them to his clergy there; and even took a part in them himself, and as he says, did as much as the rest (51). Whence it appears that these prophecies were still countenanced and practised; and the bishops thought them still the best means to promote good preaching, and the increase of learning in the clergy. It was not above seven or eight years after our Archbishop's disgrace, that King James of Scotland, publicly allowed and encouraged them in his kingdom, as excellently conducive to Christian knowledge, without any suspicion of the inconvenience of them, since his bishops were concerned in the appointing and regulating them. The fifth article of his declaration runs thus (52): ' That his Majesties intention was, to maintain the exercise of prophecy: for the increas and continuing of knowledge amongis the ministry. In the quhilk ane wise and grave man selectit by the bishop, or commissioner, at the synodal assembly, shall preside; and rander ane compt of the administration of that bounds quhair the exercise is hald in. For the quhilk cause some respect of leving shall be had unto him, quha sustenis the burding.' From whence it may appear, in what esteem and request prophesying was in the neighbouring nation among those of the episcopal persuasion; and that at the same time the King had discharged the Presbyterian Church Government, and established Episcopacy, he took particular care for the maintenance of this exercise, for the increase of knowledge in the clergy, according to the judgment and experience of our Archbishop in this kingdom. And further, it is ob-

servable, that for the more regular and quiet management of these prophesying, the king trod in the Archbishop's steps, in appointing that there should be some wise and grave person selected by the bishop, or commissioner, to preside within the respective bounds of the several exercises. Let us add the judgment of the learned Lord Bacon, in a discourse to King James, then King of England (53): where he considered, ' Whether it were not requisite to renew that good ' exercise which was practised in this Church some years, ' and afterwards put down by order indeed from the ' Church, in regard of some abuses thereof, inconvenient for those times; and yet against the advice and ' opinion of the greatest and gravest prelate of the land, ' (as he worthily stiled our Archbishop) and was commonly called prophesying.' He then describes the manner of it, and says, ' That in his opinion, it was ' the best way to frame and train up preachers, to ' handle the word of God as it ought to be handled, ' that had been practised. Orators have their declamations; Lawyers their moots; Logicians their sophisms; and every practice of science hath an exercise of erudition and initiation, before it come to the life: only preaching, which is the worthiest, and wherein it is most in danger to be amiss, wanteth an introduction.' Mr Collier the historian says, ' He will not pretend to determine whether Grindal ' was right or not in pleading for the prophesying meetings, though it must be said he has offered a great deal in defence of them; and 'tis most likely, could they have been kept within the compass of his regulation, they would have proved serviceable to the Church.\* We shall only add one circumstance more upon this subject, to shew the high esteem our Archbishop had even at that juncture, when he lay under his prince's frowns, and that it was not his favour to another Church's discipline, and dislike of this, that was the cause of his disgrace. When Barnes bishop of Durham, had taken the liberty to speak somewhat reflectingly

(53) Considerat. of the Edificat. of the Ch. of Engl.

\* Collier's Eccl. Hist. b. ii. p. 557.

(51) Int. Epist. Edwin Archiep. Ebor. pence J. Strype.

(52) Declaration of the King's Intention and meaning towards the last Acts of Parliament, imprinted at Edinb. anno 1585.



Our Archbishop himself professed, that the loss of the Queen's favour was one of the greatest afflictions of his life; and therefore his advancement to the chair of Canterbury may be reckoned among his chief misfortunes, since he was no sooner seated in it than it brought upon him the Queen's frowns, who before mightily esteemed and valued him for his great goodness and excellent abilities. Yet would he take no undue means for the averting this evil, being endued with that immutable constancy of mind, in persisting in what he thought his duty in the faithful discharge of his office; hence his plain but humble refusal of the Queen's commands to put down the Exercises, may be justly esteemed one of the noblest passages of his life. It proceeded not from any elation of mind on account of his high place and dignity; for such external accidental things made no change in his temper and disposition, which was ever at the same stay of meekness and gentleness; however he had been severely charged by some with pride, covetousness, persecution, and the like, which are common imputations upon those who fill such exalted stations in the Church as he did. Thomas Sampson the Puritan, his old acquaintance, and late Dean of Christchurch Oxford, took occasion to tell him of these things at large in a letter. The good Archbishop returned him a very friendly and obliging answer, written (as he said) *sine furore aut fastu*, laying aside all state, and at large related to him what his own temper really was, and solemnly protested himself to be free and innocent of those rude reports that went of him, and that he loved some godly brethren that wished such things reformed as were amiss; insomuch that Sampson in another letter declared himself satisfied, and that he knew now what to say, when hereafter he should hear any such slanders started concerning him (a). In fine, the English nation generally held this Archbishop in great honour and esteem; and so likewise did the Protestant strangers and foreigners residing here, who chose him, when he was bishop of London, superintendant of their church in Austin-friars London, and appealed to him in any differences arising among them about matters of religion. And as for the clergy of the land, what high esteem and veneration they had for him, appears from the concern they took in his disgrace, and their zealous endeavours to have him restored to the Church, by the petition of the Convocation to the Queen in 1580, as we have related above. To conclude, our Archbishop, says Mr Strype (b), in the discharge of his high function, lived and died unblameable, and was universally esteemed and beloved. Fair and honourable are the characters our best historians, his contemporaries, give of him with one consent. Their testimonies are too important to the establishing his character, and rectifying the strange misapprehensions that have been taken up of him, to be omitted here. We have therefore inserted them in the note [I I], that,

(a) Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 300, 301.

(b) Pag. 304.

flectingly upon the Archbishop, soon after his disgrace, the Lord-Treasurer Burghley wrote to him and charged him therewith. Barnes wrote an answer to the Lord-Treasurer, in which it is observable, he does not charge the Archbishop with want of sincerity towards the Church, nor condemns the exercises; only, like a courtier, and one who sought for further favours from the throne, accused him of 'Wilfulness in contemning the regal power, and obstinacy in not yielding to that which their Honours of the Star-Chamber had set down. And as for the Exercises, he confessed, that being well ordered, they were *De bene esse religionis*, yet they were not *de esse religionis sincere*. And therefore not to be urged so as to contend with her Highness and her Council. He said, he had spoken of this only to two or three persons, and that only in defence of her Majesty when reports had been spread that the Archbishop had been cruelly dealt with, and had not deserved such treatment; and that the Lord Leicester and others should further his troubles, which he said he knew to be most false; and that he was therefore under a kind of necessity to assert the Archbishop's wilfulness and undutifulness to be the just occasion thereof; and more than this he affirmed he had not done; nor, but that he was forced, he should not have done or said any thing of him at all.' Mr Strype adds, 'That bishop Barnes had no good will towards the Archbishop, who not long before had dealt against him for some defects, either in discharge of his episcopal function, or for his bribe-taking officers (54).' As to what bishop Barnes says concerning the report of the Earl of Leicester's incensing the Queen against the Archbishop, Fuller affirms the same thing (55); that about the time of the Archbishop's writing his bold letter to the Queen about the exercises, the Earl of Leicester took occasion to quarrel with the Archbishop, and would have gotten Lambeth house from him, and that this was really the reason of the Queen's displeasure, the Earl having secretly exasperated her Majesty against him. But it appears that the Earl and Archbishop were then good friends, since the Archbishop made him deliverer of his letter to the Queen; and the Earl and he corresponded together in a friendly manner, as we have shewn before. However there

was a conjecture, which was current since that time, that the Queen was provoked against our prelate by that Earl, who had taken offence at him for denying to give a favourable sentence in behalf of one Dr Julio, the Earl's Physician, who had married another man's wife, having also one of his own, and was resolutely prosecuted for the same by Grindal, when bishop of London, notwithstanding the Earl's intercession for him. This is also related by Camden (56); who seems, says Mr Strype, too lightly to have taken it up from the malicious author of Leicester's Common wealth, who says, that 'This Archbishop's overthrow was principally wrought by this tyrant, for contrariety his will in so base a command (57).'

[I I] We have inserted the honourable testimonies of historians concerning our Archbishop in the note } Archbishop Parker, in his book *De Antiq. Brittan. Eccles.* writes thus of him, *Vir spectatæ gravitatis & prudentiæ*, &c. 'He was a man of respected gravity and prudence; and who in that commission of the Queen for ecclesiastical causes, underwent many labours both by day and night, not less diligently than successfully; and whose severity in a business of that great import was necessary, that such as would not be drawn by gentleness and clemency to the service of God and the laws, and stood obstinately in their opinion, might more hardly be dealt with, and compelled by sharper chastisement.' Camden in one place styles him *an excellent divine* (58); and when he comes to relate his death (59), says, 'He was a religious and grave man, that flourished in great grace with the Queen, until, by the cunning artifices of his adversaries, he quite lost her favour; as if he had leaned to conventicles of turbulent and hot-spirited ministers, and their prophecies, as they called them; but in truth, because he had condemned the unlawful marriage of one Julio, the Italian Physician, with another man's wife, while Leicester in vain opposed his proceedings therein.' (See the latter part of the preceding note). Holinshed observes (60), that 'This good man in his life-time was so studious, that his books were his bride, and his study his bride-chamber; whereupon he spent both his eye sight, his strength, and his health, &c. of whom much might be spoken for

(56) Hist. of Q. Elizabeth, p. 287, edit. 1675.

(57) Strype, p. 224.

(58) Camd. Eliz. p. 30, edit. 1675.

(59) Pag. 287.

(60) Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1354. a.

(54) Dedicat. p. 4, 5.

(55) Ch. Hist. p. 123.



that, as justice and religion require, right be done to the name and memory of this most venerable and apostolical Primate. This was the laudable motive, as Mr Strype acquaints

us;

for other's imitation; but this shall suffice, that as his learning and virtues were inseparable companions, so the reward of both is the good name that he hath left behind him, as a monument perpetual.' Stowe, another faithful historian and his contemporary, in mentioning the death of our Archbishop, speaks of his numerous benefactions: so doth Godwin, in his Catalogue of bishops. Mr Thomas Rogers, chaplain to Archbishop Bancroft, in the preface to his book, intitled, *The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion, professed and protected in the realm*, printed in 1607, styles Archbishop Grindal 'A zealous confessor and tried soldier, and right worthy prelate.' And remarks that, 'His care was great to further the glory of God, but that through the envy and malice of his ill-willers, his power was but small; his place high, but himself made low through some disgrace brought upon him by his potent adversaries, which he meekly and patiently endured.' He remarks, that there were two inconveniences which our Archbishop's troubles and sequestration occasioned; the one, the flocking of Jesuits into the kingdom; the other, the insolence and boldness of the home faction, by which Mr Rogers means the Puritans. And lastly, this historian ranks our prelate with the excellent archbishops, from Cranmer to Bancroft, all of famous and venerable memory. Sir John Harrington, who lived in and after the time of Queen Elizabeth, undertakes to give some strictures of her bishops, which, says Mr Strype, are commonly but light rumours of Court, and often idle and trifling; yet what he says of Archbishop Grindal points not to any misgovernment of the Church: but whereas it was commonly said that he was blind some years before his death, Sir John would make a mystery of it, telling us that he was not blind, but that when the Queen enjoined him to keep his house, his friends gave out that he was blind, and that he kept at home the better to conceal his punishment which the Queen had laid upon him. 'This would have been very likely, says Mr Strype (61), had the report of his blindness happened at the time that the Queen had commanded his confinement, but he was not blind till five years after at least. And that he was then blind, I have seen the subscription of his name, that evidently shews it to have been written by a blind man. Some other passages he ventures to write of the Archbishop, so slight and improbable, that I shall not repeat them. But this author writes not one word of his remissness in government, or countenance towards such as opposed the constitutions of the Church. Mr Fuller appears to have been the first who vented this notion concerning our prelate. His accounts seem to be rather hear-says, than built upon any good authority either of records or manuscripts.' He tells us (62), that Grindal was generally condemned for remissness, in parting with more from the see than ever his successors thanked him for. Mr Strype observes, that this is an hard charge, but spoken in general terms; and that if Fuller means exchanges with the Queen, Grindal, and all the rest of the bishops, were obliged to make these exchanges by an Act of Parliament which passed for that purpose in the beginning of her reign; but that he and two or three others of the first elects wrote a private letter to her Majesty, and made a voluntary offer of a large yearly equivalent, to forbear making use of that power which the parliament had given her, as hath been shewn before. And that Grindal was not so easy to part with the revenues of his bishopric this historian shew himself, by relating how strongly he opposed parting with the palace at Lambeth to the great favourite, which, he says himself, brought upon him the malice of the Leicesterian faction. Fuller likewise speaks of some, 'Who strained a parallel between Eli and Grindal, in respect of his being guilty of dangerous indulgence to offenders; and as a father of the Church, he was accused of too much conniving at the factious disturbances thereof (63).' Mr Strype, in vindication of our Archbishop, observes, 'That Fuller does not give one instance thereof; that he seems to note these things concerning the Archbishop, rather as reports and rumours taken up in his times, than as matters of undoubted truth. That after all, he places the Archbishop's remissness and neglect in requiring subscription to the last year of his life but one; and attri-

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butes it to his age and impotency; though he adds, (to make what he had said before consistent) that in greater strength, he did but weakly urge conformity. He should not have forgot to mention the Archbishop's suspension, whereby his hands were very much tied up from acting in his place and function; during which time, great liberty was taken by such as were disaffected to the Church and it's constitution.' In the conclusion however, Fuller calls our Archbishop, a prelate most primitive in all his conversation; and an impartial corrector of mens vicious conversations, and that he undeservedly fell under the Queen's displeasure, through the malice of his enemies. Dr Heylin, another of our modern historians, speaking of those English Protestants who in the beginning of the Reformation stood affected to the discipline of Geneva, writes (64), that they made use of Bishop Grindal to bring about their purpose, by making him instrumental to the setting up of a church in London for the French Protestant refugees, to worship God according to the manner used in their own reformed churches at home; for, 'That he was known to have a great respect to the name of Calvin; and that in this church, they were not only to erect the Geneva discipline, but to set up a form of prayer that should hold no conformity with the English liturgy; and that Calvin gave Grindal thanks for his favour in this transaction.' Mr Strype observes, that Grindal, no doubt, had a great respect to the name of Calvin, as well as to those of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Zanchy, and the rest of the pious foreign reformers of religion, with whom he had contracted a friendship, and still corresponded: but that the liberty now granted to foreigners, was no more than what had been a little before granted to Grindal and his fellow exiles, in the cities and places abroad, where they sojourned. The letter, from whence Dr Heylin took the above account, and which is extant among Calvin's epistles, dated May 15th, 1560 (65), is only to return thanks to our Bishop for his care of the poor French Protestants that had settled themselves in London, by his obtaining for them a licence from the Queen of worshiping God purely, (that is, without the superstitions of the Romish Church) and to desire that they might have a faithful minister of their own to preach God's word, and perform other ministerial offices among them. And it appears, that to this civil letter of Calvin, the Bishop gave as respectful an answer, and withal desired him to recommend some able and fit minister to that congregation. And not long afterwards Calvin sent, by consent, Nicholas Galafius, a man of great piety and worth, to supply that place: and this was the beginning of the Walloon church, situated in Threadneedle-street, London, which hath continued ever since for the use of the French nation. 'And surely, says Mr Strype, Bishop Grindal could do no less than this, since he was too grateful to forget the like respects shewn to him and many others of the English nation, that fled abroad in the last reign upon the same account of religion, as these godly French now did hither: and since he and they received the like freedom and favour in the several places in Germany and Switzerland, where they had but lately settled themselves. And likewise that he might testify that christian communion and brotherly concord which he bore to all the reformed churches.' Our more modern historians, among whom the chief is Mr Collier, are very favourable to the character of our Archbishop. We have already shewn that Mr Collier clears him from all imputations of Puritanism. The same writer also observes, upon the Archbishop's articles at one of his metropolitanical visitations, 'That he was no negligent governor, nor a person of latitude and indifference for the ceremonies of the Church (66).' And with regard to the Archbishop's behaviour in the matter of the Exercises, he writes, 'That Grindal was a prelate of more conscience and courage, than to be dazzled with the lustre of a court, to resign against his judgment, and be over-ruled into insignificance. That his letter to the Queen was penned with a mixture of freedom and regard. That he writes with the spirit of a primitive bishop, like a subject in the State, and a governor in the Church, and takes care neither to forget her Majesty nor himself. His application is

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\* Fuller, ubi supra.

(64) Hist. of the Reform. p. 305.

(65) Ep. Calv. 295.

(66) Collier's Eccl. Hist. b. iii. p. 552.

(61) Pag. 306.

(62) Ch. Hist. b. ix. p. 130.

(63) B. ix. p. 163.



(c) Dedication,  
p. 2.

us, that produced the excellent life of him, which with great labour and industry he compiled, from authentic manuscripts, records, papers of State, private letters, and registers. For (c), 'Tis humane, says he, to vindicate the reputations of the dead, who cannot speak for themselves. It is the part of a Christian to do it for those who have been confessors for religion, and lived and died constantly in the true faith of Christ. But it is the duty of a member of the Church of England, to preserve the memory, fair and unspotted, of one that had been advanced to the highest honour and trust in it, and bore so great a part in the first reformation of it.'

' religiously brave, and has not the least appearance of interest or fear. Besides the piety of the address, 'tis managed with great force and advantage. The advice is admirable and well directed; nothing could be more serviceable to disengage the Queen from the flattery of her court, and bring her off from lofty mistakes her favourites seemed to have led her into (67).'

H (67) Collier, ut supra, p. 554, 557.

(a) Preface to  
Mr Grove's  
Posthumous  
Works, p. 7.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Letter to the  
Rev. Mr Ball,  
p. 19.

GROVE [HENRY], a very learned divine, was born at Taunton in the county of Somerset, January 4, 1683, being the youngest of fourteen children, of whom he only and a sister survived their parents. He was descended, both by his father and mother, from families of considerable repute and antiquity, and which for several generations had been remarkable for strict piety, sincere goodness, and a steady attachment to religious liberty, and the rights of conscience; the Groves of Wiltshire and the Rows of Devon (a). His grandfather Grove was, soon after the Restoration, ejected from a good Living in Devonshire for nonconformity, at that distinguished period of Church-history, when so many hundreds of the ministers of Christianity gave a noble proof, that their religious profession was not the result of secular policy, but of conscience, by giving up the most considerable worldly interests to preserve the peace and integrity of their minds. His father suffered much and cheerfully in the same cause, for lay-nonconformity, under Charles and James the Second (b). The eminent piety of Mr Rowe, his grandfather by the mother's side, may be known from his life, long since published by the learned Mr Theophilus Gale. The character of Mr Grove's parents, with his grateful sense of his obligations to their pious care and tendernefs, will be best represented in his own words to Mr Ball (c), printed in the note [A]. His father, in particular, filled a life of eighty years honourably and usefully, and died universally esteemed and lamented, having been remarkable for uncommon prudence and temper, unspotted integrity, a strict yet cheerful and amiable piety, and a generous charity. From such parents as these, Mr Grove derived an excellent natural disposition for religion, which discovered itself very soon: he was naturally very modest and benevolent, and had a strong sense of honour, which appeared in variety of instances in early life. His quickness of apprehension and love of literature were soon visible, and carried him through the learning preparatory for the college much sooner than is usual; and he was at fourteen, possessed of as large a stock of classical learning as is commonly thought a sufficient preparation for the academy. The acquaintance he began with the classics at the grammar-school was continued through life, and his relish for them increased, as his judgment and knowledge of mankind improved; the Latin poets, philosophers, and historians, and the Greek moralists, were his delightful companions [B].

Mr

[A] In his own words to Mr Ball, printed in the note.] It runs thus: 'I thank you for the honourable mention you make of those two persons, whose memory will be ever precious to me. It is with pleasure I recollect the example they gave of the reality and excellency of every christian virtue in their own lives; how far their parental instructions were from having any thing four, austere, and discouraging in them, and their government from being severe and rigid; and that they finished life with great decency, wholly taken in exercises becoming their age, and in preparation for that better world on which they were about to enter. I repeat my thanks, Sir, for your having given me an opportunity to offer this small tribute of grateful acknowledgment to the memory of those, to whom, under the supremacy of my being, I am so much indebted.'

[B] The Latin poets, philosophers, and historians, and the Greek moralists, were his delightful companions.] Among the Latin poets, Horace was a favourite, for the delicacy of his sentiments and expression, his knowledge of human life, and nice discernment of the decorum of characters, and the ridicule of vice, appearing peculiarly in his satires and epistles. He was much conversant with Cicero's philosophical works, esteeming his treatise of laws, to contain the solid principles on which the unalterable excellence and obligation of morality is founded; his offices he thought a fine delineation of the beautiful form of virtue; and his discourses of the nature of the Gods, and the immortality of the soul, an unanswerable demonstration of the great necessity and advantage of the Christian revelation against those who would pretend, that when Christ ap-

peared to enlighten and reform the world, he was not wanted, and that unassisted reason was sufficient for this end; for the uncertainty in which Cicero, one of the greatest genius's of paganism, was involved, and represents all their philosophers as involved, with regard to one of the most important doctrines, of the existence, perfection, and providence of God, and their own future existence and state, is an argument from fact which overturns all the specious theories of modern deists; and showed too their great ingratitude, who, enlightened by the gospel, and thus enabled to think more clearly and justly on these subjects, refuse to own their obligations, and employed as an argument against Revelation, the light they really received from it. Among the Latin historians, Mr Grove chiefly admired Sallust and Tacitus; and among the Greek writers, he was greatly pleased with the easy and clear reasonings and fine morality of Xenophon, and the sublime of Plato; the plain, but strong reasoning and virtue of Epictetus, and the unaffected nobleness of thought and substantial worth of the Emperor Antonine, charmed him through all the negligence of his method and expression. Though Mr Grove wanted not a taste for the real beauties of Homer, yet he would often declare himself tired with his everlasting fightings and slaughters, and disgusted with the barbarous manners of his heroes, and the follies and vices of his gods, and on this occasion frequently quotes those lines of Roscommon:

For who, without a quail, hath ever look'd  
On holy garbage, tho' by Homer cook'd?  
Whose railing heroes, and whose wounded Gods  
Make some suspect he snores, as well as nods (1).

(1) Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated Verse.



Mr Grove went through a course of academical learning under the Reverend Mr Matthew Warren of Taunton, who was for many years at the head of a flourishing academy. Here he read Locke and Le Clerc, and acquainted himself with the strong reasonings and excellent morality of Cumberland. Having gone through a course of philosophy and divinity under Mr Warren, Mr Grove removed to London, and studied some time under the Reverend Mr Thomas Rowe, to whom he was nearly related. At this time Mr Grove contracted an acquaintance and friendship with Dr Watts, which continued with great mutual esteem 'till his death, though their judgments were different as to several points warmly controverted among divines. While he studied under Mr Rowe, he contracted an intimacy with several other persons of merit: Mr Rowe was a zealous Cartesian, which occasioned Mr Grove's examining with a particular exactness the philosophy of Descartes; and though he was not entirely satisfied with his metaphysics, and yet less with his physics, he still thought the learned world very much obliged to that great man: but it was only in the Newtonian philosophy Mr Grove could find satisfaction as to the constitution and laws of the material world; and he thus expresses his high veneration of that incomparable man (d): 'How doth such a genius as Sir Isaac Newton, from amidst the darkness that involves human understanding, break forth and appear like one of another species. The vast machine we inhabit lies open to him; he seems not unacquainted with the general laws that govern it: and while, with the transport of a philosopher, he beholds and admires the glorious work, he is capable of paying at once a more devout and more rational homage to his Maker.' After spending about two years in London, Mr Grove returned into the country, and began preaching with great reputation. An exact judgment, a lively and beautiful imagination, a warmth of devotion, and a rational and amiable representation of Christianity, made his sermons, delivered by a voice, which though not strong, was sweet and well governed, generally admired. There appears also, even in his first discourses, a larger stock of well-digested learning than could be expected at the age of two and twenty. The spirit of amiable exalted devotion, which prevailed in his sermons, early procured him the esteem and friendship of Mrs Singer, afterwards Mrs Rowe; which she expressed in a fine manner in an ode on Death, addressed to Mr Grove; and the friendship begun by this similitude of taste and temper was improved, and flourished 'till Mrs Rowe's death. Soon after his beginning to preach he married, and at the age of twenty-three was, upon the death of Mr Warren, who had been long tutor of the academy at Taunton, chosen to succeed him, by the unanimous vote of a great number of ministers assembled for that purpose; and he, with two others, continued the academy, which was then very full. This was an uncommon testimony to his early worth. The province first assigned him was Ethics and Pneumatology. His undertaking Ethics was of considerable advantage to himself as a preacher, as well as to the students who came under his care. His concern with the academy obliging him to a residence at Taunton, he preached for eighteen years to two small congregations in the neighbourhood; and though his salary from both was less than twenty pounds a year, and he had a growing family, he went through it cheerfully. At his first entering into the academy he composed systems of Ethics and Pneumatology, and was continually improving. His Ethics particularly was his favourite work, which he designed for public view, when he had given it all the perfection of which it was capable. Just before his death he had begun to transcribe it, and give it his last hand in order to a publication (e). As it is published in his posthumous works, though not finished in all its parts, yet for the clearness and strength with which he establishes in it the principles of morality, the just and beautiful descriptions there given of the several virtues, and excellent directions for attaining them, and the noble representation it contains of the supreme happiness of man, it is well deserving of the public view. From his system of Pneumatology, was taken his *Essay on the Immateriality of the Soul*, and a great part of his *Discourse on the Proofs from Reason of its Immortality*; and since his death, the *Essay to demonstrate the Being and Perfections of God*; and by these the public may judge of the other parts. In the year 1708, Mr Grove published his *Regulation of Diversions*, which he drew up for the use of his pupils, with a view to take off their attention to pleasures, and dispose them to improve their time in pursuing closely and successfully the pleasures of knowledge and virtue. This his first offering to the public shews a solidity of judgment, and a knowledge of human nature much above his years; and the agreeable manner in which he gives his advice, is well fitted to engage the attention of that age of life, above all, bent on pleasure, and averse to harsh instruction. About this time, Dr Samuel Clarke published his excellent discourse on the *Being and Attributes of God*. His proof from our necessary ideas of space and duration not convincing Mr Grove, he wrote to the doctor for information and satisfaction upon that head. This occasioned their exchanging several letters on these abstruse subjects; and after some time, not being able to convince each other, the debate was dropped, with expressions of great mutual esteem. The next offering of note which Mr Grove made the public, was several papers in the eighth volume of the Spectators, viz.

(d) Spectator,  
Vol. VIII. No.  
635.

(e) Sermons and  
Tracts, in four  
volumes.

No.

For beauty, variety and grandeur of descriptions, as well as true sublime in sentiments, he thought our countryman Milton greatly preferable; and though he allowed Homer the praise of a very great genius, he

thought the Iliad would no more bear a comparison with Paradise Lost, than the pagan scheme of theology with the Christian.

[C] For



(f) Preface to  
the Posthumous  
Works, p. 29.

No. 588, 601, 626, and 635. Their finding a place in that celebrated work is sufficient proof of their worth. By these papers Mr Grove shewed himself well acquainted with the lovely and generous affections of the human soul, as well as it's surprizing dignity and large capacities for happiness; which he has represented in a manner fit to inspire his readers with a strong concern to act a part answerably generous and noble. The last of these papers was re-published by the direction of the Right Reverend Dr Gibson bishop of London, in an excellent treatise, entitled, *The Evidences of the Christian Religion*, by Joseph Addison, Esq; 12mo 1731 (f). In 1718, Mr Grove published his *Essay towards a Demonstration of the Soul's Immateriality*. Mr Grove's continual application weakened a constitution naturally tender, subjected him to frequent head-aches, and scarce a spring passed without a fever. In the year 1718, a fever brought his life into extreme danger, but it pleased God to recover him; upon which occasion he composed the noble ode since printed, and justly admired for the easy harmony of the numbers, and the exalted piety of the sentiments. Amidst his various engagements as a tutor and minister, Mr Grove did not neglect any of the virtues of a private Christian, but was a most amiable example of all. Having been a good son, he naturally proceeded to be a good husband, father, master, and friend. He had a large stock of natural benevolence, which cherished and improved by Reason and Christianity, led him to discharge every social duty in the best manner; and he was an example of the character he so well describes in the Spectator, No. 601. Persons conscious of their own integrity, satisfied with themselves and with their condition, and full of confidence in a Supreme Being, and the hope of immortality; survey all about them with a flow of good-will. As trees that like their soil, they shoot out in expressions of kindness, and bend beneath their precious load to the hand of the gatherer. Though his family was growing, and his income as a tutor and a minister insufficient to support it without breaking in on his paternal estate, yet he knew not how to refuse any call of charity, and was bountiful far beyond his fortune. And though his uncommon merit, and the reputation it had gained him, would have given him a fair prospect of making his fortune in the Church, would he have conformed to the establishment, yet he could never turn his thoughts that way: the further he carried his enquiries in religion, the greater reason he thought appeared to him for disliking various doctrines and practices, which had the sanction of the civil authority; and no worldly interest could ever tempt him to subscribe articles, or use expressions or practices in religion, which he did not inwardly approve: he valued the peace and approbation of his own mind, an unrestrained liberty to pursue truth, and profess and practise religion in (what he thought) it's genuine simplicity, before all the wealth and grandeur of life; at the same time thinking and speaking with great candour and charity of those who could reconcile their judgments to the public forms. The principles on which he founded his constant self-enjoyment, and the rules he pursued to improve the goods of life, and brighten the darker occurrences of it, cannot be better represented, than he has done them in a letter to a particular friend; for a copy of which the reader cannot but think himself obliged (g) [C]. Though Mr Grove's great modesty and love of retirement kept him pretty much out of the way of public notice, yet his uncommon worth would not suffer him to be concealed. When he preached occasionally in some of the more considerable congregations, he did not fail of gaining numbers of admirers, and had several invitations to places of note, as Exeter, &c. which he declined, in a great measure through his strong affection

(g) Ibid.

[C] For a copy of which, the reader cannot but think himself obliged.] It will not, says he, be altogether out of character, if I write down a few reflections on the art of improving human life, so as to pass it in peace and tranquillity, and make it yield the noblest pleasures it is capable of affording us. The first rule, and in a manner comprehensive of all the rest, is always to consider human life in it's connection, as a state of trial, with an everlasting existence. How does this single thought at once raise and sink the value of every thing under the sun? sink it as part of our worldly portion; raise it as a means and opportunity of promoting the glory of the great author of all good, and the happiness, present and future, of our fellow creatures as well as our own? — In the next place, we are to lay down this for a certain maxim, and constantly attend to it, that our happiness must arise from our own temper and actions, not immediately from any external circumstances. These, at best, are only considerable, as they supply a larger field to the exercise of our virtue, and more leisure for the improvements and entertainments of the mind: whereas, the chief delights of a reasonable being, must result from it's own operations, and reflections upon them as consonant to it's nature, and the order it holds in the universe. How do I feel myself within? am I in my natural state? do I put my faculties to their right use? —

To require less from others, than is commonly done, in order to be pleased, and to be more studious

to please them, not from a meanness of spirit, not from artful views, but from an unaffected benevolence, is another rule of greater importance than is easily imagined; and more effectually reaches all that is aimed at by self-love, without designing it. — To this add, that though we should be impartial, yet not severe in the judgment we pass, and the demands we make upon ourselves; watchful against the infirmities and errors too incident to human nature, but not supposing that we shall be entirely free from them, nor afflicting ourselves beyond measure to find that we are not. Such an over-strained severity, breaks the force of the mind, and hinders it's progress towards perfection. — In the choice of conditions, or making any steps in life, 'tis a dictate of wisdom to prefer reality to appearance, and to follow Providence as our guide. — To be more indifferent to life, and all things in it, which the less we value, the more we shall enjoy. — And lastly, to consider that the happiness of the present state consists more in repose than pleasure; and in those pleasures that are pure and calm (which are likewise the most lasting) rather than in those which violently agitate the passions. Happy are we, when our pleasures flow from the regularity of our passions, an even course of piety and goodness, an humble confidence in the mercy of God, and from the hope of immortality! not to be contented without a perpetual succession of other pleasures besides these, is the way never to know contentment.

[D] From



affection to quiet, liberty, and independence; and from his desire to pursue and enjoy; with the least interruption possible, the pleasures of truth, goodness, and devotion [D]. Mr Grove's aversion to engage in those angry disputes, which about the year 1719 unhappily divided the Dissenters, was another reason that made him more fond of his retirement. His moderate conduct drew on him the censures and displeasure of some, as if he were indifferent to the truths of the gospel; but they could not prevail on him to alter it, or bring him to believe that the wrath of man could ever work the righteousness of God; or that interposing the authority and decision of fallible man was a proper way of ending controversies of faith, and establishing divine truths. The reasons for this moderate conduct he hath given more largely in his *Essay on the Terms of Christian Communion* [E]. No one was better qualified to handle devotional disputes than Mr Grove; his discourse on secret prayer, published since in 1723, at the request of several ministers of note in London, is a proof how well he could treat such subjects, with a warmth free from enthusiasm, and an exactness of judgment without coldness. He added to the second edition two discourses; one upon the rational grounds of prayer, and the other on the qualifications necessary to render it accepted; in which, by arguments brought down to common understandings, he establishes the wisdom and advantage of prayer, in a manner not to be overturned by the most subtle enemy to devotion. In the beginning of the year 1725 he lost his partner in the academy, the Reverend Mr James, with whom he lived in perfect harmony, and to whose character he did justice, in a sermon published on occasion of his death. Mr Grove was now obliged to take the students in divinity under his direction. The duties of this post he discharged with the greatest ease, having made all his other studies center in this one great point, the establishing and illustrating the principal truths and duties of religion; and giving in his preaching a pattern of the best manner of recommending these. He confined himself to no system in divinity, directing his pupils to the best writers on natural and revealed religion; and an impartial examination of the chief controversies therein. He likewise succeeded Mr James in his pastoral charge at Fulwood near Taunton, and engaged his nephew to undertake the other parts of Mr James's work as a tutor. Mr Grove continued at Fulwood 'till his death. He had several invitations from London and other parts during this period, but nothing could prevail on him to quit his settlement. In 1728, he published, at the request of an assembly of ministers, the *Friendly Monitor*, in which he discovered the great delicacy of his moral discernment, and pointed out with great judgment some of the principal errors and imperfections in the conduct of Christians, by which they lessen both their own reputation and that of their religion. In the same year, in a sermon preached and published on occasion of the death of a young lady of great merit, he considered the fear of death as a natural passion, both with respect to the grounds of it, and the remedies against it. He treated the subject in so masterly a manner, that a person of considerable rank in the learned world declared, that after reading it, he could have laid down and died with as much readiness and satisfaction as he had ever done any action of his life (b). In 1730 he published the *Evidence of our Saviour's Resurrection* (b) Preface, p. 44. considered, with the improvement of this important doctrine. A late Lord Chief-Baron expressed

[D] From his desire to enjoy the pleasures of truth, goodness, and devotion.] Mr Grove's temper and taste of life was much like Cowley's; the spirit of whose essays he much admired, and would often repeat, with a peculiar emphasis, those lines of his:

The wise example of the heavenly lark,  
Thy fellow-poet, Cowley, mark.  
Above the clouds let thy proud music sound,  
Thy humble nest build on the ground.

How much there is in such a turn of mind, we may learn from some observations of one of the best judges of human excellence (2). 'I have been inclined to think, says he, that there are greater men who lie concealed among the species, than those who come out and draw upon themselves the eyes and admiration of mankind.——If we suppose there are spirits or angels, who look into the ways of men, how different are the notions which they entertain of us, from those which we are apt to form of one another? we are dazzled with the splendor of titles; the ostentation of learning, the noise of victories; they, on the contrary, see the philosopher in the cottage, who possesses his soul in patience and thankfulness, under the pressures of what little souls call poverty and distress. They do not look for great men at the head of armies, or among the pomp of a court; but often find them out in shades and solitudes, in the private walks and by-paths of life. The evenings walk of a wife man is more illustrious in their sight, than the march of a General at the head of an hundred thou-

sand men. A contemplation of God's works; a voluntary act of justice to our own detriment; tears that are shed in silence for the misery of others; a private desire or resentment broken or subdued; in short, an unfeigned exercise of humility, or any other virtue; are such actions as are glorious in their sight, and denominate men great and reputable. The most famous among us are often looked upon with pity, with contempt, or with indignation; while those who are most obscure among their own species are regarded with love, with approbation, and esteem.'

[E] The reasons for this moderate conduct he has given, &c.] Mr Grove has likewise in a sermon of his, on the blessedness of the peace-maker, thus described his own temper and conduct. 'He is not for widening of differences, nor representing the differences in opinion, or in other things, greater than really they are; would bring Christians as near together as he can, and persuade them to be of one heart at least, if they cannot be of one mind; which in this state of doubt and imperfection, is hardly to be expected. If his judgment were to be followed, all things should continue in the Christian Church as the head of it has left them, indifferent things in a state of indifference; things disputable, or of less importance, to be freely disputed, and never imposed. He always acts upon this principle, that liberty and charity, in religious disputes, do at once most effectually secure the peace of the Church, and we may add, the genuine truths of the gospel, and tend to the advancement of the power and practice of true godliness.'

(2) Mr Addison, Spectator, Vol. VIII. No. 610.



expressed a high value for this performance, as having not only placed the arguments usually urged, in a very advantageous light, but offered several thoughts entirely new, as well as of great strength.—The same year he published *Some Thoughts concerning the Proof of a Future State from Reason*, in answer to the Reverend Mr Hallet, junior, who in his great zeal for the Christian Revelation, and to make it appear absolutely necessary, had endeavoured to weaken the arguments from reason for a future state. Mr Hallet replied to this answer; and Mr Grove, though very averse to controversy, yet this being with him a favourite subject, and, as he apprehended, of the last importance, to vindicate the moral government of God, determined to review the debate; in which Mr Grove had, besides the introduction, finished one chapter of the *Weight of Tradition concerning a Future State*, in a manner to make it justly regretted that his other avocations first, and his death afterwards, prevented his completing the design. Clamours having been raised by divines, more zealous than judicious, against some passages in which Mr Grove had represented the usefulness of reason in religion; to satisfy them if possible, that reason, of which they were so much afraid, was in reality the best friend to the gospel, he published, in 1732, without his name, *Some Queries offered to the Consideration of those who think it an Injury to Religion to shew the Reasonableness of it*; in which he has said enough to satisfy those who think coolly and impartially, and silence those who will not. His discourses on *Saving Faith*, on the *Resurrection of Christ*, the *Lord's Supper*, and the *Perfection of the Christian Religion*, not to name others, are a sufficient proof, that a man may be a friend to Reason, yet worthily esteem Christianity, and be zealous for natural religion, without being indifferent to revealed. In the same year he printed a discourse *Concerning the Nature and Design of the Lord's Supper*, and treated the subject with a plainness that makes it instructive to common understandings, and a judiciousness which will make it approved by all those who are desirous to observe this institution in it's original simplicity, and as a means of making them better; not as an imagined equivalent for the want of real holiness, and an uniform obedience to the Gospel. In the second edition, he added some *Devotional Exercises relating to the Lord's Supper*, in which are as much warmth and light united, as are to be found together in any compositions of this kind. In 1734 Mr Grove published, without his name, *Wisdom, the first Spring of Action in the Deity*; in which he endeavours to demonstrate, that the moral perfections of the Deity, as well as moral virtue and goodness in man, are founded in the unalterable relations of things, and the essential fitness or unfitness of actions and dispositions arising from hence. This treatise, the writer of Mr Grove's life is informed, has been pronounced by a prelate of the most distinguished merit, and who, if named, would be allowed to be one of the best judges of writings of this kind, a masterly performance, and inferior to none which this age has produced on this argument. And Mr Balguy, whose excellent writings on this subject must give great weight to his approbation, even where he differs from Mr Grove, says, the discourse abounds in solid remarks and sound reasonings. In 1736, Mr Grove published a *Discourse on Saving Faith*, in which he has not only with great clearness represented the scripture notion of it, and rescued it from enthusiastical or contradictory interpretations; but, which is entirely new, shewn the reasons why the writers of the New Testament often speak of Faith as a great part of religion, and sometimes as in a manner the whole of it. This treatise has also had the honour of being particularly approved by the excellent prelate just mentioned. About this time Mr Grove met with an affliction, which gave him an opportunity of shewing the strength of his Christian patience and pious resignation; this was no less than the death of his wife; from which time he seemed to apprehend his own was not far off; for he wrote on the sermon he preached after her death, *O may I prepare to follow!* And in that sermon he has several reflections which seemed designed to reconcile himself to the expectation of a speedy departure out of the body, and his friends to their loss in his death. And in a little more than a year after this, Providence called him to the tryal; for, having preached on sunday February 19, 1737-8, and both in his prayers and sermons had an uncommon flow of spirits, which he said he could hardly govern, and which, attended with a pain in his head, made him apprehend an approaching fever; he was violently seized at night, and the fever increasing, in spite of all means used to abate it, or bring it to an intermission, he died the ninth day, February 27, about seven in the morning. This disorder in a great degree affecting his head, unfitted him for thinking or speaking much, yet left him the use of his reason 'till the day before he died, and in a capacity of concluding life as he had always lived, with a modest greatness, and a serene composure of mind. It is not easy to express the concern which the apprehension of his death occasioned in London amongst his friends, as well as in the country. There was a great deal of beauty and justness in what one of his hearers said after his death, speaking of the general grief and concern his illness excited. 'Our sorrow for Mr Grove's sickness was not like our concern for other friends when dying, whom we pity and lament; but a sorrow arising as from the apprehension of the removal of one of the higher order of beings, who had condescended to live on earth for a while to teach us the way to Heaven, and was now about to return to his native place.' And it may with strict truth be said, that few of his situation in life lived more entirely esteemed and beloved, or died more regretted. His friends erected an handsome monument



monument near his grave, on which is a latin inscription, composed by the very learned Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham-college, who obliges the public also with the English version of it; both which see in the note [F]. And the generous subscription to his posthumous works is a proof what rank he bore, not only in the esteem of the principal gentlemen and ministers in the dissenting interest, but of some of the best judges of merit in the established Church [G]. Mr Grove had thirteen children by his wife, five of whom survived him; the death of several of them, on account of the sensibility of his temper, and the prevalency of the softer affections in his constitution, gave him opportunities for manifesting great degrees of a pious resignation to God. He describes the working of his own heart on these occasions, in the sermon entitled, *The Mourning Parent*, in the first volume of his posthumous works, which was composed upon the death of a very promising child. Besides what may be learnt of Mr Grove's character from the preceding account, all who knew him will agree, that he had a judgment in an uncommon degree, quick and solid, together with what does not often attend it, an imagination strong and beautiful,

[F] Both which see in the note F.]

H. S. E.

H E N R I C U S G R O V I U S

Optimorum parentum proles optima

Patrem enim ex antiqua Groviorum familia Wiltunensi  
Matrem ex Roviorum in agro Devonienfi haud minus  
vetusta

Ortos pietate et Beneficentia insignes habuit

Utriusque Virtutum Filius Haeres

Bonarum Literarum Studiis tam sedulo se applicuit

Ut anno Aetatis vicesimo tertio in frequenti Theologo-  
rum Coetu

Ad Juventutem liberalibus Disciplinis instituendam

Omnium suffragiis Eligeretur

Ad quod munus animus etiam ingenuus morumque  
suavitas

Natura illum finxisse videbantur

Neque spem eventus sefellit

Annos enim amplius triginta haud minore sua Laude

Quam bono publico in eo versatus

Mentes juveniles omnigena pariter virtute

Ac optimis artibus excolere studiose laboravit

Pastoris interim officio fungens

Pari Fidelitate Gregi suo invigilavit

Eaque quibus salus humana praecipue afficitur

Tam in Concionibus quam Scriptis inculcans

Nihil ad Gratiam aut partium studio dicere sustinuit

Simplex autem verique Studiosissimus

Pietatem in Deum in Homines Charitatem

Cupiditatem Moderationem et summa Religionis capita

Omnium approbationi commendavit

Ea ingenii Felicitate usus est

Ut in quodcunque argumentum sese convertit

Acute cogitare subtiliter distinguere graviter judicare

Sensaue animi facile exponere posset

Tam modeste autem de se sensit

Ut nemini quod in alia esset sententia Litem moveret

Sorte sua licet modica contentus fuit

Aliorum rebus lautioribus haud invidens nec cupiens

Tot tantisque Virtutibus ornatus

Omnibus sibi notis Amatus vixit obiit defunctus

III. Cal. Martii Anno Domini MDCCXXXVII.

Aetatis suae 55.

In English.

Here lieth

H E N R Y G R O V E.

A worthy son of worthy parents

For his father descended from the antient family of the  
Groves in Wiltshire

And his mother from the Rowes in Devonshire. A  
family no less antient

And were both eminent for their piety and beneficence  
The son who inherited their virtues

Applied himself so diligently to his studies

That in the twenty-third year of his age he was unani-  
mously chosen

By a large assembly of divines

To instruct youth in the liberal sciences

For which province his ingenuous temper and engaging  
behaviour

Seemed naturally to have formed him

Nor were their hopes disappointed by the event

For being employed in that station upwards of thirty  
years

With no less reputation to himself than the benefit of  
the public

He carefully endeavoured to cultivate the minds of his  
pupils

As well with every virtue as with the best arts

At the same time being engaged in the pastoral office

He watched over his flock with equal fidelity

And both in his sermons and writings

Inculcating those things which are of the greatest con-  
cern to mankind

Advanced nothing from party views or affection

But with plainness and a zeal for truth

Recommended to every one's conscience

Piety towards God charity towards men and self-  
government

As the chief doctrines of religion

His mind was so happily framed

That to whatever subject he applied himself

He could think justly, distinguish clearly, judge solidly,  
And express his sentiments with ease.

But he had so modest an opinion of himself

That he would contend with no one for differing from  
him

He was contented with his circumstances though but  
moderate

Neither envying nor desiring the greater affluence of  
others

Adorned with so many and great virtues

He was beloved while living and died lamented by all  
who knew him

On the 27th of February 1737

And the 55th of his age.

[G] And the generous subscription to his posthumous works is a proof what rank he bore, &c.] The posthumous works of Mr Grove are extant in four volumes in octavo, published in 1740, from the author's manuscript. They consist of sermons and tracts, and the life and character of the author, by Mr Thomas Amory; and the names of near seven hundred subscribers of all ranks.

Besides the several works of Mr Grove, mentioned in his life, he likewise published a great many sermons upon several occasions, and on variety of subjects; and some charges delivered by him upon particular occasions; and also a volume of miscellanies in prose and verse.



tiful, yet always under government. He was thus qualified not only to think clearly and justly, but to represent truth and virtue in a most engaging light, and to be a good judge in works of imagination and polite literature, as well as of reason and argument; and in these latter his genius improved by continual exercise and study, and preserved uncorrupt by a prevailing love of truth and goodness, gave him a right to be ranked amongst the most discerning. His moral sense was delicate; his piety as modest and unaffected as it was warm and elevated; his benevolence was warm, active, and constant; and he was perfectly free from all artifice and dissimulation. He could converse with the great without meanness, with a respectful freedom and an easy complaisance; was obliging in his behaviour to all, and enlivened conversation with a good-natured wit, and enriched it by a superior knowledge of books and men. His taste for the nobler pleasures of knowledge, devotion, and goodness, made it very easy for him to observe the strictest rules of temperance with regard to bodily pleasures, as his firm faith in the Divine Providence made it easy to despise the wealth and shew of the world. How much Mr Grove studied the Scriptures, and how much he valued them, appears from the share they have in his compositions. They make a part of his style, and are not quoted injudiciously, and merely by the sound, but according to their genuine consistent meaning; which he estimated by an agreement with the evident principles of natural religion, and the rules of a sound criticism. He had taken great pains on some of the most difficult parts of Scripture, particularly the Epistles to the Romans and Ephesians; and his expositions on these, had he given them the last hand, would have well deserved the public notice, containing many important observations, proper to set the Apostle's reasoning throughout in a clear and consistent light. His great knowledge of human nature and human life, qualified him to reach the heart with a peculiar efficacy, in all those discourses where there was room for those subjects to enter; and there were few wherein something of them might not properly appear. He made it the great aim of his preaching not to inspire his hearers with a fondness for party notions, but with a love of God and of mankind; with a noble indifference to the interests and pleasures of life. The distinguishing excellency which runs through his compositions, is not merely the clearness of his thought and expression, and the justness of his reasoning; but his every where representing religion in a rational and amiable view, and animating all with a warmth delivered from a sublime devotion. As for popularity and striking the passions, though few were better qualified for this than Mr Grove, yet he would never address the passions 'till he had convinced the judgment, nor aim to raise the passions higher than the soberest reason would approve. The contrary practice he thought very mischievous in religion, leading men to place the main of it, not in substantial goodness, but in a sudden heat raised they scarce knew how or why, and vanishing without any lasting beneficial effects on the temper or conduct. As a tutor, he was for free philosophy, as well as for a Scripture Creed. As much as he admired Locke and Newton, he implicitly submitted his understanding to neither, but was solely determined by the evidence they offered:

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.

His great concern with his pupils, was to inspire and cherish in them a prevailing love of truth, virtue, liberty, and genuine religion, without violent attachments or prejudices in favour of any party of Christians; and his reputation on this account, as well as on account of his uncommon abilities, learning, and probity, was so great, that several gentlemen of the establishment chose to place their sons under his care; and the many persons of distinguished merit in the learned professions, but chiefly in divinity, who were formed under him, will be a lasting proof of his great abilities and fidelity as a tutor, and give the friends to knowledge and goodness reason to regret, that a man of such eminent abilities, and so heartily engaged in serving the present, as well as the future immortal happiness of mankind, was removed from among us in the midst of his days and usefulness (i).

(i) Preface to his  
Posthumous  
Works.

G U N T E R [E D M U N D], an excellent Mathematician, a learned writer, and Professor of Astronomy in Gresham-college in the seventeenth century. He was the son of a gentleman of good fortune in Hertfordshire, and a native of that county, though descended from a family of some antiquity, seated at Gunter's-town in the county of Brecknock in South-Wales (a). He was born in 1581, and received the first part of his education at Westminster-school; from which royal foundation, when he was about the age of eighteen, he was elected to Christ-Church-college in Oxford (b). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in that university, December 12, 1603 (c); as he did that of Master, July 2, 1606 (d). As he applied very early to the study of the mathematics, so about this time he invented and explained in Latin, those curious and useful lines laid down by him upon that admirable instrument the SECTOR, which was about this time made according to his directions, though the large English description thereof, in three books, was not composed or

(a) Hist. &  
Antiq. Oxon.  
lib. iii. p. 271.

(b) Ward's Lives  
of Gresham Pro-  
fessors, p. 77.

(c) Fasti Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 165.

(d) Idem ibid.  
vol. 174.



(e) Postscript to Mr Gunter's Description of the Sector.

(f) Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(g) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 397, 508. Hist. & Antiq. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 271.

(b) Oughtred's Apologetical Epistle to the English Gentry against Mr R. Delamain.

(i) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 76, 77.

(k) Burton's Anatomy of Melancholly, p. 265. Mr Henry Bond's Advertisement at the close of Norwood's Epitome of Navigation.

or published 'till many years after (e) [A]. He entered into Holy Orders, and took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, November 23, 1615 (f): but it is not true, tho' positively asserted by Mr Wood, that he was at this time Professor of Astronomy at Gresham-college, or that he became so upon the demise of the learned Edward Brerewood, who was the first person elected into that office (g); though Mr Wood's mistake may well be excused, since this was asserted as a fact by a very grave and great man (h), through a slip of his memory, by whose authority the Oxford Antiquary might be easily misled [B]. The real state of the case was this, Mr Brerewood was succeeded in his Professorship by Thomas Williams, Master of Arts of Christ-Church-college in Oxford, who was the son of John Williams of London, Mercer, formerly servant to Sir Thomas Gresham; and our author was elected into his place, March 6, 1619, two days after Mr Williams's resignation (i). A few months after he was settled at Gresham-college, he gave the public an authentic testimony of the wise choice made by his electors, by sending abroad his CANON TRIANGULORUM, which was the first book of it's kind, and which, if he had published nothing else, might alone have preserved his memory to latest posterity, as it was an admirable help to such as were studious in that science, and as such is gratefully commemorated and highly commended by several of the most eminent Mathematicians who were his contemporaries (k) [C]. But his acute and active genius led him

(1) Foster's Sector improved, p. 1.

(2) Gunter's Works, p. 132.

[A] Till many years after.] The reader will observe, that we do not in the text attribute absolutely the invention of the Sector to Mr Gunter, because there is reason to believe, that an instrument of that name, though different in it's construction from his, had been in use before, as may appear from the following passage, in a work written by one of his successors (1), upon his improving this very instrument of our author's: 'Amongst the many writers, says he, that have been upon the Sector, Mr Gunter hath done best, the lines of his instrument being most in number, and of the most formal contrivance, and most largely commended upon.' The same may be likewise collected, and most of the facts delivered on this head, confirmed from Mr Gunter's conclusion to the reader, at the end of his treatise on the Sector, dated Gresham-college, May the first, 1623, and conceived in the following terms (2). 'It is well known to many of you, that this Sector was thus contrived, the most part of this book written in Latin, many copies transcribed and dispersed, more than sixteen years since. I am at the last contented to give way that it come forth in English. Not that I think it worthy either of my labour or the public view, but partly to satisfy their importunity, who not understanding the Latin, yet were at the charge to buy the instrument, and partly for my own ease: for as it is painful for others to transcribe my copy, so it is troublesome for me to give satisfaction herein to all that desire it. If I find this to give you content, it shall encourage me to do the like for my Crosse-staffe, and some other instruments. In the mean time bear with the Printer's faults, and so I rest.' It is worthy of notice, that in speaking of the instrument he described, he calls it *this sector*, by which one may fairly suppose he meant to distinguish it from any thing of the like sort. We have no certainty what became of his original Latin treatise, or whether it was ever printed: His English treatise bore this short and modest title.

Description of the Sector, in three books, Lond. 1624, 4to. It was afterwards joined to his description of the Crosse-staffe; and after his decease, the fourth edition of it was diligently corrected by Mr Henry Bond, and with the addition of the Sector altered, by Mr Samuel Foster, published in 1661; and a fifth time, with the rest of our author's works, by Mr William Leybourn, who has likewise made some alterations, and from these the Sectors now in use differ considerably: The French from it's uses, instead of the Sector, call it the compass of proportion, and have several useful treatises upon it in their own language.

[B] Might be easily misled.] The famous Mr William Oughtred, in a small piece of his published seven years after our author's death, has this passage (3). 'In the spring, 1618, I being at London, went to see my honoured friend Master Henry Briggs at Gresham-college, who then brought me acquainted with Master Gunter, lately chosen astronomy reader there, and was at that time in Dr Brooks his chamber, with whom falling into speech about his quadrant, I shewed him my horizontal instrument. He viewed it very heedfully, and questioned about the projecture and use thereof, often saying these words, *It is a very good one*. And not long after he delivered to me

after Briggs, to be sent to me, mine own instrument printed off from one cut in brass, which afterwards I understood he presented to the Right Honourable the Earl of Bridgewater. And in his book of the Sector, printed six years after, among other projections, setteth down this; herein ingenuous, that he did not challenge it to himself as our challenger doth, but not ingenuously enough acknowledging from whom he had it: But such is the providence of God, I kept that very letter of Master Briggs, wherein he sent me that print from Master Gunter, dated from Gresham-college, June 2d, 1618, and the postscript, June 4th, and which came to my hands June the 10th. In which letter are these words, *Master Gunter doth here send you the print of a horizontal dial of his drawing after your instrument*. This very letter hath been left by me in the hands of Elias Allen, above these two years, to be seen of any one that will require it.' In respect to the time, it is very plain that Mr Oughtred might be right in his facts, though certainly wrong in the circumstances of Mr Gunter's being then Astronomy-Professor, into which he might be easily drawn by the company in which he found him, and his coming afterwards into that office. Mr Wood taking it therefore for certain, that he was Professor in 1618, concluded from thence that he must have succeeded Mr Brerewood, whereas Mr Williams came in between them (4). In respect to the horizontal dial, this reverend person had certainly no reason to complain of Mr Gunter at all, who, if he had ever intended to have laid claim to that invention, would never have furnished two such evidences against himself as the print and Mr Briggs's letter. The former sent by him, and the latter written at his request. What he delivers in his book of the Sector, is incidentally only, having before shewn how the same thing might be done another way; but in the same work he has spoken so plainly of other persons from whom he borrowed, that it is very hard to imagine he had any sinister view in not mentioning Mr Oughtred, who lived a very retired life, and affected such a degree of privacy, that it is very probable Mr Gunter was unwilling to mention him for fear of offending him. Be that as it will, the best evidence that learned person had to produce against his adversary, was this passage in Mr Gunter's book, and this letter from Mr Briggs, as he tacitly admits, by leaving it in the hands of his publisher. It is indeed evident enough from all Mr Gunter's writings, that his principal aim was to be useful to the public, and that he was very far from being ambitious or jealous of reputation, a circumstance that does him great honour, since a desire to do good is a much more elevated virtue than the thirst of fame, which however, so long as it is kept within due bounds, ought not to be esteemed a vice.

[C] Who were his contemporaries.] The title of this book in the first edition runs thus:

Canon Triangulorum; five, *Tabulae sinuum artificialium ad radium 10,000,000 & ad scrupula prima quadrantis*. Lond. 1620, 8vo. This was dedicated to his most honoured Lord John Earl of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackley, &c. but in the second edition, the title runs thus:

(4) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 397, 508.

(3) Oughtred's Letter Apologetical, p. 21.



him continually to fresh pursuits, in which his quick penetration and very great sagacity gave him astonishing success. For he it was, that in the very same year made that important discovery in magnetism, which has since exercised the understandings of some of the ablest Philosophers and Mathematicians in all nations, viz. *That the variation of the magnetic needle varies* (1); and though this, as we have in another place observed, has been ascribed by Dr Wallis to Mr Gellibrand, as it also was by Dr Hook to Mr Foster, yet it was really due to our author, as will be fully shewn in the notes [D]. He also invented that famous *RULE of PROPORTION* which still bears his name, and which, not long after he made it public, was carried over to France by his friend Edmund Wingate, Esq; who wrote a treatise to explain the uses of it in French, as our author himself also did in English (m), with that plainness and perspicuity which were his peculiar talents, and of which he seems to have had a just esteem, as appears from the answer he made Mr Wingate, when pressed by him to write upon it still more fully; *it is not to be expected that the rule should speak* (n); intimating that something was to be left to the discretion and industry of those who used it. By the help of this admirable contrivance, such things as before appeared so dark and abstruse, as to discourage people of ordinary capacities from attempting them, became so easy and practicable, as to invite even the common sort to these studies, which were of wonderful utility in the ordinary employments of life, and in perfecting mechanic arts; which was a thing of prodigious consequence, and which was entirely owing

(1) Gellibrand's Discourse Mathematical on the Variation.

(m) The Cross-staffe, lib. i. c. 6.

(n) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 207.

Canon Triangulorum, or table of artificial Sines and Tangents to a Radius of 10,000,000 parts to each minute of the Quadrant. By Edm. Gunter, Professor of Astronomy in Gresham-college, Lond. 1624, 4to.

In this edition, the logarithms were continued from 1000 to 10000, and a rule given at the end for augmenting them to 100,000. How careful he was to avoid all suspicion of assuming to himself the credit of other men's labours, and how modestly he speaks of his own, appears from the following account of the use of his canon (5). 'This canon, says he, hath like use as the tables of right sines and tangents set forth by others, but the practice somewhat more easy. For keeping to their rules and working by these tables, you may use addition instead of their multiplication, and subtraction instead of their division: and so resolve all spherical triangles without the help of secants or versed-sines. The like may be done for the solution of right lined triangles, by the help of the logarithms of my old colleague and worthy friend Mr Henry Briggs (10000 whereof follow). For both proceed from the same ground, and so require the same manner of work, as I often shew in my public lectures in Gresham-college. Where I rest a friend to all that are studious of mathematical practice.' But his right to this improvement of logarithms in their application to spherical triangles, is largely and clearly asserted by Edmund Wingate, Esq (6); by Mr Burton (7), by Mr Henry Bond, senior (8), who was himself an eminent mathematician, and never questioned by any.

To this work of his, Mr Gunter prefixed a large discourse concerning the general use of the canon and table of logarithms, written with admirable plainness, and calculated, as all his other performances were, to lessen the difficulties in learning, and to excite a spirit of industry in prosecuting mathematical knowledge, by demonstrating its extensive utility, and by what short and easy methods those speculations which had cost him such infinite pains and labour, might be rendered useful in the hands of others.

[D] As will be fully shewn in the notes. The very learned Dr Wallis, in a letter to Sir Hans Sloane, dated Oxford, September the 30th, 1701, shews a very great zeal in vindicating English inventions and discoveries, and discoursing on that head, has the following passage (9). 'I think it is now agreed on all hands, that what we call the Variation of the Variation, is an English discovery of Mr Gellibrand, if I mistake not, one of Sir Thomas Gresham's professors at Gresham-college, about the year 1635.' In another letter directed to Captain Edmund Halley, dated Oxford, May 23d, 1702, he prosecutes this matter still farther, 'The doctrine of the magnet, says he, hath been mostly improved at Gresham-college, or by those related thereunto, and there conversant for an age or two last past, as Blagrove, Gunter, Gellibrand, Gilbert, Norwood, Wright, Briggs, Foster, &c. and of late by yourself. If I have mistaken some names, or misplaced them, or omitted others, you will be able to rectify it. I have given some

intimation of it, but very imperfectly, in a letter of mine inserted in the Transactions for the month of December 1701, where beside divers literal faults, they have unhappily misprinted 1635, instead of 1625.' Dr Robert Hooke, in treating of this subject, in one discourse of his, says (10): 'Later observations have found that this magnetical variation varies, though the parts of the earth do not seem at all to have altered their position; this was found by Mr Foster and others, in the year 1635.' In a lecture read at Gresham-college, July the 7th, 1686, he treats this matter expressly and at large, and delivers himself thus (11). 'It was supposed, says he, that variations would be found always regular and the same, in the same place at all times, as proceeding from the greater attraction from the parts of the earth, which were prominent and elevated, and which were not likely to be altered by time, at least, not enough to make a sensible variation of the variation.' This was Dr Gilbert's, but in process of time this was by Mr Gellibrand of this college and some others found to alter, and there was found a variation of the variation of the magnetic needle in the same place, and that not verified in one, but in thousands of places. This overthrew all the former hypotheses, and we are now to seek a new one; Mr Bond and Mr Philips, and some others, have been hammering at a new hypothesis, wherein they make the magnetic virtue to be in the air, and so the magnetic poles to be moveable in circles round about the poles of the equinoctial, and the magnetic axis of the earth, to have a conical motion about the axis of the diurnal revolution: which conical motion they suppose to be performed in a certain number of years; so that at length the polar points of the magnetic virtue, after they have revolved a periodical circle, return from the same point from which they did begin.' But as Mr Ward very candidly observes (12), if this discovery therefore was owing to one of Sir Thomas Gresham's professors, and made so early as 1625, it must be attributed to Mr Gunter, and not to Mr Gellibrand, who did not come from Oxford to Gresham-college, till the latter end of the year following, upon Mr Gunter's death. The truth of the matter seems to be, that our author has a clear right to this discovery, for these reasons: I. His experiment at Deptford, was in 1622, while Mr Gellibrand was at Oxford, and soon after he began to apply himself to the mathematicks, so that in point of time, it is the earliest of which we have any good account. II. The variation observed, was within two minutes of five degrees, which made it very remarkable, and removed all suspicion of its proceeding from any accident or error in observation, and therefore could not fail of exciting the attention of so able a mathematician. III. Mr Gellibrand himself acknowledges, that it was Mr Gunter's observation that induced him to make another at the same place, that is at Deptford, in 1634, and finding then a variation of above two degrees in twelve years, it put him upon writing his discourse on that important subject.

(10) Ibid. No. CCLXXVIII.

(11) Hook's Posthumous Works, p. 483.

(12) Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 80. See Mr Petit's curious letter to Mr Oldenburgh in Philosophical Transactions, No. XXVII. p. 530.

[E] Of

(5) Prefixed to the table of Logarithms in Gunter's Works.

(6) Preface to the Construction and Use of Logarithmical Tables.

(7) Anatomy of Melancholly, p. 285.

(8) Advertisement at the close of Norwood's Epitome of Navigation.

(9) Philosophical Transactions, No. CCLXXVI. p. 1036.



owing to the quickness of his invention, and to that wonderful facility he had of communicating his conceptions to others (o) [E]. Our author likewise drew the lines on the dials in Whitehall-garden, and wrote the description and use of them by the direction of Prince Charles, in a small tract which he afterwards printed by order of his Majesty King James, in the year 1624 (p). The dials were placed, as he describes them, on a stone, which, at the base, was a square of somewhat more than four feet and an half, the height three feet and three quarters, and unwrought contained above eighty feet, or five ton of stone. Five dials were described on the upper part, one on each of the four corners, and a fifth in the middle, which was the chief of all, the great horizontal concave. Besides the dials at the top, there were others on each of the sides, east, west, north, and south. But for the several lines drawn upon these dials, and the uses of them, I must refer to the book itself (q). There was, as he tells us, a stone of the same size and form, with the like planes and concaves, and dials on them, in that place before; but the lines on his dials were much different, excepting those which shewed the hour of the day. This stone remained to our times, and was removed not many years ago; but the dials were in a great measure defaced by the drunken frolics of a nobleman in the reign of King Charles the Second (r), from whence our author's book, by the sole assistance of which they may be at any time and in any place restored, is become so much the more valuable [F]. To him also we are indebted for the invention of a small portable quadrant, and several other instruments, which were successively made the subjects of his lectures at Gresham-college, and afterwards disposed into treatises, and printed in his works (s) [G]. There

(o) See the authors before cited, and all the typical corners and other Treatises on Navigation.

(p) See this point explained in note [F].

(q) Description and use of his Majesty's Dials in Whitehall-garden, 4to.

(r) Ward's Lives of Gresham Professors, p. 80.

(s) See Gunter's Works, 1662, 4to.

[E] Of communicating his conceptions to others.] When we speak only of the *Line of Numbers*, it is commonly called *Gunter's Line*, and with very great propriety, since he first thought of this easy and excellent method of combining Arithmetic and Geometry, and this not in a matter of speculation, but in a manner adapted to practice, and which very far transcended whatever had been done upon any mathematical rulers before; but when we speak of *Gunter's Scale*, it takes in all the other lines laid down and fitted to the line of numbers, all which are admirably explained by our author himself, in that book of his which we shall presently mention. His title to this invention, than which there hardly ever was one of so general use, is confessed by Mr Oughtred, in as clear terms as could be expected (13). 'With regard to the circles of proportion, he confesses that he had not so good a claim against all men, as for his horizontal instrument, tho' against Mr Delamain he had. The honour of the invention, says he, next to the Lord of Merchiston, and our Master Briggs, belongeth (if I have not been wrongly informed) to Master Gunter, who exposed their numbers upon a straight line, which being once done, was there any such mastery to bring the same line about a circle? and what doth this new instrument (call it the circles of proportion, or call it the ring, or what other name you list) ought else, but only bowe and inflect Master Gunter's line or ruler.' This is candid and clear, and as his circles of proportion, so Brown's spiral, and all the tribe of sliding rulers flow from hence. It is not intended by any thing here said, to prejudice the inventions or improvements of other men, for that would be a barbarous and invidious task; but to shew the excellence of Mr Gunter's capacity, and to vindicate his title as the parent of instrumental arithmetic, and whatever depends upon it.

[F] Is become so much the more valuable.] The title of our author's book runs at large thus:

*The description and use of his Majesty's Dials in Whitehall Garden, Lond. 1624, 4to.*

In respect to these dials, however, there is a great mistake in Dr Wallis's letter before cited, to Captain Halley (14). 'It was, says he, about the beginning of the reign of King Charles the First, that Mr Gellibrand (if I have not been misinformed) caused the great concave dial to be erected in the Privy-Garden at Whitehall, (which I think is yet remaining) with great care to fix a true meridian line, and with a large magnetic needle, shewing it's variation from that meridian from time to time. I think it were not amiss if exact observation were now made, whether the meridian be now just the same as it was then. For it is very possible that the pole of the earth may in time suffer some little variation, which may not readily be discerned, which may cause an alteration of the meridian line. And this, if so, will be more discernible nearer the pole than farther off. And tho' such provision as was now sayd, were made at Whitehall, for observing the needle's variation from the true

'North; and though no doubt notice have been given many times (there and elsewhere) what the variation hath been at such times: yet I doubt no register hath been kept of such observations, whence we might form a scheme how such variations do proceed from time to time.' We may very easily pardon this mistake, though in justice to our author, we could not avoid taking notice of it, when we consider the honest design of the doctor, which was to excite a desire of preserving the memory of past improvements as necessary helps towards increasing the stock of true science in times to come; his generous zeal for the honour of his country, founded upon the true basis of the worthy deeds of it's inhabitants; and what not only atones for these small imperfections, but should teach us to admire him, he enforces his petitions, by observing that he was then eighty-six; that it was probably his last request, and that he made it for the public and not for himself. But after all, there were once in the same place some other dials equally curious and extraordinary, made by one Francis Hall, alias Line, an English Jesuit, erected on a stone pedestal in the year 1669. These dials were placed in six ranks one above another, in form of a pyramid. But as the surface of them was all of glass and exposed to the weather, they soon decayed for want of a cover. The contriver published a description of them a few years after they were set up (15), at which time they were, as he complains, much damaged.

[G] And afterwards disposed into treatises, and printed in his works.] The shortest method of answering the intention of this note, is to give the reader the title at large of the only treatise of our author, which has not been hitherto mentioned.

*The Crosse-Staffe, in three books; the first, containing it's description and the use thereof in taking of heights and distances; the second, contains the use of the lines thereon in the measuring of all manner of superficieses and solids, as board, glass, land, timber, stone, and gauging of vessels, as also in the famous art of navigation; the third, contains the use of the lines of numbers, sines and tangents in dialling, and an excellent and compendious treatise, fully teaching, and amply explaining, the grounds and reasons thereof, from a projection of the sphere in plano.* To which is added an appendix, containing the description and use of a small portable quadrant, for the more easy finding the hour and azimuth, and other solar conclusions of more frequent use. By Edmund Gunter, London, 1624, 4to.

All his works collected together were printed in quarto, carefully corrected by Mr Henry Bond, and the fourth edition of them appeared in 1662, with the addition of two new inventions, and tracts describing them, by Samuel Foster, as we have mentioned elsewhere; the fifth edition was published by William Leybourn, who was the printer of the former edition, and the editor and corrector of this, in which he inserted, as he says, divers necessary things and matters through the whole work; but, as Mr Ward judiciously observes,

(15) An Explication of the Dial set up in the King's garden at London, anno 1669, in which very many sorts of dials are contained, by which, besides the hours of all kinds diversly expressed, many things also belonging to Geography, Astrology, and Astronomy, are by the sun's shadow made visible to the eye; amongst which very many dials, especially the most curious, are new inventions, hitherto divulged by none: all these particulars are shortly yet clearly set forth for the common good, by the Reverend Father Francis Hall, otherwise Line, of the Society of Jesus, Professor of Mathematics. Printed at large by Guiliam-Henry Street, in the year of our Lord 1673. Superiorum Permissu, 4to. p. 60.

(13) Oughtred's Letter Apologetical, p. 22.

(14) Philosophical Transactions, No. CCLXXVIII. p. 1107, 1108.



(*t*) Hist. &  
Antiq. Oxon. lib.  
ii. p. 271.

(*u*) Lives of Gre-  
sham Professors,  
p. 81.

is no reason to doubt, considering the many great things he performed in so short a time, that the public would have reaped still greater advantages from the fertility of his genius, and that laudable disposition to communicate his discoveries, if he had lived to an advanced age; but he was removed from his life and labours, December 10, 1626, in the forty-fifth year of his age, at his apartment in Gresham-college (*t*). He was buried in the parish of St Peter le Poor in Broadstreet, without any monument or inscription, as the judicious and accurate Mr Ward observes; the want of which, however, will be the less regretted, since the publication of his excellent work (*u*).

it is to be wished he had so printed them, that they might have been distinguished from what belongs to his author. This last edition was also printed at London in 1673, in quarto; for though we sometimes meet

with books which bear in their title the sixth edition 1680, yet that title is all that is new in them, as the inquisitive reader will easily perceive. E





## H.



**HACKET** [JOHN], Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry in the XVIIth century, was born in the Strand near Exeter-house, within the parish of St Martin's in the fields and liberty of Westminster, September 1, 1592 (a). His father Andrew Hacket, descended from an antient family of that name at Putferin in Scotland (b), was then a Senior Burgefs of Westminster, and afterwards of the Robes to Prince Henry [A]. When very young, he was admitted into Westminster-school, where he became known to Dr Lancelot Andrews, Dean of the collegiate church there; who, in the necessary absence of the master, coming sometimes into the school to teach the boys, took notice of this young scholar for his great diligence, modesty, pregnancy of parts, and strong inclination to learning and virtue, which he afterwards constantly cherished both at the school and university. In 1608, he was elected, with Mr George Herbert the pious poet, into Trinity-college in Cambridge [B]; where he was soon taken notice of, not only for his parts and learning, but also for his sobriety and great integrity. He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1612, and was chosen Fellow of his college as soon as capable according to the Statutes (c). In 1615 he commenced Master of Arts (d), and grew into such credit, that he had many pupils, and of many of the best families in England. One month in the long vacation, retiring with his pupil, afterwards Lord Byron, into Nottinghamshire, he there composed a Latin comedy intituled Loyola, which was twice acted before King James the First (e), and printed in 1648 (f). At his return to college, he applied himself wholly to the study of Divinity; and, in December 1618, received Holy Orders from Dr J. King Bishop of London, who expressed a singular affection and kindness for him upon all occasions: as did also Bishop Andrews, from whom he oftentimes received presents of money to buy books. But, above all others, he was taken notice of by Dr John Williams, Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Lincoln: for he being appointed Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal in 1621, chose Mr Hacket for his chaplain, and ever loved and esteemed him above the rest of his chaplains. In 1623 he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity; and the same year was made chaplain in ordinary to King James the First [C], and collated December 20 to the prebend of Ailesbury in Lincoln-cathedral

(a) Account of the Life and Death of Bishop Hacket, prefixed to his Century of Sermons, by T. Plume; D. D. Lond. 1675. fol. p. 3.

(b) Ibid. A Wood's Athenæum, 1721, Vol. II. col. 1147.

(c) Account, &c. by Plume, p. 6 Wood. ubi supra, col. 1148.

(d) From the University Registers. He was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford, July 9, 1616. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 202.

(e) Account, &c. p. 6.

(f) London, 8vo. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 202.

[A] Was then a senior burgefs of Westminster, and afterwards of the Robes to Prince Henry.] His father and mother were both true Protestants, and great lovers of the Church of England, constant repairers to the divine prayers and service thereof; and would often bewail to their young son after the coming in of their countrymen with King James, the seed of Fanaticism then laid in the scandalous neglect of the publick liturgy, which all Q. Elizabeth's time was exceedingly frequented, the people then resorting as devoutly to prayers, as they would afterwards to hear any famous preacher about the town (1).

[B] In 1608, he was elected, with Mr George Herbert the pious poet, into Trinity-college in Cambridge.] When his father (though unacquainted) spoke in his behalf to Dr Nevil, Master of Trinity-college; the Doctor presently bid him spare further speaking to any one; For that boy should go to Cambridge, or he would carry him upon his own back. And his master, Mr Ireland, said, at parting, to him and George

Herbert, That he expected to have credit by them two at the University, or would never hope for it afterwards by any while he lived (2).

[C] And chaplain in ordinary to K. James I.] He preached in his course before his Majesty; particularly once upon the Gowries Conspiracy, for which a Thanksgiving was continued all that King's reign on August the 5th. And though some people have denied the treason, Yet (says Dr Plume) our good bishop was assured, that the most religious Bishop Andrews once fell down upon his knees before King James, and besought his Majesty to spare his customary pains upon that day, that he might not mock God unless the thing were true: the King replied, Those people were much to blame who would never believe a treason unless their Prince were actually murdered: but did assure him in the faith of a Christian, and upon the word of a King, their treasonable attempt against him was too true (3).

(2) Ibid. p. 5.

(3) Account, &c. as above, p. 8.



(g) Survey of  
the Cathedral of  
Lincoln, &c. by  
Br. Willis, Esq;  
Vol. II. p. 134.

(b) Account &c.  
p. 6—10.

(c) Ib. p. 13, 14.

(k) Ibid.  
Br. Willis, ubi  
supra, p. 125.

dral (g). The year following, upon the Lord-Keeper's recommendation, he was presented to the rectory of St Andrew's Holbourn by his Majesty, in whose disposal that living was, by reason of the minority of Thomas Earl of Southampton. His patron procured him also, the same year, the rectory of Cheam in Surrey [D], fallen likewise into the King's gift by the promotion of Dr Senhouse to the bishopric of Carlisle. In 1625, he was named by the King himself to attend an ambassador into Germany: yet, upon second thoughts, he was dissuaded from the journey, by reason, that being the author of the comedy of Loyola abovementioned, which severely reflected upon the Jesuits; he was told, he would never be able to go safe though in an ambassador's train. In 1628 he commenced Doctor in Divinity. At his return to Holbourn his fame increased exceedingly; for, by indefatigable study, constant preaching, and wise government, he reduced that great parish to a perfect and regular conformity (b); and, by his charity and exemplary piety and conversation, endeared himself to all (c). In the year 1631, his patron Dr Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, constituted him Archdeacon of Bedford, to which he was collated October 4 (k) [E]. His church of St Andrew's being very old and decayed, he undertook to rebuild it [F]; and, for that purpose, obtained very large subscriptions from the nobility and gentry, and from many other of his well-affected parishioners. About the year 1639 he had got together many thousand pounds, in stock and in subscriptions; but, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, the Parliament seized them, as well as what had been gathered for the repair of St Paul's cathedral. In March 1641, he was one of the sub-committee appointed by the House of Lords, to consult of what was amiss and wanted correction in the Liturgy [G], in hopes by that means to dispel the cloud then hanging over the Church. Whilst the bill for taking away deans and chapters was depending in the House of Commons, several members of that House being friends to the Hierarchy, moved, that no man's freehold might be taken away in Parliament, without hearing them speak for themselves; whereupon, the whole committee abovementioned, desired Dr Hacket forthwith to depart to his own house, and meet them again the next morning, prepared to speak as the Advocate of the Church of England in the behalf of deans and chapters. Accordingly he made a speech the day following [H], which had a very

[D] His patron procured him also, the same year, the rectory of Cheam in Surrey.] Telling him, that he intended him Holbourn for wealth, and Cheam for health. These two livings, being within a small distance of ten miles, he held till the troubles came, and though he was a great lover of residences, and would say non-residence was never to be excused, but when utility to the Church, or necessity to the person for his real health or sitting state, required it: yet he would often dispute the necessity of a country living for a London minister to retire to in hot summer time, out of the sepulchral air of a church-yard. At Holbourn he generally resided till the end of Trinity term, and then retired to Cheam for health and privacy, till Michaelmas-term (4).

[E] Dr Williams, bishop of Lincoln, constituted him Archdeacon of Bedford, &c.] In his charges to his clergy, he used to exhort them, to keep strictly to the orders of the Church, to all regular conformity to the doctrine and discipline by law established, without under or over doing; asserting in his opinion, that Puritanism lay on both sides; whosoever did more than the Church commanded, as well as less, were guilty of it. And that he only was a true son of the Church, that broke not the bounds of it either way (5).

[F] He undertook to rebuild it.] It must also be remembered, That in 1625, when there was a very great plague; upon complaint of the common-council-men of his parish, that they wanted room to bury their dead, he purchased for that end the new church-yard in Shoe-lane (6).

[G] In May 1641, he was one of the sub-committee appointed by the House of Lords, &c.] That house settled (among many other committees) a committee for religion, consisting of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons: and, at the same time, appointed a sub-committee to prepare matters fit for their cognizance. The Bishop of Lincoln was chairman in both, and was authorized to call together divers bishops and other divines, to consult about what was amiss, and to settle peace. Of the sub-committee, those that appeared and consulted together, were, besides the chairman, Ja. Usher Archbishop of Armagh, Tho. Morton bishop of Durham, Jos. Hall then bishop of Exeter; the Doctors, Sam. Ward, Joh. Prideaux, Wi. Twisse, Rob. Sanderson, Dan. Featlye, Ralph Brounrigg, Ric. Holdsworth, Joh. Hacket, Corne. Burges; Mr John White, Steph. Marshall, Edm. Calamy, and Tho. Hill. The place of their meeting was the Jerusalem-chamber, in the Dean of Westminster's house. And the points they

consulted upon, were, innovations in doctrine, and discipline; concerning the Common-prayer-book; the regulation of ecclesiastical discipline; &c. The committee descended, to bring the liturgical plumes of the last translation, to expunge all apocryphal lessons; and alter some passages in the body of the Common-prayer-book, and certain other things, which divers of the Presbyterian divines said were satisfactory. And when a furious party still pressed at conferences for further abatement of conformity, and the laws established, J. White told them, time would come when they would wish they had been content with what was offered. These consultations were held on several days, till the middle of May, when the bringing in the bill into the House of Commons for taking away deans and chapters, defeated all these pacific schemes (7).

[H] Accordingly, he made a speech the day following, which was the 17th of May. This speech is published at length in the bishop's life, by Dr Plome, from a copy found among his papers. Dr Hacket began with observing, that, The unexpectedness to be thus employed was joined with another disadvantage, namely, the not having heard upon what crimes or offences of the deans and chapters, so great a patrimony as they enjoyed was called in question, that they might purge themselves of such imputations; but only reports flying abroad had arrived to their ears. That cathedral and collegiate churches with their chapters, were accounted by some to be of no use or convenience. In answer to which, he shews the great use and convenience of them. 1. In the daily service of public prayer. 2. In constant preaching. 3. For the advancement and encouragement of learning; our principal grammar-schools being maintained by the charity of those churches; and the preferments there, an encouragement, as well as a reward and maintenance to the greatest men in the kingdom. 4. That the deans and chapters are the council of the bishops, to assist him in his jurisdiction. 5. That the first monuments of piety built in this kingdom, were cathedral churches. Then he offers the following additional arguments. That multitudes of officers have their maintenance, and no other livelihood but by them, some one cathedral church having three hundred persons and more depending upon it. That the tenants had prospered better by holding leases from deans and chapters, than farmers elsewhere under other incorporations. That the cities, especially those that were not maritime, are very poor in trade, but very much enriched

(7) Ibid. p. 16,  
17.  
T. Fuller's  
Church History,  
book xi. p. 174,  
175.

(5) Account, &c.  
by Plome, p. 12.

(6) Ibid. p. 15.



very good effect upon the House: so that, notwithstanding Dr Corn. Burges's reply, it was put to the question, and carried by a great majority, that the revenues of deans and chapters should not be taken away. Yet not long after, in the same session, after an unparliamentary manner, they put it to a second vote; and without a second hearing voted the contrary (l). The committee being thus at an end, private meetings were held at the Doctor's house by bishops and other eminent clergy, who wrote letters to all divines in England of learning and reputation, to exhort them to stand fast in the cause of the King and Church. They also desired the opinion of the most celebrated foreign divines upon the points in debate, which they freely communicated (m). March 28, 1642, he was presented by the King to a Prebend and Residentiary's place in the church of St Paul's London, vacant, and fallen into his Majesty's disposal by the promotion of Dr Thomas Winniff to the see of Lincoln (n). But the troubles coming on, he had no quiet enjoyment of it, nor of his rectory of St Andrew's [I]: and besides, some of his parishioners there having articulated against him at the Committee of Plunderers, his friend Mr Selden told him, it was in vain to make defences, and advised him to retire to Cheam, where he would endeavour to keep him quiet. But he could not be long so; for the Earl of Essex's army marching that way, took him prisoner along with them: and he rejecting great offers made him by the Earl and others, if he would turn to their side, they dismissed him after a while. From that time he lay hid in his retirement at Cheam, where he constantly officiated [K], and did much good in the country, by keeping many gentlemen firm to the Protestant religion, who were much assaulted by lurking Romish Priests (o). In 1648-9, he attended, in his last moments, Henry Rich Earl of Holland, who was beheaded for attempting the relief of Colchester (p). At the restoration of King Charles the Second, Dr Hacket recovered all his preferments, and was offered the bishopric of Gloucester, which he refused: but he accepted shortly after of that of Lichfield and Coventry [L]; and was consecrated December 22, 1661 (q), upon the same day that he had forty-three years before received his first orders (r). The spring following he repaired to Lichfield; where finding the beautiful cathedral almost ruined to the ground [M], he set up, in eight years, a compleat church again, better than ever it was before, at the expence of twenty thousand pounds, a thousand pounds of which he had from the dean and chapter, and the rest was of his own charge and procuring from benefactors. Being finished, he dedicated it anew with proper solemnity on the 24th of December, 1669, and feasted three companies for three days (s). He laid out also a thousand pounds upon a prebendal house, which he was forced to live in (his palaces at Lichfield and Eccleshall having been demolished during the civil wars), and thought to procure an Act of Parliament for annexing it to the see, but did not (t). And likewise he added to Trinity-college in Cambridge a peculiar building called Bishops-Hotel, which cost him twelve hundred pounds; ordering, that the rents of the chambers should be laid out in buying books for the college library (u). Besides these great acts of munificence, he left several benefactions by will [N]. Having arrived to a good old age of seventy-eight years, one month, and twenty-seven days, he died at Lichfield, October 28, 1670, and was buried in his cathedral, under

(l) Plome, p. 16—25.  
T. Fuller's Church-History, book xi. p. 174—179.

(m) Plome, p. 25, 26.

(n) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 181.

(o) Ibid. p. 26, 27, 28.

(p) Ibid. p. 27.

(q) Reg. Juxon. Bp. Kennet's Chronicle, edit. 1728. p. 587.

(r) Plome, p. 30.

(s) Ibid. p. 31, 34, 35.

(t) Ibid. p. 35.

(u) Ibid. p. 48.

riched partly by the hospitality of the clergy, partly by great numbers of the inhabitants being chosen to be the officers of those churches, and partly by the frequent resort unto them. That this kingdom affording better livelihood to most degrees and ranks than the neighbouring kingdoms do; it is but reasonable, that the clergy should have a better maintenance than in the neighbour reformed Churches. And, finally, That the clergy paid greater sums to the Exchequer by first-fruits, tenths, and subsidies, according to the proportions enjoyed by them, than any other estates or corporations in the kingdom; besides finding horse and arms for the defence of the realm. He concludes with this epiphonema; Upon the ruins of the rewards of learning no structure can be raised up but ignorance; and upon the chaos of ignorance no structure can be built but profaneness and confusion (8). — T. Fuller hath inserted in his Church-history (9), the brief heads of this speech, copied (with the Doctor's leave) out of his own papers.

[I] Nor of his rectory of St Andrew's.] One Sunday while he was reading the common-prayer in this church, a soldier of the Earl of Essex came, and clapped a pistol to his breast, commanding him to read no further. The doctor smiled at his insolency in that sacred place, and not at all terrified, said, he would do what became a divine, and he might do what became a soldier; so the tumult for that time was quieted, and the doctor permitted to proceed (10).

[K] Where he constantly officiated.] He preached there every Sunday morning, expounded the Church Catechism every afternoon, read the common-prayer all Sundays and holidays, continued his wonted charity to all poor people, that resorted to it upon the week days, in money, besides other relief out of his kitchen, till the committee of Surrey enjoined him to forbear

the use of it by order of Parliament at any time, and his catechising out of it upon Sunday in the afternoon. Yet, after this order, he ever still kept up the use of it in most parts, never omitting the Creed, Lord's-Prayer, and Ten Commandments, Confession and Absolution, and many other particular collects (11).

[L] But he accepted of that of Litchfield and Coventry.] After it had been kept vacant about a year, to try whether R. Baxter would conform, and take it (12).

[M] Where finding the beautiful cathedral almost ruined to the ground.] For the stone roof, the timber, lead, and iron, glass, stalls, organs, and utensils of rich value, were all embezelled. Two thousand great shot, and fifteen hundred granadoes, that had been discharged against it, had quite battered down the spire, and most of the fabrick. But the bishop, the very next morning after his arrival, set his own coach-horses on work, together with other teams, to carry away the rubbish; which being cleared, he procured the best workmen of all sorts: and, in eight years, as is said above, caused the whole roof from one end to the other to be all repaired with stone, 411 feet in length; to be all laid with good timber, given by K. Charles II; and all leaded thoroughly \*. He also beautified the choir with comely stalls of exquisite workmanship; and set up an excellent organ, which cost above 600l. He had even contracted for six large bells, but lived only to have the tenor hanged, the rest being done by his executor (13).

[N] He left several benefactions by will.] Among the rest, fifty pounds to Clare-hall; to St John's-college in Cambridge fifty pounds; and to the University-library, he bequeathed all his own books, which had cost him about 1500l (14).

[O] Under

(11) Ibid.

(12) Wood's Ath. Vol. II. col. 1147.

\* Plome, p. 31.

(13) Ibid. p. 52.

(14) Ibid. p. 42.

(8) Account, &c. by Plome, p. 18—25.

(9) Book xi. p. 177, &c.

(10) Plome, as above, p. 26.



under a handsome tomb [O], erected by his eldest son Sir Andrew Hacket, a Master in Chancery (w). By his first wife, which died in 1637, he had several children, as he had also by his second wife; and by both lived to see thirty-two children and grandchildren (x). We shall give his character in the note [P]. He published only the comedy of Loyola abovementioned; and a sermon preached before the King at Whitehall, March 22, 1660, on Acts xv. 39. Lond. But after his decease, 'A Century of his Sermons upon several remarkable subjects, was published by Thomas Plume, D.D.' Lond. 1675, fol. And 'The Life of Archbishop Williams', written by him, was printed at London in 1693, fol. of which an excellent and improved abridgment was published in 1700, 8vo. by Ambrose Phillips. His style is but indifferent, very diffuse and verbose, and full of scraps of Latin and new-coined words. He intended to have written the Life of King James the First, and for that purpose the Lord-Keeper Williams had given him Mr Camden's manuscript notes or annals of that King's reign, [which therefore our author did not steal, as Mr Wood invidiously suggests (y)], but having lost many of his books and papers upon his sequestration at Holbourn, he was disabled from going through that undertaking (z).

[O] *Under a handsome tomb.* Of which there is a representation at the end of his life, prefixed to his Century of sermons. That part of the epitaph thereon which includes his character, is in the following words:

Primævæ pietatis  
Et summæ eloquentiæ præfulem,  
Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & fidei orthodoxæ  
Assertorem strenuum,  
Concionatorem etiam ad ultimum assiduum,  
Et  
Superstitionis Babylonice tam maturum hostem,  
Ut penè in cunis straverit Loyolitas;  
Vitæ denique integritate, & innocentia,  
Morum suavitate & candore,  
Charitate erga pauperes eximiâ,  
Et liberalitate erga suos insignem typum, &c.

[P] *We shall give his character in the note.* As to his person; he was small and slender of stature, in all parts clean and well shaped, of a very serene and comely countenance, lively eyes, with an uncommon alacrity and sweetness of aspect: his constitution was rather delicate than strong, yet through temperance and custom, grown patient of long sitting and hard study. His voice was wonderfully sweet and clear, and called by some the finest bell in the university (15). In his behaviour, he was modest, humble, genteel, and civil; and though naturally irritable, and subject to great irruptions of anger, yet he was exceeding placable, and ready to be appeased; and too generous to be revengeful (16). He was extremely charitable; and when made a bishop, no man was less greedy of gain: for he desired to hold nothing in commendam; he renewed all his leases for years, and not for lives; and upon very moderate fines; and spent a very considerable share thereof upon the repairs of his cathedral. His bounty sometimes extended to persons of a differing religion, with whom he held no Christian communion but in this one thing of giving, and never looking to receive again (17). His dress was always plain, not morose or careless, but never costly (18). He was very hospitable, chearful and pleasant at table, and free, communicative, and improving in his conversation (19). When young, he had a most lively and acute wit, which rendered him acceptable to all companies, but

ever tempered with wisdom and learning, that rendered him more acceptable to the best; and with it he had a prodigious and immortal memory, whereby he ever bore about him a constant chronicle of all occurrences, so that he was able to give a present account of whatsoever he had at any time read, heard, or seen (20). By a constant study he had searched into all kinds of learning, and particularly into Natural History; but could never make himself master of the eastern languages. And indeed he often bewailed, that many good wits of late years prosecuted the eastern learning so much, as to neglect the western learning and discretion too. And Mr Selden and Bishop Creighton both affirmed to him, that they often read ten pages for one line of sense, and one word of moment, and did confess there was no learning like to what scholars may find in Greek authors, as Plato, Plutarch, &c (21). He had taken great pains in the study of Antiquity; and in the Ecclesiastical History was inferior to very few: but in the history of our own Church, there was nothing whereof he was ignorant (22). In his younger time he had been much addicted to school-learning, then much used in the university; but afterwards grew weary of it, and professed he found more shadows and names than solid juice and substance in it; and would much dislike their horrid and barbarous terms more proper for incantation than divinity (23). He was an enemy to all separation from the Church of England, of whatsoever faction or sect; and in all points a perfect Protestant according to the articles of the Church of England. But in the Predestinarian controversy, he was of the same sentiments as Bishop Davenant and Dr Ward, under whom he was bred (24). He thought the increase of Popery ought to be strictly watched, not only for the perniciousness of its tenets, as being in his opinion idolatrous and favouring of rebellion, but likewise for the cruelty and sanguinary minds of Papists themselves; for whereas Protestants express a charitable respect towards the souls and bodies of Papists, abhorring all bloody persecutions of them; on the other side *designant nos oculis ad mortem*; Papists ever bear bloody minds towards us, and want nothing but power and opportunity to make as many bonfires in England, as they had done formerly (25). He abounded not only with great learning, acute wit, excellent judgment and memory, but with an incomparable integrity, prudence, justice, piety, charity, constancy to God and to his friend in adversity, and in his friendship was most industrious to fulfil it with good offices (26). His motto was, *Serve God and be chearfull.*

HADDON [WALTER], an excellent Orator and Poet, and a great restorer of the learned languages in England, in the XVIth century, was born of a knightly family in Buckinghamshire, in the year 1516 (a) [A]. His education in Grammar-learning was at Eaton-school, under Richard Cox, then master [B], afterwards Bishop of Ely (b); by whom,

Haddoni Lucubrat, edit 1567, 4to.

[A] *In the year 1516.* This is manifest from his age at the time of his death; as appears from his epitaph set down below. The Haddon family took their surname, either from Haddon in Derbyshire, or Haddon in the counties of Northampton or Huntingdon: and were wont to write their name de Haddon. For we find John de Haddon, Prebendary of Welton-Beck-

hall, in the Church of Lincoln, from 1363 to 1372 (1).

[B] *His education in grammar-learning was at Eaton-school, under Richard Cox, then master.* This, Mr Strype positively affirms (2): and it is quite plain from several passages in Dr Haddon's works; where writing to Dr Cox, or speaking of him, he calls him *præceptorem*

(w) Ibid. p. 54.  
55.  
Wood's Athen.  
ubi supra.

(x) Plume, p. 10.

(y) Athen. Vol. I. col. 484.

(z) Plume, p. 10.

(20) Ibid. p. 52.

(21) Ibid. p. 51.

(22) Ibid. p. 40.

(23) Ibid. p. 50.

(24) Ibid. p. 43.

(25) Ibid. p. 41.  
42.

(26) Ibid. p. 50.

(15) Plume, ubi  
supra, p. 51.

(16) Ibid. p. 48.

(17) Ibid. p. 49.

(18) Ibid. p. 51.

(19) Ibid. p. 46.

(a) J. Balei  
Scriptorum Bry-  
tannicæ Centuria  
IX. No. 87, p.  
762.  
Fuller's Worthies  
in Buckingham-  
shire, p. 121.

(b) See above,  
the article COX  
[RICHARD],  
and Wood Ath.  
edit. 1721. Vol.  
I. col. 204.  
& Fasti, ibid.  
col. 78.

p. 17, 33, 35.

(1) Survey of  
the Cathedral  
of Lincoln, &c.  
by Br. Willis,  
Esq; Vol. II.  
p. 255.

(2) Life of Arch-  
bishop Parker,  
edit. 1711, fol.  
p. 366.



whom, very probably, he was not only grounded in polite literature, but also in the principles of the Protestant religion. In 1533, he was elected scholar (c), and soon after fellow, of King's-college in Cambridge; of which he became one of the greatest ornaments, nay of the whole university, in his time. For, being a most diligent and accurate reader of the best antient authors, particularly of Tully's works, he attained to a fine Ciceronian style [C], and was accounted one of the most elegant Latin writers among all his contemporaries (d). He studied also the Civil Law (of which he took the degree of Doctor), and read public lectures in that faculty at Cambridge in 1547, and the two years following: which so endeared him to the university, that upon a vacancy in the Professor's chair, in 1550, they recommended him in the strongest terms to King Edward the Sixth and his Council [D], as the properest person to fill that place (e). He was also for some time Professor of Rhetoric, and Orator of the university (f). During King Edward's reign, he was one of the brightest lights of the Reformation, in that noble seminary of learning wherein he was planted, and promoted it to the utmost of his power. Upon the deprivation of Bishop Stephen Gardiner, he was constituted, in his room, Master of Trinity-hall, and served the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1550 (g). Through the earnest recommendation of the Court, though not qualified according to the statutes, he was chosen, September 30, 1552, President of Magdalen-college in Oxford; and incorporated, the second of December following, Doctor of Laws in that university. But he quitted his President's place, October 30, 1553 (h), upon the death of King Edward the Sixth and accession of Queen Mary, for fear of being expelled, or worse used, at the time of Bishop Gardiner's visitation of the said college. Some have ranked him among the English exiles in Queen Mary's days (i); but others have affirmed, with more probability, that he sheltered himself in private during that reign (k) [E]. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, he was ordered by the Privy-Council to repair to her Majesty at Hatfield in Hertfordshire (l); and soon after was constituted by her one of the Masters of the Court of Requests (m) [F]. His good friend and intimate acquaintance, Dr Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury, made him also Judge of his Prerogative Court (n). In the royal visitation of the university of Cambridge, performed in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was one of her Majesty's commissioners, as appears by the speech he then made, which is printed among his works (o). But, in the years 1565 and 1566,

(i) Strype's Life of M. Parker, as above, p. 366.

(h) Wood's Fasti, ubi supra.

(l) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 6.

(m) Wood's Fasti.

(n) Strype's Life of M. Parker, p. 365.

(o) Lucubrat. p. 134. See Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, p. 135.

*præceptorem meum* (3), my master; *et excellentissime et ornatissime præceptor*: and himself, *alumnus disciplinæ tuæ* (4). *Et ego tuus discipulus* (5), i. e. his scholar. — As to his being educated at Eaton-school, he acknowledges it in these elegant words, which are the beginning of an oration he made to the Eaton scholars. — *Magnam locus admonitionis vim habet, suavisissimi pueri. Nam hæc ipsa cernens, quondam mea, nunc vestra studiorum incunabula, communium memini vestrarum literarum, et vos amo tenentes illum vitæ cursum, in quo vos ipse sum antegressus. Quales enim vos nunc estis tales nos olim pueri fuimus, et quales nos jam esse cernitis, tales vos dies viros efficiet* (6).

[C] He attained to a fine Ciceronian style.] So that his own words were applicable to him. *In omni vero dicendi ratione, nos et scribendi, Cicero expolit* (7), i. e. We learn from Cicero all the polite arts of speaking and writing. And he recommends to Henry Brandon Duke of Suffolk, the continual reading of Cicero, in words, that shew, he himself was not insensible of the praises bestowed upon him on account of his Ciceronian style. *Si continua Ciceronis lectione confirmabitur unus aut alter annus, talem nobis Suffolciensem afferet, qualis nunquam Haddonus fuit, quem multitudo aliquid esse credit, nimirum ipsa quoniam parum intelligit* (8).

[D] They recommended him in the strongest terms to K. Edward VI and his Council.] For that purpose they made use of the elegant pen of Roger Ascham (9), whose recommendation to the King was in these words: *Princeps prudentissimus Henricus octavus pater tuus, Illustrissime Rex, maximam et sibi laudem, ad sempiternam nominis memoriam: et huic Academiæ spem, ad singularem Doctrinæ cultum excitavit: cujus divino beneficio factum est, ut omnium linguarum et optimarum scientiarum optimi professores, amplissimis ab eo donati præmiis, in hac Academia constituerentur. Inter hæc patris tui immortalia monumenta, munus profitendi juris civilis nunc vacuum est. Cujus scientiæ præclaram doctrinam, tanto ingenio, eruditione, et assiduitate, frequentissimo hominum concursu Gualterus Haddonus hoc triennium apud nos tradidit, ut nihil prius, universi nos una voce a Majestate tua contendamus, quam ut hoc docendi munus huic doctissimo viro conferatur. Et talem virum Majestati tuæ commendamus, cujus unius ingenio, et illustri doctrina, universa hæc Academia commendatior existit.* — Part of the recommendation to the Privy-Council was as follows. —

*Schola Juris Civilis nunc apud nos conticescit. Quæ cum hos aliquos præteritos annos, doctissima Gualteri Haddonii voce, ad illius immensam laudem, ad Academiæ summam utilitatem, circumsonuit: libentes quidem hoc tempore facimus, ut cujus divino ingenio, et singulari doctrina, universa hæc Academia mirifice illustrata est, is ipse etiam, publica Academiæ voce, vicissim ad hoc munus commendaretur. Quamquam non Haddonius causam, sed literarum cum præsentem salutem, tum posteram spem agimus* — The substance of which is, That K. Henry VIII. to his immortal praise, and the singular benefit of learning, having founded professorships for all languages, and the best sciences, in the university of Cambridge; and the professorship of civil law being then vacant, they unanimously and earnestly besought his Majesty, to confer that office upon the most learned Dr Walter Haddon; who had, for three years before, read lectures in that science, with great ingenuity, learning, and applause; to his own honour, and the advantage of the university, &c.

[E] Some have ranked him among the English exiles in Queen Mary's days, &c.] Particularly the industrious Mr Strype\*; grounding himself upon this passage of John Bradford the martyr's letter to the university of Cambridge, in 1555, a little before his martyrdom, viz. 'Call to mind the threatnings of God, now something seen by thy children, Lever and others. Let the exile of Lever, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horne Scory, Ponet, &c. something admonish thee.' But it appears from the Discourse of the troubles at Franckford (10), that it was James Haddon, the doctor's brother (11), who was one of the exiles abroad, during Queen Mary's cruel and persecuting reign.

[F] One of the Masters of the Court of Requests.] The Court of Requests was a court of equity of the same nature with the Court of Chancery, but inferior to it; and instituted principally for the relief of such petitioners, as in conscionable cases addressed themselves by request, or supplication, to the King or Queen. Of this court, the Lord Privy-Seal was chief judge, assisted by the two Masters of Requests. It began first about the 9th of Henry VII. and was taken away by statute 16 and 17 Caroli I. c. 10. Some have called it the Poor Man's Court, because there he was to have justice without paying any money: [No wonder therefore it was suppressed!] otherwise the Court of Conscience (12).

\* Life of M. Parker, p. 365, 366.

(10) Edit. 1575, 4to. p. 13, 16, 23.

(11) Vide Haddonii Lucubrationes inter Poëmata, p. 100.

(12) See the Commonwealth of England, by Sir Tho. Smith, ed. 1635, 12mo. p. 234.



(p) The others were, the Lord Viscount Montacute and Nicholas Wotton.

(q) Camdeni Annales Elizabeth. ad annum 1564.

(r) Fuller's Worthies. Wood's Fasti, as above.

(13) Annal. ad ann. 1564.

(14) XII milliones aureorum.

(15) Stowe's Survey of London, with Strype's additions, edit. 1720. Vol. I. book iii. p. 136.

1566, he was engaged in affairs of a more public nature. For he was one of the three English Agents (p) sent to Bruges, for restoring the commerce between England and the Netherlands upon the antient terms (q) [G]. Some authors affirm that he was employed in several embassies (r), which seems to be a mistake; for he doth not appear to have been employed in any other but that just now mentioned. He died January 21, 1571-2, in the 56th year of his age, and was buried the 25th of the same month, in Christ's Church in London; where a fair monument was erected to his memory [H], which was destroyed with that church by the great fire in the year 1666 (s). An account of his writings is given below in the note [I]. Throughout every part of them, his piety appears equal to his learning and politeness. The famous Leland celebrates him in his poems (t), as does also Bishop Parkhurst (u).

[G] For restoring commerce between England and the Netherlands, upon the ancient terms ] The cruelties of the Duke of Alva, and the persecutions of Cardinal Granvell, together with the fears of the Inquisition, had caused the English, about this time, to remove the mart from the Netherlands to Embden. But Diego Gusman de Sylva, then ambassador in England, a wise man, and zealous for the interest of his master, used his utmost endeavours to reconcile all differences. For, as Mr Camden rightly observes (13), 'He well knew, how great gainers the Flemings were by their trade with England, since Lodowic Malanus Earl of Flanders, about the year 1338, had allured the English, by the grant of very ample privileges, to settle the staple of English wool at Bruges. From that time, the resort was so general of people of all nations into Flanders, to buy the English cloth, and other English goods, and to dispose of their own; that 'tis incredible, what an advance it made in the merchants, and retale trade, and how much it improved the fishery and shipping of the Netherlands. Infomuch, that the English wool has proved to them a true Golden Fleece; to which the famous order of the Golden Fleece owes its origin, and the Dukes of Burgundy their great riches.' The same learned author adds, that 'In this time, (as appeared by authentic accounts) the trade between England and the Netherlands amounted to above twelve millions of ducats of gold (14) per annum; and the English cloths yearly exported to Antwerp, (without reckoning the lead, tin, &c.) were valued at five millions of ducats of gold. D. Gusman therefore wrought so hard and so effectually, that the trade, which had been interrupted, was restored to its former state; and whatever ordinances had been made on both sides to the contrary from Jan. 1. in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, were suspended, till further orders from commissioners of both nations. But the year following (1565) when the Lord Viscount Montacute, Nicolas Wotton, and Walter Haddon, deputies from England; Montigni, Affonville, and Joachim Giles, commissioners for the Flemings, came to treat upon those points at Bruges, the troubles in the Netherlands put a stop to the conferences; after it had been agreed, that there should be an open trade, till one prince denounced war against the other; and the merchants in that case to have forty days notice to dispose of themselves and their effects.'

[H] Where a fair monument was erected to his memory.] With this Epitaph, S. Memoriam Gualtero Haddon, Equestri loco nato, Jurisconsulto, Oratori, Poetæ celeberrimo, Græcæ Latinæque eloquentiæ sui temporis facili principi; sapientiæ & sanctitatis vitæ, in id evecto, ut Regina Elizabethæ a supplicum libellis Magister esset: Destinareturque majoribus, nisi fato immaturus cessisset. Interim in omni gradu viro longe eminentissimo, conjugi suo optimo meritissimoque, Anna Suttona, uxor ejus 2 flens, moerens, desiderii sui signum posuit. Obiit anno Salut. hum. 1572. Etatis 56 (15). i. e. 'To the memory of Walter Haddon, born of a knightly family; a most famous lawyer, orator, and poet; and the greatest master of the Greek and Latin eloquence in his time; raised by Queen Elizabeth, on account of his wisdom and exemplary life, to the office of Master of Requests; and designed for higher employments had he not been snatched away by an untimely death, &c.'—His second wife, Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Sutton, erected this monument, but the name of the first is not there mentioned;

nor his issue. In one of his letters he mentions the death of his first wife, in 1566, in the most tender and affectionate words (16). Her name was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Clere of Ormesby in Norfolk; by whom he had Clere Haddon his son and heir, born in 1553, who was afterwards drowned at Cambridge †.

[I] An account of his writings is given below in the note.] I. He, and Sir John Cheke, rendered into elegant Latin, and were partly concerned in drawing up, that useful code of ecclesiastical law, published, in 1571, by the learned John Foxe, under this title, *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 4to. As appears by this passage in the editor's preface: 'Summa negotii præfuit Tho. Cranmerus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, lumen & splendorem addidit Gualterus Haddon, vir disertus, & in hac ipsa juris facultate non imperitus. Quin nec satis scio an Joan. Checi viri singularis eidem negotio adjutrix fuerit manus (17).' 'Tis pity that so necessary a work was not confirmed by parliament; but the lovers of the glorious uncertainties in the law have always opposed it: because, as Bishop Burnet observes, 'It was found more for the greatness of the Prerogative, and the authority [and interest] of the civil courts, to keep that undetermined (18).' II. He published in 1563, a letter, or answer to an epistle directed to Queen Elizabeth, by Hierom Osorio Bishop of Silva in Portugal, and intitled *Admonitio ad Elizabetham Reginam Angliæ* (19). Wherein the English nation, and the reformation of the Church of England, were misrepresented, abused, and treated in a harsh and scurrilous manner. This answer of Dr Haddon is published among the rest of his Lucubrations; and an abstract of it is given in English, by the industrious Mr Strype, in his *Annals of the Reformation* (20). H. Osorio's letter being translated into French, and also into English, and printed at Lorain in 1565, under the title of *A Pearl for a Prince*; one Abra. Hartwell published, the same year, a translation of Dr Haddon's answer, which he intitled *A sight of the Portugal Pearl, in answer to the Epistle of Hierom Osorius, entit. A Pearl for a Prince*. And Osorio having replied to Dr Haddon, in three books, intitled, *In Gualterum Haddonum Elizabethæ reginæ Magistrum libellorum supplicum de vera Religione libri III*. Olissipone 1567, 4to. The Doctor began an answer; but, when he had gone about through half of it, being prevented by death, John Foxe completed it, and published it in 1577, under this title, *Contra Hieron. Osorium, ejusque odiosas infectiones pro Evangelicæ veritatis necessaria defensione responsio apologetica*, 4to. translated into English by James Bell, 1581, 4to (21). III. The other works of Dr Haddon, were collected by Tho. Hatcher of King's college Cambridge, and published in 1567, 4to. under this title, *G. Haddoni Legum Doctoris, S. Regina Elizabethæ à supplicum libellis, Lucubrationes passim collectæ, & editæ*. This collection contains ten Latin orations, and fourteen letters besides that abovementioned to Osorio: as also our learned author's poems; the chief of which are a paraphrase upon the 5th, 6th, and 7th, chapters of St Matthew, and on the Epistle of St James; and the rest mostly upon religious subjects. For, to his honour, he was a pious and modest poet.—A new edition of these poems, or another collection of Dr Haddon's is mentioned by Ant. Wood (22), printed at London, 1592, 8vo. But we have not been able to obtain a sight of them at any rate.—Several original letters written by him, in Latin, are preserved in the Harleyian Library of MSS.

(s) Wood's Fasti, ubi supra, col. 78.

(t) Encomia, &c. edit. 1589, 4to. p. 102.

(u) Epigram. edit. 1573, 4to. p. 157.

(16) Lucubr. p. 341.

† Extract of Heraldical Collections from the library of the late Sir Henry St George, by W. Oldys, Esq; 4to. p. 18.

(17) Prefat. p. ult. See Burnet's Hist. Reform. Part I. p. 330. and Part II. p. 208. Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 303.

(18) Hist. Reform. Part I. as above.

(19) Vide H. Osorii Opera, Tom. II.

(20) Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 422, &c.

(21) Strype ibid. p. 431, &c. Wood's Fasti, ut supra, col. 75, 78.

(22) Fasti, ut supra, col. 78.



(i) Athen. Oxon.  
in the article of  
Ric. Hakluyt,  
as before.

(8) In the last  
edit. of Hak-  
luyt's Voyages,  
Vol. II. fol.  
160, &c.

(4) In the first folio edition, p. 154.



(k) In Dugdale's  
Origines Juridi-  
ciales, folio, edit.  
1671. p. 226.

(l) Hakluyt's  
Edit. to Sir F.  
Walsingham, as  
above.

(m) Psalm cvii.  
ver. 23, &c.

(9) Idem, fol.  
163.

(10) Leo Africa-  
nus, lib. 8.

(11) See an Ac-  
count of the Rise  
and Progress of  
the Beech Oil in-  
vention, and all  
the steps which  
have been taken  
in that affair,  
from the first dis-  
covery to the pre-  
sent time: also  
what is further  
designed in that  
undertaking, by  
Aaron Hill, Esq;  
8vo. 1715.

(12) Hakluyt's  
last edit. Vol. II.  
p. 164.

(13) Mr Camden  
observes, that  
Saffron was  
brought in such a  
pilgrimage, from  
the Holy Land,  
in the reign of  
King Edward  
III.  
See his Britannia,  
in Essex, &c.

(14) Probably  
when he returned  
from Rome, a  
little before his  
translation of  
Proclus's Sphere  
into Latin, was  
there printed by  
Aldus in folio,  
1499, and not  
the next year, as  
John Pitts mi-  
stakes.

kluyt, as one of the most eminent members, and probably benefactors, of the society in that Inn of Court, were painted in one of the windows of the hall belonging to the Middle-Temple, and correspond with those abovementioned in all but the blazonry; the field here being azure, and the axes gules, according to the sculpture that was etched of them by the delicate and admired hand of that rare artist, Wenceslaus Holler (k). At his chambers, young Hakluyt was, in one of those visits, so highly entertained with certain books of Cosmography, and maps of the world, which lay upon the table, that his cousin seeing him curious, and taking uncommon delight therein, bestowed some pains to instruct him, and explain thereby the division of the earth; first, into three parts, after the antient distribution, and afterwards, according to the more modern and improved distinction, into more (l). He then more particularly pointed out to him with a wand, all the known seas, rivers, gulphs, bays, straights, capes, dukedoms, kingdoms, empires, and other territories of each part; and distinguished what productions or commodities they yielded, and in what they were deficient. Hence he inferred, how, from the benefits of traffic, and the intercourse of merchants, the wants of all nations are mutually supplied. Then he turned to the Scriptures, and shewed how solemnly, how sublimely, the wonders of the Lord are expressed; and how his mercies, no less than his menaces are manifested in the Deep (m). These books of voyages, travels, and maps, together with the solemn words of the Scripture, and his cousin's judicious paraphrase upon, or deductions from them, so captivated his

‘ offered this device, was a merchant, and is dead, and  
‘ withal the device is dead with him (9).’ He also speaks  
of making oil of the seed of sesamum, as they did in Egypt  
(9); which is mentioned also by Pena and Lobell, be-  
sides other Botanists, ancient and modern, to be a cod-  
ded herb, full of oily seed. But the invention of a  
more excellent oil, drawn from the Beech mast, of  
which our island would yield enough, however it might  
not be constantly, in such great plenty, as it does once  
in three years, to supply all our wants, especially in  
our woollen manufacture, was not then known, it seems  
among us; though it was many years used in France,  
before the project was here so vigorously set on foot,  
under a patent granted by Queen Anne in October 1713,  
to the late Aaron Hill, Esq; that, if it had not been  
for some mismanagements, might have furnished our  
nation with a much better oil, and cheaper, than that  
which is drawn from Rape seed, and have saved vast  
sums of money, which are despatched abroad for worse  
oils to supply our clothiers, soap-boilers, &c (11).  
But to return, our author recommends, among his  
other things to be remembered, by the factor before-  
mentioned, his enquiry into the vent or consumption  
they have in Turkey for their saffron, as in Tripoly,  
and some parts of Barbary, there is such great use of it  
according to Leo and others, that though they have it  
in good plenty, they have not sufficient for their pur-  
pose: and as there is no better than we have in Eng-  
land, we might, if it was more wanted, set our poor  
more to work, in Essex, Cambridgeshire, and Here-  
fordshire, where the best of all England grows, says he,  
and the soil yields the wild saffron commonly (12).  
Then he goes on thus: ‘ It is reported at Saffron-  
‘ Walden, that a pilgrim, proposing to do good to his  
‘ country, stole an head of saffron, and hid the same in  
‘ his palmer’s staff, which he had made hollow before of  
‘ purpose, and so he brought this root into this realm,  
‘ with venture of his life; for if he had been taken,  
‘ by the law of the country from whence it came, he  
‘ had died for the fact (13). If the like love in this  
‘ our age, were in our people that now become great  
‘ travellers, much knowledge, and many trades, and  
‘ many herbs and plants might be brought into this  
‘ realm, that might do it good: and the Romans hav-  
‘ ing that care, brought from all coasts of the world  
‘ into Italie, all arts and sciences, and all kinds of  
‘ beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, bushes and  
‘ plants, that might yield profit or pleasure to their  
‘ country: and if this care had not been heretofore in  
‘ our ancestors, then had our life been savage now;  
‘ for then we had not had wheat nor rie; pease nor  
‘ beans; barley nor oats, pear nor apple; vine, nor  
‘ many other other profitable and pleasant plants; bull  
‘ nor cow, sheep nor swine, horse nor mare, cock nor  
‘ hen, nor a number of other things that we enjoy;  
‘ without which our life were to be said barbarous:  
‘ For these things and a thousand that we use more,  
‘ the first inhabitants of this island found not here. And  
‘ in time of memory, things have been brought in,  
‘ that were not here before: as the damask rose, by  
‘ Doctor Linaker, King Henry the Seventh’s and King  
‘ King Henry the Eighth’s physician (14); the turkey-  
‘ cocks and hens, about fifty years past, the artichoke

‘ in time of King Henry VIII; and of late time was  
‘ procured out of Italie, the musk-rose plant; the  
‘ plum, called the Perdigwena, and two kinds more,  
‘ by the Lord Cromwell, after his travell; and the  
‘ abricot, by a French priest, one Wolfe, gardiner to  
‘ King Henry the Eighth; and now, within these four  
‘ years, there have been brought into England, from  
‘ Vienna in Austria, divers kinds of flowers called,  
‘ Tulipas; and those, and others procured thither, a  
‘ little before, from Constantinople, by an excellent  
‘ man, called M. Carolus Clusius; and it is said, that  
‘ since we traded to Zante, the plant that bareth the  
‘ coren, is also brought into this realm from thence;  
‘ and although it bring not fruit to perfection, yet it  
‘ may serve for pleasure, and for some use; like as our  
‘ vines do, which we cannot well spare, although the  
‘ climate, so cold, will not permit us to have good  
‘ wines of them: and many other things have been  
‘ brought in, that have degenerated by reason of the cold  
‘ climate; some other things brought in, have by negli-  
‘ gence been lost. The Archbishop of Canterbury,  
‘ Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany,  
‘ brought into this realme, the plant of tamerisk from  
‘ thence (15); and this plant he hath so increased,  
‘ that there be here thousands of them; and many  
‘ people have received great health by this plant: and  
‘ if, of things brought in, such care were had, then  
‘ could not the first labour be lost. The seed of To-  
‘ bacco hath been brought hither out of the West-In-  
‘ dies; it groweth here, and with the herb, many have  
‘ been eased of the reume, &c. Each one of a  
‘ great number of things were worthy of a journey to  
‘ be made into Spain, Italie, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante,  
‘ Constantinople, the West-Indies, and to divers other  
‘ places, nearer, and further off than any of these;  
‘ yet forasmuch as the poor are not able, and for that,  
‘ the rich, settled at home in quiet, will not, there-  
‘ fore we are to make sute to such as repair to foreign  
‘ kingdoms for other businesses, to have some care here-  
‘ in, and to set before their eyes the examples of these  
‘ good men, and to endeavour to do for their parts the  
‘ like, as their special business may permit the same.  
‘ Thus giving you occasion, by way of a little remem-  
‘ brance, to have a desire to do your country good,  
‘ you shall, if you have an inclination to such good, do  
‘ more good to the poor ready to starve for relief, than  
‘ ever any subject did in this realm, by building of  
‘ alms-houses, and by giving of lands and goods to the  
‘ relief of the poor: thus may you help to drive idle-  
‘ ness, the mother of most mischiefs, out of this realme,  
‘ and win you perpetual fame and the prayers of the  
‘ poor, which is more worth than all the gold of Peru,  
‘ and of all the West-Indies (16).’ There are more-  
‘ over, some other things written by, or to this Richard  
Hakluyt, Esq; as that letter from Virginia, by Ralph  
Lane, Esq; Sir Walter Raleigh’s deputy, or governor  
there, directed to the said Mr Hakluyt, and dated in  
1585; which is also preserved in our author’s collections  
(17): and among Mr Selden’s manuscripts at Oxford,  
there is this Richard Hakluyt’s discourse of the places  
in the East-Indies, where sundry sorts of spices grow,  
with the prices of precious stones, which is not printed,  
I think, in his kinsman’s naval collections.

(15) Dr William  
Turner was the  
first, of our nation  
at least, who dis-  
covered in Ger-  
many, and de-  
scribed in his  
Herbal the true  
tamarisk, as Dr  
Bulleyne hath just-  
ly observed: but  
the said Dr Grin-  
dall (afterwards  
Bishop of London  
and Archbishop  
of Canterbury),  
at his return  
from exile there,  
first imported and  
propagated the  
said medicinal  
plant, probably  
at Fulham, about  
the year 1560.  
See Camden, in  
his Annals of Q.  
Elizabeth, Dr  
Fuller, in his  
Worthies of Eng-  
land, &c.

(16) Hakluyt,  
Vol. II. p. 165.

(17) Idem, Vol.  
III. in the Vir-  
ginian Discove-  
ries.



his attention; and wrought such deep impressions on his youthful apprehensions, hitherto unpossessed with inferior engagements, that he thenceforth nourished a constant resolution, if ever he were preferred to the university, where he might have sufficient leisure and conveniencies to enjoy his studies, that he would prosecute before all others this kind of knowledge and literature, to which the sweet and delightful taste he now received had already raised in him so great an appetite. According to this resolution, when he was not long after, in the year 1570, removed to Christ-church-college in Oxford (*n*), he bestowed all his vacant hours, that were not employed in his usual academical exercises, upon the cultivation of those cosmographical studies; and to that end, made himself such a proficient in the languages antient and modern, that he read over whatever printed or written discourses of voyages and discoveries, or naval enterprizes, and adventures of all kinds, which he found extant, either in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, or English; 'till he became so conspicuous, that he was chosen to read public lectures upon these branches of science, whereof he had made himself such an able master; and was the first man among them who produced and distinguished both the old imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed maps, globes, spheres, and other instruments of this art, for demonstration in the common schools, to the great instruction and general satisfaction of his auditory. In process of time he became, through these uncommon acquirements, familiarly conversant with, and highly respected by, the principal sea-commanders, the great-st merchants, and most skilful mariners in our nation. And though it was but few years after, that he went to reside a long time beyond-sea, his fame made several voyages thither long before him. It is not unlikely, when the King of Spain's Cosmographer, Abraham Ortelius, was in England, as the author of his life, before his *Theatrum orbis Terrarum* (*o*), acquaints us he was, in the year 1577 (*p*), but he became acquainted, among other learned men, with Mr Hakluyt; for after his return home, we find they corresponded together, and with other eminent foreigners, also of exalted fame for their improvements in Cosmography, he was likewise held in great esteem, amongst whom Gerard Mercator was not the least considerable; one of whose friendly letters to him, upon an English undertaking to discover the north-east passage, dated from Duisburg in Clive, the 28th of July, 1580, our author has himself communicated to the public (*q*). Nor could he long behold the advancements in Cosmography which had been published by foreign authors; what that celebrated Venetian, Battista Ramusio, or Francis Lopez de Gomara, and others, had set forth of the discoveries and improvements in navigation, which had been made by the voyagers of other countries; or what Mr Richard Eden and Richard Willes had exhibited, as patterns of imitation for our own (*r*); but he was soon fired with an emulation to improve upon them, and shew the world what gallant figures, more particularly some of our own brave and adventurous Argonauts would make in such like historical representations. At first indeed he laid open but a sparing sample of the treasure that was to be produced, and gave us only an earnest of his future communications. This appears in a small *Collection of Voyages and Discoveries*, which he published two years after in 1582, and dedicated the same to the most laudable promoter of all ingenious and useful knowledge in that illustrious reign under which he flourished, Mr Philip Sidney; but this Collection being afterwards swallowed up, like little streams or rivers in the ocean of his larger naval collections, the said first edition has been overlooked or undistinguished, by those who have attempted any catalogue of his publications in particular, or of travels and voyages in general. It appears in the said epistle dedicatory, that his *Lecture of Navigation* beforementioned, was so well approved of by the renowned Sir Francis Drake, that he made some proposals to continue and establish it in Oxford [*B*], upon the prospect which Mr Hakluyt soon after had of some engagement

*n* Edit. Dis-  
c. p. & Athen.  
Oxon. ubi supra.

(*o*) Edit. folio,  
1612.

(*p*) Abr. Ortelii  
Antwerpiensis  
Vita, Francisco  
Swertio Authore,  
&c. ibid.

(*q*) Hakluyt, in  
the first folio  
edit. p. 483.  
and in the last  
edit. Vol. I.  
1598, p. 443.

(*r*) See Eden and  
Willes's History  
of Travayle in  
the West and  
East Indies, and  
other countreys  
towards the fruit-  
full and ryche  
Moluccaes, &c.  
printed by R.  
Jugge, 4to. 1577.

[*B*] Sir Francis Drake made some proposals to establish his lecture of navigation at Oxford]. This particular we remember to have read some years since, in the dedication aforesaid, by our author, of the first collection of his voyages, abovementioned: and as by the abstract we then took thereof appears, Sir Francis Drake did so well conceive the usefulness of promoting naval knowledge in that manner, and was so well inclined to patronize, and be himself an encourager thereof, that he desired Mr Hakluyt to find out a proper person to read or continue such lecture at Oxford in his absence; on whom he proposed to settle a salary of twenty pounds a year, and to advance twenty pounds towards furnishing him with books. Hakluyt did accordingly find a person willing and qualified to read such lectures; but he insisted on forty pounds per annum, alledging that less would not do to maintain him; but Sir Francis, not proposing that such employment should entirely engross his time, did not mean that he was to be intirely maintained by it: and so that matter dropped (*18*). Several years after, when Sir Francis Drake was dead, our author resumed this topic; and so zealously recommended the foundation of such a lecture in the city of London, to the Lord-Admiral Howard, that his hearty good will for the service of his country has been

much applauded by some judicious men. Mr Hakluyt's address to the said Lord-Admiral, upon considering his Lordship as the father and principal favourer of the English navigation, is expressed to him in these words: 'I trust it shall not be impertinent, in passing by, to point at the means of breeding up of skillful seamen and mariners in this realm. Since your Lordship is not ignorant that ships are to little purpose, without skillful seamen; and since seamen are not bred up, to perfection of skill, in much less time, as it is said, than in the time of two prentiships; and since no kind of men, of any profession in the commonwealth, pass their years in so great and continual hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray hairs, how needful is it, that by way of lectures and such like instructions, these ought to have a better education than hitherto they have had, all wise men may easily judge. When I call to mind how many noble ships have been lost, how many worthy persons have been drenched in the sea, and how greatly this realm hath been impoverished by the loss of great ordinance, and other rich commodities, through the ignorance of our seamen, I have greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this city for the banishing of our for-

(18) See Hakluyt's Dedication to Mr Philip Sidney, of the first edition of his Voyages, in 4to. 1582.



ment abroad. But while he was at home, there could not be a more lively or emphatical testimony given, of his eagerness in the pursuit of all satisfactory authority or confirmation in these maritime adventures, than that he once about this time, as we compute, rode a journey of two hundred miles, purposely, or for no other end than, to acquaint himself with the true incidents and circumstances of a certain perilous voyage which had been made to Newfoundland, in the twenty-eighth year of King Henry the Eighth, from the mouth of a worthy gentleman, in the first note of this article beforementioned, Thomas Butts, Esq; who was then the only surviving adventurer therein (s); in which voyage, the said company was driven to such distress for want of food, that several of them were providentially preserved from perishing only out of a bird's-nest, with the fishes of various kinds which were hourly brought in great plenty thither by an ospray to her young (t); but that provision being too scanty to supply them all, or the greatest part of two-ships crew, they were driven to feed upon the weeds and roots of the earth, and at last, by the increasing rage of hunger, upon one another; 'till those wretched starvelings who were left alive, among whom was the said relator, emaciated to such a skeleton, that his parents at his return did not know him, meeting with a French ship plentifully victualled, seized upon and returned in it to England; where, when King Henry heard the lamentable story of their manifold sufferings and extremities, instead of punishing his subjects for the capture complained of, he ordered a princely recompence to be made to the owners for the loss and damages they had sustained (u). In short, the many singular proofs which Mr Hakluyt gave of his unwearied diligence, to compass and commemorate every extraordinary enterprize made by our countrymen or others, in any foreign nation, that would redound to the glory or advantage of his own, could not remain long concealed from the notice and approbation of the State; insomuch that he received particular encouragements from Secretary Walsingham, by letters dated in the latter end of the year aforesaid, to persevere in

(s) This Mr Tho. Butts had not been long or but few years dead, when Mr Hakluyt published this Narrative of his said Adventures, in the first folio edition of his Voyages, 1589, p. 517.

(t) Idem, p. 518.

(u) Ibid. p. 519. and in the last edition of his Voyages, Vol. III. folio, 1600, from p. 129 to 131.

mer gross ignorance in marine causes, and for the encrease and general multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so general a desire, in the youth of this realm, to discover all parts of the face of the earth, to this realm in former ages not known. And that it may appear that this is no vain fancy or device of mine, it may please your lordship to understand, that the late Emperor Charles V. considering the rawness of his seamen, and the manifold shipwrecks that they sustained, in passing and repassing between Spain and the West Indies, with high reach, and great foresight, established, not only a pilot-major, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable lecture of the art of navigation, which is read to this day in the Contratacion-house at Sevil: the readers of which lecture, have not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish mariners by word of mouth, but also have published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning marine causes, for the direction and encouragement of posterity. The learned works of three of which readers, namely Alonzo de Chavez, Hieronymo de Chavez, and Roderigo Zamorano, came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight and severe examination of all such masters as desire to take charge for the West-Indies. Which, when I first read, and duly considered, it seemed to me so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with us. This matter, as it seemeth, took no light impression in the royal breast of that most renowned and victorious prince, King Henry VIII. of famous memory; who, for the encrease of knowledge in his seamen, with princely liberality, erected three several guilds, or brotherhoods; the one at Deptford, here upon the Thames; the other at Kingston upon Hull; and the third at Newcastle upon Tyne; which last was established the twenty-eighth year of his reign. The chief motives which induced his princely wisdom hereunto, himself expresseth in the manner following. Ut Magistri, Marinarii, Gubernatores, et alii Officarii Navium, Juventutem suam in Exercitatione Gubernationis Navium transigentes, mutilati aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod relevamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solum illi reficiantur, verumetiam alii juvenes moveantur et instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius doctiores et aptiores fiant navibus et aliis vasis nostris, et aliorum quorumcunque in mare gubernandis et manutenendis, tam Pacis quam Belli tempore, cum opus postulet. To descend a little lower; King Edward VI, that prince of peerless hope, with the advice of his sage and prudent counsaile, before he entered into the North-Eastern discovery, advanced

the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota, to be Grand Pilot of England; allowing him a most bountiful pension of one hundred sixty-six pounds, six shillings and eight pence by the year, during his life, as appeareth in his letters-patents; which are to be seen in the third part of my work. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not, but as he dealt most royally in establishing that office of Pilot-Major, which not long after to the great hindrance of this commonwealth, was miserably turned to other private uses, so his princely Majesty would have shewed himself no niggard, in erecting, in imitation of Spain, the like profitable lecture of the art of navigation. And surely, when I consider of the late memorable bounty of Sir Thomas Gresham, who, being but a merchant, hath founded so many chargeable lectures, and some of them also, which are mathematical, tending to the advancement of marine causes, I nothing doubted of your Lordship's forwardness, in settling and establishing of this lecture; but rather, when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sorry, that all this while it hath not been erected. As therefore our skill in navigation hath hitherto been very much bettered and encreased under the Admiralty of your Lordship; so, if this one thing be added thereunto, together with severe and straight discipline, I doubt not but with God's good blessing, it will shortly grow to the highest pitch and top of all perfection; which, whensoever it shall come to pass, I assure myself it will turn to the infinite wealth and honour of your country, to the prosperous discovery of many rich lands and territories of Heathens and Gentiles, as yet unknown; to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our friends, and to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes, &c (19). Among others who have expressed their good-liking to this public-spirited exhortation, the learned Dr Hakewill is not to be forgotten: who having recommended such pains to be taken upon our author's works as they deserve, to render them capable of being read in the most general manner, and intelligible to other nations no less than our own, proceeds also to revive and confirm the above recommendation to that nobleman, in the following words: — For the better breeding, continuance, and increase of expert pilots among us, it would doubtless be a good and profitable work, according to Mr Hakluyt's honest mention, in his epistle dedicatory to the Lord Admiral then being, if any who had the means, had likewise the mind to give allowance for the reading of a lecture of navigation in London, in imitation of the late Emperour Charles V (20). So proceeds to relate the benefits of that prince's foundation, and the learned lectures it produced, as beforementioned.

[C] Such

(19) Hakluyt's Dedication to Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral, &c. before the first volume of his Voyages, folio, 1598.

(20) Dr George Hakewill's Apology, or Declaration of the Power of Providence, in the government of the world; the third edition, folio 1635, p. 310.



in his said commendable collections and communications, as well in justice and honour to their ancestors and contemporaries, as for the example or instigation of their hopeful posterity. He also gave him a commission to confer with the mayor and merchants of Bristol, upon the naval expedition they were undertaking for Newfoundland, and incitements to impart to them such useful intelligence and advertisements, as did much encourage the same, and they gratefully acknowledged to the said Secretary, in the beginning of the next year, 1583, would be signally instructive and beneficial to them [C]. It appears to be so early as this year last mentioned, that Hakluyt had some tempting offers made him, to accompany that accomplished and adventurous knight Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in his said last voyage to Newfoundland; because the learned and ingenious Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, who composed an heroic poem in praise of such naval expeditions, and our brave adventurers in them (w), upon his departure to that country; wrote also, when he arrived at St John's port there, a letter to Mr Hakluyt, in August the year aforesaid, wherein he mentions his expectation that he would have followed them (x). But Providence had otherwise decreed it; for they lost their lives in that voyage, while Hakluyt was elsewhere more safely engaged. For his excellent qualifications having recommended him to the patronage of Sir Edward Stafford, a descendant of that Duke of Buckingham, who fell a sacrifice to the revenge of the puissant and over-bearing Cardinal Wolsey (y), Mr Hakluyt was received by him as his chaplain, or other principal attendant, when he went over, in the quality of her Majesty's Ligier Ambassador, to France; whose instructions to negotiate with the Queen Mother and the Duke of Alençon, we find were some time among the State Papers of Sir Francis Walsingham (z). Here our author bore him company for some years, during the dangerous and expensive residence of that careful and discreet minister at the French court, in the Queen of England's service (a). And as we are informed that Mr Hakluyt, then Master of Arts and Professor of Divinity, had obtained in the month of May 1585, the royal mandate for the next prebend that should become vacant; which happened, it seems, by the death of Dr John Gough, who had long enjoyed the same (b), to be one in the first stall in the church of Bristol; and it appearing that Hakluyt was possessed of it in 1586 (c), we compute that he was elected or preferred to the same while he was now at Paris. Here he found opportunity of renewing his beloved researches, and approving himself a singular pattern of industry, no less abroad than at home; for being acquainted with some eminent Mathematicians, Cosmographers, and other Literati, in his own sphere of study, he enquired after every thing that had any relation to, or affinity with, our English discoveries; and prevailed with some men to search their libraries for the same: at last, having met with a choice narrative in manuscript, containing *The Notable History of Florida*, which had been discovered about twenty years before, by Captain Loudonniere and other French adventurers, he procured the publication thereof, at his own expence this year last mentioned, in the language of that country, wherein they wrote it, by an able and ingenious Professor of the Mathematics, named Martin Bafaniere (d); who has, in a dedication thereof to Sir Walter Raleigh, highly extolled his perseverance and liberality upon the like enterprize, of his own late discovery, and conjunction to the English dominions, of the bordering country of Virginia. There are also some poetical encomiums prefixed to this book, in honour of Sir Walter Raleigh, and those other discoverers, by Joannes Auratus, the French King's poet and interpreter; also by the said Martin Bafaniere and Mr Hakluyt, as hath been partly before observed in another work (e), and may hereafter be more particularly in this. How grateful the publication of that history of Florida was to the ablest ministers of state in France, and how warmly they expressed their resentments the next year, when the impression of it was well dispersed

[C] *Such useful intelligence as they acknowledged to the Secretary, would be signally beneficial to them.* One of the letters beforementioned, which was written by the said Secretary of State to our author, encouraging him in the study of Cosmography, and the furthering of new discoveries, is as follows:

SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM to  
M. RICHARD HAKLUYT of  
Christ Church in OXFORD.

'I understand, as well by a letter I long since received from the Mayor of Bristol, as by conference with Sir George Pekham, that you have endeavoured and given much light for the discovery of the Western partes, yet unknown: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your travell in these, and like matters, which are like to turne, not only to your owne good in private, but to the public benefite of this realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court, the 11 of March 1582.'

Your living friend,

FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM (21.)

There is another letter written by Sir Francis, dated the same day and year with that above, from the Court, also then at Richmond, to Mr Thomas Aldworth, Merchant, and Mayor of Bristol; which he sent thither, by Mr Hakluyt and Mr Thomas Steventon to him; wherein he commends the Mayor's good inclinations towards the Western discovery, under Sir Humfrey Gilbert, then preparing for the same; and therein refers himself further to Mr Hakluyt and Steventon, recommending the Mayor to their conferences thereupon (22). And in Mr Aldworth's answer sent to Sir Francis, in the latter end of the same month, next year, he acknowledges some good lights given by Mr Hakluyt to the merchants, who were least acquainted with the country, the enterprize, and prospects of advantage in the same, whereof they were so well satisfied by his representations, that they readily subscribed towards the expence thereof, upwards of a thousand marks. Besides which, they agreed to fit out a ship of threescore, and a bark of forty tuns, to be left in the country, under the government of the said Secretary's son-in-law, Captain Christopher Carlisle: so entreating his further direction by letters to the company, because they meant to proceed on the voyage by the end of April next, he concludes from Bristol, on the 27th of March 1583 (23).

[D] How

(c) See J. Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, folio, 1716, p. 51. and Brown Willis's *Survey of Cathedrals*, 4to. Vol. I. 1742, p. 789.

(d) L'Histoire Notable de la Floride, &c. descript par le Capitaine Laudonniere, &c. Mis en Lumiere par M. Bafaniere, Gentilhomme François, Mathematicien, a Paris, 8vo. 1586.

(e) In the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 146. before his History of the World, edit. folio, 1736.

(22) Idem. p. 182.

(23) Ibid.

(w) De Navigatione Illustris & Magnanimi Equitis Aurati Humfridi Gilberti, &c., Carmen epicum, Stephani Parmenii Budei. Dat. Frid. Cal. Aprilis, 1583. In Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 137.

(x) Epist. Steph. Parmenii ornatissimo viro magistro Ric. Hakluyto, &c. dat. porto Sancti Joannis, 6 Aug. 1583. Ibid. p. 161.

(y) Pedigree of the Stafford family, MS. Also A. Wood, in Fashi, Vol. I. col. 99. and Sandford's Geneal. Hist. fol. 1707, p. 483.

(z) In Sir Francis Walsingham's Table-book, 8vo. MS. in the Harleyan Library.

(a) Hakluyt's Epist. to Sir Francis Walsingham, as before.

(b) Rymer's Foedera, Tom. XIV. p. 748.

(21) Hakluyt's third volume of Voyages, folio, 1600, p. 181.



dispersed among them, that it was no sooner brought to light, we refer to our author's own words [D]: and that his countrymen might want for no intelligence, directions, or admonitions, in the prosecution of their plantations and settlements in America, which the history of this discovery would afford, he forthwith translated it into our own tongue. And this English translation he made of that *History of Florida*, is dedicated by himself also to Sir Walter Raleigh, in the beginning of May, 1587 [E]. But Hakluyt could not rest here; for, ever desirous of extending our knowledge into the American world, and exciting our ambition, like other Europeans, to avail ourselves of it's undiscovered treasures, and partake our share of it, he published another history about the same time, when he translated that of the French expedition to Florida, setting forth the discoveries, conquests, and settlements, which had been made in America by the active and adventurous Spaniards; that their example also might inflame us to emulation. For having with great care and diligence revised and corrected, he brought forth, the same year last mentioned, at Paris, a new edition of Peter Martyr's book, entitled, *De Orbe Novo* [F], illustrated with

[D] *How warmly the French ministry expressed their resentments that it was no sooner brought to light, we refer to our author's own words*] His own account of this acceptable publication is as follows. — In the year 1587, when I had caused the four voyages of Ribault, Loudonniere, and Gourges, to Florida, at my own charges to be printed at Paris; which by the malice of some, too much affected to the Spanish Faction, had been above twenty years suppressed; as soon as that book came to the review of the reverend and prudent councillor Monsieur Harlae, the Lord-Chief-Justice of France, and certain other of the wisest judges; in great choler they asked, Who had done such intollerable wrong to the whole kingdom, as to have concealed that worthy work so long? protesting further that, if their Kings and the State had thoroughly followed that action, France had been freed of their long civil wars, and the variable humours of all sorts of people might have had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest employment abroad, in that large and fruitful continent of the West Indies (24).

[E] *His translation of that History of Florida, is dedicated by himself to Sir Walter Raleigh, in the beginning of May, 1587.*] It appears that there have been two editions of Mr Hakluyt's translation of this History of Florida published by himself. The first, in a smaller size, was printed singly, in the same year it was translated, as it seems, by an extract from it, of Mr, afterwards Sir John Hawkins his courtesy to the distressed Frenchmen upon that coast, which our author has quoted into the first folio edition of his voyages (25); and the second impression of that translation, he reprinted in the last folio edition of them (26). It appears also in our translator's dedication, *To the Right Honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, &c.* that the first edition of his said translation had a large alphabetical table annexed to the end of the work, which in the folio edition is omitted. And many other special points concerning the commodities of those parts, he thinks needless to recount; because, as he says, in the said dedication, the same, with other things of chief importance, were lively drawn, at Sir Walter's no small charges, in colours, by that skilful painter, James Morgues, or Le Moyne, some time living in the Black-Fryers, London; whom Admiral Chailillon had sent with Loudonniere for that purpose. This French Painter also recorded in writing, many singular descriptions of Florida, not mentioned in this history of that country, which he afterwards published, together with the portraitures (27). And after Le Moyne's death, Loudonniere's history of Florida was translated also from the French, together with Le Moyne's narrative, or descriptions of the religious ceremonies, habits, and manners of the people, into Latin; likewise his drawings of the inhabitants in their said habits, &c. from the life, were elegantly engraved on copper plates, by Theodore de Bry, and all published by him, in one part of his costly collection of voyages; in the like manner as Sir Walter Raleigh's Discovery of Virginia is printed, and adorned, in the beginning of the same volume (28). In the respectful dedication aforesaid of Mr Hakluyt to that great encourager, as well of his naval collections, as those of De Bry, the gallant Sir Walter Raleigh; our author has not only very intelligently set forth his expentive and assiduous prosecution of the Virginian discovery towards an happy establishment, and pointed out such useful precautions, as may be gathered from this of Florida, but also greatly com-

mended him for permitting the fertility of those regions to come to light, by his christian and charitable endeavours. And indeed the generous zeal of that great man to enlighten our knowledge in the like discoveries, was such, that he once purchased the narrative of a voyage made to the Red-Sea by Stephen Gama, the Portugal Viceroy of the East-Indies, written by Don John de Castro, which, as he says himself, he gave to Mr Hakluyt to publish (29); and, as we are informed by the publisher of our author's remains, who has given us an abridgment of it, had cost Sir Walter no less than threescore pounds, besides the cost he was also at, to a person of learning and leisure, to make a translation thereof, and the pains he was himself at, in correcting the phrase, and making marginal notes upon it with his own hand (30). We observe that Mr Hakluyt's dedication aforesaid to Sir Walter Raleigh, of Loudonniere's History of Florida, is dated from London, the first of May, 1587, which, however right in the time, we think may import some mistake in the place, and that it should rather have been dated then, from Paris, or some other part of France, as may appear, no less by other circumstances, than by the number of years which he mentions himself, as we shall see above in the text, to have continued there. Another History of Florida, we shall hereafter speak of, which was also translated by our indefatigable author, from the Portuguese, and published in the next reign.

[F] *He brought forth at Paris, a new edition of Peter Martyr's book, De Orbe Novo.*] This book is entitled, *De ORBE NOVO PETRI MARTYRI ANGLERII MEDIOLANENSIS, PROTONOTARII, ET CAROLI QUINTI SENATORIS, DECADES OCTO, DILIGENTI TEMPORUM OBSERVATIONE ET UTILISSIMIS ANNOTATIONIBUS ILLUSTRATÆ, SUOQUE NOTORI RESTITUÆ. LABORE ET INDUSTRIA RICHARDI HAKLUYTI, OXONIENSIS, ANGLI. ADDITUS EST, IN USUM LECTORIS, ACCURATUS TOTIUS OPERIS INDEX.* Paris. 8vo. 1587. There is prefixed, a copious dedication in Latin, as was said, in about nine pages, to *The Illustrious and Magnanimous Sir Walter Raleigh, &c.* as he styles him; wherein our editor has justly celebrated his memorable and much applauded enterprize upon Virginia; his settlement of colonies there; his liberal encouragement of navigators, officers, and surveyors thereof; such as the learned Mr Thomas Harriot, and others; with many commendable exhortations, both from argument and example, to proceed in that, and such like heroic undertakings, for the honour, advantage, and aggrandizement of his country; as may be more particularly read in the address itself. This dedication is dated from Paris, on the 8th of the calends of March in the year aforesaid. There is printed in this edition, besides his brief marginal notes, to illuminate the text, or point out the chief heads of the history, and a commodious index of the contents, at the end; also a map at the beginning, from a copper sculpture of New England and America, having the English possessions engraved, or marked thereupon. And the said map is inscribed to our author Mr Hakluyt, as an eminent promoter of such cosmographical discoveries and plantations. This sculpture is also dated from Paris, on the calends, or first of May, in the same year. And that this work might be rendered more generally exemplary to his countrymen, it was, through his recommendation, near twenty years after, in the next reign, when such adventures, especially to Virginia, were in some danger of stagnation, translated into English. This translation bears the title of, *The Historie of the West-Indies: Containing the Actes and Adventures of the Spaniards,* which

(24) Mr Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, before his second volume of Voyages, folio, 1599.

(25) See the Arrival, &c. of Mr Hawkins in Florida, in Hakluyt's Voyages, edit. folio, 1589. p. 543.

(26) Entituled, A Notable Historie, containing four voyages, made by certain French Captains into Florida, &c. translated out of French into English, by Mr Richard Hakluyt. In his Voyages, Vol. III. folio, 1600. p. 301.

(27) Idem, in his Dedication to Sir Walter Raleigh.

(28) Vide Secunda Pars Americæ, apud Theodorem de Bry, folio, 1591. being the next year, after the said de Bry published his curious English edition in folio, at Francford, of a Report and true Brief of the new found land of Virginia, by T. Harriot; with the Manners and Customs of the People, translated from the Latin by Mr Hakluyt, and the pictures of their fashions from the drawings of Mr John White; and others of the ancient pictures (which John Speed has copied in wooden prints) all dedicated by de Bry to Sir Walter Raleigh, in folio, 1590.

(29) See Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World, lib. II. cap. iii. sect. 8. Also the Life of Sir Walter Raleigh prefixed thereto, in the edit. fol. 1736, p. 110.

(30) Purchas's Pilgrims, Part II. fol. 1122.



with marginal notes, a commodious index, a map of New-England and America, and a copious dedication, also to Sir Walter Raleigh. And the said book, written by Peter Martyr, he afterwards caused likewise to be translated into English. But this industrious revival, and liberal display of the brave exploits of the Spaniards and other foreigners, in this new-found world, served only, with many, to confirm that character wherewith the English nation had been aspersed by some among them, of indolence and negligence, in such like glorious and gainful acquisitions; and that we, who had greater advantages than other nations for such enterprizes, made the least use of them. For not only in society, but in his study among their books, he found us more durably branded therewith, as he says himself (f); and that, as well in their compositions as their conversation, he found other countries marvellously extolled for their notable discoveries and achievements by sea, but the English of all others, for their sluggish security, and continual neglect of the like attempts, especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported of [G], or exceedingly condemned; with whose singular opportunities, it some

(f) In his Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the first edition of his *Voyages*, as before.

other

which have conquered and peopled those Countries; enriched with varietie of pleasant Relation, of the Manners, Ceremonies, Lawes, Governments, and Warres of the Indians. Published in Latin by Mr Hakluyt, and translated into English by M. Lok, Gent. London, printed for Andrew Hebb, &c (31).

This work, says that translator, of the Decades, written by Peter Martyr, a Millanoise, of Angleria, intitled *The History of the Newe World*, containeth the first discovery of the West-Indies, together with the subjection and conquest thereof. Wherein we are chiefly to consider the industry and travails of the Spaniards, their exceeding charge in furnishing so many ships for this intended expedition; their continual supplies to further their attempts, and their active and undaunted spirits in executing matters of that quality and difficulty; and lastly their constant resolution of plantation: all which may be exemplary unto us, to perform the like in our Virginia; which being once thoroughly planted and inhabited with our people, may return as great benefit to our nation in another kind, as the Indies do unto the Spaniard. For although it yield not gold; yet is it a fruitful pleasant country, replenished with all good things, necessary for the life of man, if they be industrious who inhabit it. But we leave this to them who have authoritie and good purses to further a matter of such important consequence, and return to our purpose. Besides the first discoverie of this countrie of the West-Indies, this history likewise declareth the conquest and subjection of the people, the manner how, and what myriades of millions of poor naked Indians were slaughtered and subdued through the conquering sword, and the number of the Spaniards that attempted and performed the same. Wherein the chief men of note, and principal commanders have their particular names set down, and Christopher Columbus, Fernando Cortes, Fern. Magellanus, and the rest, whom the author hath expressly mentioned, to their eternal commendation; and for the incitement and provocation of the living to the like honourable and high attempts. Here also are the people described, by their several nations, particular rites, ceremonies and customs; by their habit and attire, either in war or in peace; also by their religion, sacrifices, and other demeanour and gestures whatsoever: so that to read the particulars discoursed there at large, which I briefly mention here, will so allure the reader, that nothing may seem more pleasing and delightful. For as in fashions of apparell, and ordinary diet, we like extraordinary variety and change, though both transgress the rules of modestie and sobriety, yet either of these please the appetite and intemperate desires: so doth varietie of historie yield more pleasure and contentment; which, being a thing of more indifferency, and as strong a motive in another kind, cannot but affect the senses, and intellectual faculties with far greater delight. Hereunto he addeth the special description of the several countries, with their particular situation, bounds, abutments, and quality of soil; together with their mountains, hills, rivers, meddows, pastures, woods, forest, vallies, plains and champions, and what goodlie cities and fortified towns are there erected, with the matter and manner of their architecture and building, with all the ornament and elegancie thereof; their huge palaces, and houses of pleasure, far exceeding many princes courts; their orchards, gardens, and other inclosures, for wild beasts and fowls of divers kinds, beau-

tified with wonderful art and curiosity; their mightie lakes, whereof some are little inferior to the Euxine sea, abounding with excellent fish, and whatsoever else the divine bountie might bestow upon a blessed countrie, to enrich them with all earthly felicity. And lastly, he largely describeth what those mountains, hills, vallies, and champions, rivers and lakes ingender, and bring forth; what minerals, as gold and silver, and what pearls and precious stones; what wild beasts, prodigious and strange; what fowl and fish; flies and worms of the earth, and other noysome things are bred there; and of the nature and qualitie of all these. All which, this historian, most learnedly, in a more large and ample manner describeth, than this short narration can report; which, least it exceed the just measure of due limits and bounds, I willingly persuade the reader to have recourse unto the author himself; from whence he shall receive a more perfect satisfaction touching particulars, than this generality doth include, &c

(32). About some five or six years after, there was another edition of this translation published, with some variation in the title; wherein the author's name is mentioned, with other particulars, more expressly; and probably by the direction of Mr Hakluyt. This edition appears under the title of, *De Orbe Novo, or The Historie of the West-Indies, &c. Comprised in eight Decades; written by Peter Martyr, a Millanoise of Angleria; chief Secretary to the Emperour Charles V. and of his Privy Council: Whereof three have been formerlie translated into English by R. Eden; whereunto the other five are newly added, by the industrie and painful Travail of M Lok, Gent. Lond. Printed for Tho Adam, Quarto, 1612.* Before this English edition is prefixed a dedication by the said translator Mr Lok, in Latin, to Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and afterwards Master of the Rolls; wherein, he informs his said patron, that this translation was undertaken and performed, by the persuasion and encouragement of the accomplished Mr Richard Hakluyt, who had so well deserved of the publick. There was another impression of this English translation published in the beginning of King Charles the First his reign, about the year 1628.

(32) Mr Lok's Preface to his Translation of Peter Martyr's Hist. of the West Indies, 4to. no date.

[G] *The English, of all others, for their sluggish security, &c. ignominiously reported of.* Here Mr Hakluyt produces the authority upon which these reflexions are partly grounded, of a noted French writer; where speaking in commendation of the Rhodians, who being islanders, like ourselves, were excellent in navigation; he thereupon wonders much that the English made no greater figure than they had done, or were not more famed in naval exploits. This made that French author sometimes inquisitive, what it might be, that could hinder the English, who had wit, means, and courage enough, from rising to great reputation among all christian countries, and from making themselves more considerable, or accounted of, upon the sea; since that element is, and should be more natural to them than other people; who should submit, and be inferior to them, in the building, fitting out, and conduct of their navies; as he had oftentimes observed in many places among them: for this is the sense of his own words, which are; *'Ce qui m'a fait autrefois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens, et valeur assez, pour saquerir un grand honneur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element, qui leur est, et doit estre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples; qui leur doivent ceder en la structure, accommodement, et police de Navires:*



(g) *Ibid.*

(b) *Ibid.* Also his Dedication to the said Lord Admiral, Charles Earl of Nottingham, before the first volume of his last edition of *Voyages, &c.* folio, 1598.

(i) See Sir Walter Raleigh's Assignment to divers gentlemen and merchants of London, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in Virginia; dat. 7 Mar. 31 Eliz. in Hakluyt's first folio edit. p. 815. And the Life of Sir W. Raleigh, folio, as before, p. 48, 49.

(13) L'Admiral de France; par la Popeliniere, folio, 1573. p. 1, 2.

(34) Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, of the first folio edit. of his *Voyages*, as before.

other people, our neighbours, had been blessed, their protestations were frequent and vehement, that they would far otherwise have used them (g). Such like reflections made Hakluyt soon recollect, that while he was paying honour to the writings and actions of worthy men abroad, he might be charged himself with neglect, in forbearing longer to produce and exemplify that which was justly due to those at home. Infomuch, that after his abode now in France five years with Sir Edward Stafford, returning into England in company with the accomplished Lady Sheffield, sister to the Lord Admiral Howard (b); in the latter end of 1588, that memorable year wherein his countrymen so bravely defeated one of the great enterprizes which the Spaniards themselves accounted invincible, he grew impatient to set forth the naval history of England more expressly and extensively than it had ever yet appeared. And so intense were his zeal and application herein, that however incomplicable he found some contracted and tenacious tempers, he obtained the communications of many other persons of the greatest distinction and experience in maritime knowledge. And to give farther interest, countenance, and credit, to his said laudable undertaking, Sir Walter Raleigh chose him, among other gentlemen and merchants in the latter end of the year aforesaid, one of the corporation of counsellors, assistants, and adventurers, to whom he assigned his patent for the prosecution of discoveries and plantations in America (i). And now he applied himself so closely to amass, translate, and digest, all such voyages, journals, narratives, patents, letters, instructions, &c. as any way concerned the English navigations, which he could procure either in print or manuscript; that in the latter end of the next year, 1589, he published his said collections in one folio volume [H], with a dedication before it to Sir Francis Walsingham, who was a principal patron

*vires : comme j'ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux* (33). Thus Hakluyt, both hearing and reading the obloquy of our nation, but finding few of our own people inclined, or able to reply herein, and seeing none forward in recommending to the world, the industrious labours, and painful travels of our countrymen; that he might prevent the dispersion of such reproaches, he determined, upon his return from France, to undertake the burden of that work, wherein all others pretended either ignorance, lack of leisure, or sufficient argument: whereas, says he, to speak truly, the huge toil, and small profit, were the chief causes of their refusal. He calls the work a burden, because these voyages lay so dispersed, and so hidden in the hands of hucksters, that he wonders at himself, to see how he was able to endure the delays, scruples, and backwardness of many, from whom he was to receive his originals (34). But passing over the difficulties and discouragements, which he at last surmounted, he proceeds, in confutation of such reflections, to make it appear wherein our countrymen have been most signally worthy of praise, for their many notable and extraordinary adventures and expeditions, performed with the greatest intrepidity, expertness, and success, to the great increase of experience, profit and renown, in their voyages of discovery, traffic and alliance with many kingdoms and regions, most distant and divided. 'It cannot be denied, says he, but as, in all former ages, they have been men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world; so in this most famous and peerless government of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects, through the special assistance and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speak plainly, in compassing the vast globe of the earth, more than once, have excelled all the nations, and people of the earth: For which of the Kings of this land, before her Majesty, had their banners ever seen in the Caspian Sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obtained for her merchants, large and loving privileges? who ever saw, before this regimen, an English Leiger in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? whoever found English Consuls and Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa, before now? what English ships did heretofore ever anchor in the mighty river of Plate? pass and repass the unpassable, in former opinion, Strait of Magellan; range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the back-side of Nova Hispania, further than any Christian ever passed; travers the mighty breadth of the South Sea; land upon the Luzones, in despite of the enemy: enter into alliance, amitie, and traffic, with the Princes of the Moluccaes, and the Isle of Java; double the famous cape of Bona Speranza; arrive at the Isle of Santa Helena; and last of all, return home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects of this new

'flourishing monarchy hath done (35)?' and in these shining courses they continued to exert themselves, till the end of that renowned reign; still enlarging their honour and glory, by their naval exploits; whether in the discovery or investigation of unknown countries, in the conquest of their enemies, or enlargement of commerce with their friends; as may most evidently appear in the voyages set forth by Master Hakluyt; wherefore a Dutch author, who in the former part of the next reign, had a just knowledge of their maritime merits, has in one of his nautical discourses given them a character equal thereunto; where he delivers it for an uncontested truth, That the English, at that time, surpassed all nations, even the Hollanders themselves, for their industry and skill in navigation: *Hoc certum est, says that author (36), omnibus hodie gentibus, navigandi, industria et peritia, superiores esse Anglos; et post Anglos, Hollandos.*

[H] In the latter end of the next year, 1589, he published his said collections in one folio volume, &c. This work is intituled, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea, or over Land, to the most and furbest distant Quarters of the Earth, at any time within the Compass of these Fifteen Hundred Years: Divided into three several Parts, according to the Positions of the Regions whereunto they were directed, &c.* Imprinted at London by Geo. Bishop and Ralph Newberrie, Deputies to Chr. Barker, Printer to the Queene's most excellent Majesty. Folio 1589. It is dedicated by the author, as we have before observed; To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty, Chancellor to the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Councell, and dated from London, 17 November (in the year aforesaid). After the dedication, from which we have received some useful particulars, and in which it appears that the whole work had passed the censure and approbation of that learned physician, Dr James, according to the desire and direction of Sir Francis, there is a very distinct and articulate preface, wherein we are made acquainted with the author's method, or disposition, and digestion of the whole work, according to the division proposed in his title: shewing how he has marshalled all our voyages of greatest importance, 1. To the South; and Southern parts of the world. 2. The North and North-Eastern voyages. 3. And lastly, The Western navigations, which have been more lately made, for the discovery and plantation of the New, and American World, &c. Under all which heads he instances some of our capital expeditions. Whereunto is added, the last renowned voyage round the globe of the earth, by Mr Thomas Cavendish; which being the more circumstantial, renders the want of Sir Francis Drake's, in this edition, the less necessary; wherein though our author took extraordinary pains to correct, digest, and adapt it to his work, yet was he dissuaded, contrary to his expectation, from inserting the same, lest it might anticipate the undertaking

(35) *Ibid.* See also Hakluyt's Preface to the first volume of his last edition, folio, 1598.

(36) Barth. Kerman.



patron and promoter of the said publication; from which epistle we have received some good intelligence and directions in this article relating to the author himself, as may be perceived in our frequent references thereto. In 1590, when the fifth voyage was undertaken to Virginia by three ships, under Governor White, for relief of the colony there; and Sir Walter Raleigh had, at the request of Mr Hakluyt and the other assignees, sent a licence from the Queen, for those under the governor, with orders to proceed, notwithstanding the embargo which was then laid upon all English shipping, and other private oppositions; the masters and mariners under the governor, by excursions after Spanish prizes, losing their season, returned, without seeing the planters, and not without some losses sustained by storms; as appears in the Governor's letter afterwards to Mr Hakluyt, dated the fourth of February, 1593 (k); but the greatest loss of all was, a Spanish Mexican prize, which the Little John, their Vice-Admiral, had rendered so leaky and disabled, by great shot, about the Organes, that, sinking before they could board, to clear it, they lost fifteen pipes of silver, by the conquest they had too effectually made thereof; as appears in the Governor's journal of that voyage, printed also by our author with his letter aforesaid (l). Though about this time, or the year 1594, as we compute, he entered into the state of matrimony, it diverted not the continuation of his collections; the labour

(k) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 287.

(l) Idem, p. 29.

ing of another person, to draw the services of that Knight into one volume.

From the said preface, as it was never afterwards reprinted, we may the rather also here remember, that our author gratefully acknowledges from whose friendly interest, communications, and encouragement, this collection was chiefly compiled. For, as he accounted those unworthy of future, who are unthankful for former favours, so, says he, 'I should think it gross ingratitude, to forget, and will full maliciousness not to confess that man, whose only name doth carry with it sufficient estimation and love, and that is, Master Edward Dier;' of whom he further says thus much, in few words; That, 'both myself, and my intentions herein, by his friendly means, have been made known to those, who, in sundry particulars, have much steaded me: more especially in my first part, Mr Richard Staper, Merchant of London, hath furnished me with divers things touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrough, Clerk of her Majesty's Navy, and Master Anthony Jenkinson, both gentlemen of great experience and observation in the north regions, have much pleased me in the second part: in the third and last, besides my own extream travail, in the histories of the Spaniards, my chief light hath been received from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinsman, Master Richard Hakluyt, of the Middle-Temple (37).'

(37) Hakluyt's Dedication to Sir F. Walsingham, as above.

And whereas, in this history, mention is often made of many beasts, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, herbs, roots, apparel, armour, boats, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to read of, but more to see, our author was singularly delighted in beholding them gathered together, at no small cost, and preserved with no little diligence, in the excellent cabinets of his worshipful and learned friends, Mr Richard Garth, one of the Clerks of the Petty-Bag, and Mr William Cope, Gentleman-Usher to the Lord-Treasurer Burghley.

As for geographical and hydrographical tables, he contented himself with inserting into the work, one of the best general maps of the world only; till the publishing of a very large and most exact terrestrial globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, most secret, and late discoveries, both Spanish, Portugal and English, composed by Mr Emmerly Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare gentleman in his profession; being therein, for divers years, supported, by the purse and liberality of that worshipful Merchant, Mr William Sanderson: so wishing the reader's profit and pleasure as great as his labour and pains had been, our author concludes the said preface.

After that preface, from whence these extracts are produced, we have some poetical encomiums upon the author and his labours, in Greek, by Mr Hugh Broughton; in Italian, by Marc. Antonio Pigafetta, who was the son, or other relation, of that famous voyager so named, with Magellan round the world (38); and in Latin, by Mr Camden and Philip Jones. In the whole collection, the voyages, travels, journals, &c. are between ninety and one hundred; and the records, patents, privileges, letters, embassies, commissions, instructions, orders, rules, edicts, passports, notes of commodities, direction, enquiries, &c. are about one

hundred and three-score, contained in 825 pages. Besides the dedication and preface beforementioned, there are also in this volume some few voyages, instruments, and other things, which, partly to avoid being too voluminous, were not revived in his next and more ample edition; particularly the Itinerary of Sir John Mandeville, the greatest Asian traveller that had been in Europe; which he dedicated to King Edward the Third, and of which we have here a more correct impression in Latin than had hitherto been published (39); however some writers have spoken very disparagingly of ever seeing a genuine and uncorrupted edition thereof, in any language, though we have many old manuscripts of this author, at Oxford, Cambridge, and in other libraries. Some letters also in this volume, and that assignment of Sir Walter Raleigh above cited, are omitted in the next edition; and in that is likewise wanting, an accurate and useful index, wherewith this is supplied. But his rules of conduct in both, are more explicit, satisfactory, and historical, than in most other succeeding collections of voyages. He records the testimonies of his authors word for word, in whatever language written; refers to the pages of their books, and subjoins his own translations, or the substance of their narratives, in English; has ascribed each voyage to the adventurer who performed and the author who compiled it; that every man may answer for himself: has confined his collections to the navigations of our own nation, and annexes the evidence of strangers to confirm or enlarge the English accounts of them; but for several adventures and transactions of his countrymen in foreign nations, he could only be beholden to the relations of foreigners, from whom, concerning several of our ancient travellers, he received more intelligence, in some respects, than any of our own historians, except Bale, Fox, and Eden. He has left out little short trading voyages to neighbouring and European ports; and also many of warfare and hostility; as that against the Spanish armada, and the Portugal expedition; those of Sir Francis Drake upon the bay of Cadiz, and near the islands, upon the huge East Indian carrack, which first discharged Molucca spices on the English shores: such as these were at present intermitted, as what being recent, might at any time hereafter be incorporated, but at present, besides his prescribed limits, and not of scope or extension enough to advance our experience in Cosmography and Traffic, or engage our curiosity in discoveries and plantations, the chief subject and drift of his present plan; but he afterwards enlarged and enriched it with those particulars, in the next edition, as the invasions of our enemies, and our repulse of them, gave occasion: for then, perceiving that such examples, as would train his countrymen to the naval arts of domestic defence, might sometimes concern us more nearly than those which would make us rovers after distant and extraneous acquisitions, he therefore very acceptably and instructively recorded all such naval engagements of moment as intermediately occurred in his said latter impression; wherein it appears more to the honour and renown of the English nation, than in any other work, that we were then become more expert, formidable, and famous, by our warlike exploits at sea, than any of our neighbours could, by the like heroic and victorious achievements, boast to have rendered themselves.

(39) There was an old Latin edit. before printed, intitled Joann. de Mandeville Itinerarium a Terra Angliæ, in partes Ierosolymitanas, & ultiores transmarinas, ab autore primum Gallice conscriptum, anno 1355. & postea Latine versum, 4to. in the time of King Henry VIII. Also an edition in Italian, 12mo. 1567, &c. And lastly, one in old English, published from a MS. in the Cotton library, by Mr David Casley, 8vo. 1725. in which may be seen some account of the author; also in Leland, Bale, and Pittæ; Gerard Mercator, Abr. Ortelius, and J. Weever's Funeral Monuments.

(38) Vide Viaggio Attorno il Mondo, fatta & descritto per M. Ant. Pigafetta, Vincentino. Caval. de Rhodi, in primo volume & terza edizione Delle Navigazioni & Viaggi raccolte da M. Gio. Batt. Ramusio, &c. fol. Venet. 1563. p. 352. b. Also an Abstract thereof in Eden and Wille's Hist. of Trav. &c. 4to. 1577. p. 432.

[1] Whereof



(m) Hakluyt's  
pref. to the last  
edit. of his Voya-  
ges, Vol. I.

(n) Idem.

(o) Ibid.

and expence of many years, could not abate his vigorous endeavours still to go on, not only in rescuing our naval antiquities from the wreck of oblivion, and preserving the memorable enterprizes of our modern navigators from the like hazard; but in such manner, as to adjust the displaced and scattered limbs, as well of antient and late voyages by sea as travels by land, and traffic of merchandize by both, into one regular body; restoring each divided and dislocated member to it's natural order and symmetry; and, as he says himself, by the help of Geography and Chronology, which he calls the sun and moon, or right and left eye of all history, referring each particular relation to it's due time and place (m). To accomplish this arduous task, what restless nights and painful days he endured; how many long and chargeable journeys he travelled; how many famous libraries he searched; what variety of antient and modern writers perused; what a number of records, patents, privileges, letters, and other manuscript vouchers, he transcribed and revived from their graves; what variety of acquaintance he contracted; what monies disbursed; and yet what fair opportunities of private profit, preferment, and ease, he neglected, though his readers could hardly imagine, he daily found and felt, as he says himself, and some of his intimate acquaintance could sufficiently testify (n): yet no bodily toil, perplexity of mind, or detriment to his substance, was insuperable to him, or could discourage his indefatigable perseverance: *The honour and benefit of this Commonwealth*, says he, *both made all difficulties seem easy, all pains and industry pleasant, all expences of light value and moment to me* (o). With this undiscourageable spirit he went on, till his Collection of English Voyages last mentioned was augmented into three folio volumes; whereof he published the first in 1598, and the others in the two ensuing years successively [I]. The first

[I] Whereof he published the first in 1598, and the others in the two ensuing years, &c.] In this last edition of our author's collections, though the former part of the title is much like that of the foregoing edition, yet the contents or disposition of the parts are different, being titled, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries, of the English Nation, made by sea or over-land, to the remote and furthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compass of these 1500 years; divided into three volumes, &c.* The first, containing the worthy Discoveries, &c. of the English towards the North and North-East, by sea, &c. with many notable Testimonies of the antient foreign Trade, the warlike and other shipping of this Realm: also a brief Commentary of the true State of Iceland and the Northern Seas, with the memorable defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and the victory at Cadiz, 1596. By Richard Hakluyt Master of Arts, sometimes Student of Christ-Church in Oxford. Imprinted folio, 1598, in 619 pages.

\* For these two, though they ought to have been placed among the Southern Voyages, yet to satisfy the importunity of friends, who impatiently desired them, our author says, in his preface, that he somewhat strained his proposed method.

Herewith is usually bound, *The second volume of the principal Navigations, &c. of the English Nation, &c. to the South and South-East parts of the World, within the compass of these 1600 years: divided into two parts; the first, through and within the Straite of Gibraltar, to Algier, &c. almost to China the second, without the Straite of Gibraltar, to the Islands of Azores, &c.* By R. Hakluyt, folio, 1599, in 312 pages, the first part; and 204 the last. Besides dedications, preface, and tables of contents.

*The third and last volume of the Voyages, &c. of the English Nation, and in some few places where they have not been of Strangers performed, within and before the time of these 100 years, to all parts of the new found World of America, or the West-Indies, from 73 degrees of northerly, to 57 of southerly latitude, &c. together with the two renowned and prosperous Voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Mr Tho. Candish round the whole Earth, &c.* by R. Hakluyt, &c. and printed, as the others, by G. Bishop, &c. folio, 1600, in 868 pages, besides the dedication and tables.

The Poems to the author, before the last edition, are reprinted before the first volume of this, all but one copy, and a distich, writ by P. Jones, which are left out for two copies by Richard Mulcaster, who was Master of Paul's school. Some copies of the first volume appear dated also the next year after it was printed; not that the volume was then reprinted, but only the title page; in which all notice of the Cadiz voyage was left out, and the voyage itself, at the end of the volume, cancelled in most of the copies, which then remained unsold, lest offence should be given by such an honourable memorial of the Earl of Essex's most prosperous expedition, at the time when he was fallen under the Queen's unpardonable displeasure. But at last an uncastrated copy being found, in the library of Auditor Jett, as I remember, about the year 1723, this voyage was thence reprinted, and has made many imperfect copies complete. Moreover, in the dedica-

tion of the first volume to the Lord Admiral Howard, dated Lond. 7 Octob. 1598. our author acknowledges himself much bound to the Bishop of Chichester (40), for procuring him the liberty of transcribing some curious manuscripts out of the Lord Lumley's stately library (41); which, as Mercator and Ortelius informed him, they had many years inquired after in vain. He also mentions a little medicinal manuscript which he designed to have printed, for the relief of those distempers to which travellers are subject in hot countries (42); but declined it, upon the admonition he received from Dr W. Gilbert, that eminent Physician, who wrote so learnedly upon the loadstone, how defectively the said manuscript was written. Each of the two last volumes, as we said, are dedicated to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State, Master of the Court of Wards, and one of her Majesty's Privy-Council: the former, on the 24th of October, 1599; the latter, on the 1st of September, 1600; and we have before quoted as much as may be thought necessary in this article out of them. The whole three volumes contain the historical accounts and particular narratives of near two hundred and twenty voyages, besides above three hundred and seventy patents, privileges, instructions, orders, letters, passports, inquiries, &c. of princes and their ministers, admirals, officers, merchants, and others, of power or experience; which are a great credit to the collection, and, as more preferable, for the greater regard and authority they are of, than if prefaces or introductions had been prefixed to every voyage, by the hand of an editor, though it were such a one as Ramusio or Hakluyt himself: so may they serve as forms of precedent, in any such enterprizes or engagements as shall be hereafter appointed, or undertaken: For this edition is built upon a very comprehensive plan, and may, at all times, be no less serviceable many ways, than reputable to the nation; as it is a magazine, so richly stored with some of the most adventurous achievements of our ancestors, that were of the most national concern, attested by eye-witnesses, as well as other most credible and authentic vouchers. Containing, not only such examples as may animate their posterity to dispise all hazard and hardship, bloodshed and death itself, for a knowledge of the uncultivated world, and the honour that may be reaped in it, to their own advantage, and the aggrandizement of their country: not only such examples, as may shame the gallants, who make it their heighest breeding and accomplishments to travel abroad, for such fashions and corruptions in foreign countries, as may poison them with prejudice against their own; not only such mercantile voyages, as may be further improved to our enrichment by traffic, and the importation of beneficial productions; not only such voyages of discovery and enlargement of the British dominions, with new possessions, by colonies and plantations upon strange coasts, unpossessed by Christian people, as may be extended to the further civilizing of savage nations; but withal such martial and heroic expeditions and exploits, as may, after those great exemplars teach us to keep

(40) Dr Anth. Watson.

(41) There is an alphabetical Catalogue of the Ld. Lumley's reserved Library, among Sir Hen. Puckering's MSS. in Trin Coll. Camb.

(42) George Watson's Cure of Hot Diseases, incident to travellers in long southern Voyages, dedicated to the Queen, in MS.



first volume is properly dedicated to the Lord Admiral Howard; and each of the last to Sir Robert Cecil, then Principal Secretary of State; from whom he acknowledges that he received

keep ourselves able, in like manner, and ever watchful to uphold our naval strength, skill and courage, by good oeconomy, discipline and practice, so as to preserve what we are already possessed of, from the treacherous encroachments of false, faithless, and ambitious neighbours. Such triumphant voyages here (etc., as may inspire us to keep up the superiority of English fleets, to reassert our sovereignty of the British seas, or assert our priority of possessions by land; such as may encourage us to encrease or secure our fisheries and factories, and yield matter of intelligence and direction, especially out of the rich treasury of maritime records here repositied; in many future embassies, for maintaining our ancient rights and privileges, in treaties of alliance, commerce, &c. (43). Such also do here occur, which may give continual lights and hints of improvement in the sciences of Astronomy, Cosmography, Hydrography, Navigation, and other parts of the Mathematics; no less than in the Natural History of animals, plants, metals, minerals and drugs; useful in physic, painting, dying, besides many other arts, manufactures and occupations of life: and last of all, though above all, such as may no less constantly infuse a grateful sensation of the Divine Providence, in so many wonderful deliverances, from storms, shipwrecks, pyrates, slavery, famine, and other most imminent perils in peace, no less than war, and by land as well as sea.

Though we would willingly give an inventory of the treasures in this collection, as what might be here very acceptable, from the voyages of King Arthur, down to those of Hawkins and Frobisher, Gilbert and Grenville, Drake and Raleigh, Davis and Cavendish, besides the Earls of Nottingham, Essex, Cumberland, and the rest of those illustrious navigators, who in the reign of the most renowned Elizabeth, laid the foundation of our naval glory (44); yet when we consider the number of our voyages and instruments herein preserved, we cannot in this place, engross so much room; as the most succinct recapitulation of them would require: and as the bare titles of these voyages, &c. in what years performed, to what places bound, with the adventurers names, and the authors by whom recorded, have been lately drawn forth to public view, in the most concise manner, with the most cordial desire to recommend this valuable work to a new impression, yet, as they take up above twenty pages in octavo, we must at present refer those who cannot readily consult the originals, to that draught in miniature of them (45), and the observations thereunto annexed; while we here proceed to assemble a few of the dispersed characters that have been occasionally delivered both of this compiler and his collection: among which, such as should contain the most liberal acknowledgments to our author, might be expected to be found in Mr Purchas, who was most obliged, for the best, if not the greatest part of those four volumes, which he has named his Pilgrims, to the unpublished remains of Mr Hakluyt. Some portions indeed of his gratitude we may find dispersed in those volumes, but not equal to the benefits he received, or the merits of his benefactor: as, where he refers to our author's painful performances, who hath so well deserved of this island, and it's Neptunian heroes; and accounts some parts of his own narratives, but as summaries or indexes to Mr Hakluyt (46). Where he confesses that, to Hakluyt's labours, his own are so much indebted (47): and where he applauds him as a great, or happy discoverer of discoveries, according to his ingenious faculty of jingling, and ringing the changes, or otherwise playing now and then, with the same words; which kind of stile appeared of such force and beauty to him, that he could not forbear flourishing out his very title with it, in the graved frontespiece of his said work (48). And King James's head was so turned to, or with this sort of rhetoric, and other like reading, which made him such a proficient in theology, philosophy, politics, poetry, pedantry and punning, as he was, that he read over a large volume of this writer's, adorned with such flowers of science, preliminary to those of his pilgrims, no less than seven times; as the said Mr Purchas has informed, as well his Majesty's royal son and successor, as the Archbishop, to whom he was chaplain (49); but neither the fondness of one King to his writings, nor a promise from the other, of a deanry, made any repa-

ration of the ruinous expence he was at, in those publications, which he did not long survive. The truth is, his genius was thought too narrow or desultory for his capacious and weighty undertaking, which tempted him, however several good narratives in his collection are left entire and unimpaired to use some of his materials in a wasteful manner, and to have drawn but inaccurate or superficial accounts from them; not so much for any needful retrenchment of redundances, so often pretended in the mangling and mutilating of good authors, as the restless desire of novelties, varieties, and continuations. And as arguments are never wanting in such schemes of monopoly, to contract and diminish the records of the greatest actions performed by our most worthy ancestors, that room may be left more spaciouly to compliment those of the moderns, which must be annexed to them: so Purchas has been sufficiently imitated, and surpassed, in that point of gratitude, with relation to Hakluyt; in whom, more than a whole volume of the most renowned and memorable exploits by sea, during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, that are to be found in all our annals, we shall sometimes behold, so dwarfishly shrunk up, into a meagre chapter; so enervated, emasculated, and stripped of every thing interesting, affecting, animating and remarkable (50), that most of these comprehensive schemes from the earliest to the latest times, in such contracted compass, skimming over the surface of generalities, and grasping wide but not deep, are apt to leave as little impression of excitement, or emulation upon our minds, as so many almanacks. Dr Hakewill's project to enlarge the fame of our author, together with that of his country, was much more noble and eligible, than any that has attempted to lessen both, by the diminution of his works; where having, not only observed, 'What excellent precepts have been given for the art of navigation, by Pedro de Medina (51), Baptista Ramusio, and others; but how happily the art itself hath been practised, by the Portugals, Spaniards, Hollanders, and our own nation, whose voyages and discoveries, Master Hakluyt hath collected and reported, in three several volumes, &c. he adds, and it were to be wished as well for the honour of the English name, as the benefit that might thereby redound to other nations, that his collections and relations, had been writtan in Latin, or that some learned pen would be pleased to turn them into that language (52). And to the same purpose, he further wishes, that the commendable treatise of Mr Hues upon the celestial and terrestrial globes, for the instruction of navigators in the principles of geometry and astronomy, were, for the better use of such as are ignorant in the Latin tongue, also translated into our language (53). Thus Dr Hakewill we see, near an hundred and twenty years since, recommended an edition of this collection, in Latin, which doubtless would be a most reputable work to us, among foreigners, at least shew them as well how much we had been misrepresented, as how glorious we have been at sea; and what glory will accrue to the present age, in shewing by comparison what we are, our descendants may most freely and impartially judge. If a Latin edition were commendable, to acquaint foreigners with the spirit of our ancestors, how much more would an English one be so, to revive, or preserve that spirit, among ourselves, and posterity? We find the translation of Hakluyt's voyages into French, so particularly desired also by that nation, that M. Thevenot has accordingly taken pains to render some of them intelligible to his countrymen, in that language; together with some of the instructions, and other original records, which authorized or animated the same, as necessary motives, and appendages thereto (54); of such considerable service and importance, that nation esteemed this collection: and shall foreigners think it worth their while to be at the labour and expence of translating and printing an English author, whom Englishmen will not be at the pains, without the charge, as it may be done by subscription, only to reprint? since the scarcity of the book was observed above three-score years ago (55), and the neglect of a new impression complained of as then much wanting among us. Dr Fuller speaking of Hakluyt's large collections of of voyages says, 'They were taken partly out of pri-

(50) See the most remarkable Transactions at Sea, &c. by Josiah Burchet, Esq; fol. 1720. &c.

(51) L'Art del Navigar. &c. Seeville, 1545. translated into French by Nicolas de Nicolai, Geographer to the French King, printed at Lyons, 4to. 1561. &c.

(52) Dr Geo. Hakewill's Apology, &c. edit. fol. 1635, as before, p. 310.

(53) Idem.

(54) Relations de divers Voyages curieux, qui n'ont point este publiees, ou qui ont este Traduites d'Hakluyt, &c. premiere partie, a Paris, fol. 1663.

(55) In the Character of Queen Elizabeth, by Edmund Bohun, Esq; 8vo. 1693. &c.

(43) See the American Library, 4to. 1713. in the Dedication by Dr White Kennet, after Bishop of Peterborough.

(44) See the Naval History of Tho. Lediard, Esq; fol. 1735. in the Preface.

(45) In the British Librarian, 8vo. 1738. from p. 136 to 158.

(46) His Pilgrims, Part IV. 1625. p. 1187.

(47) His Pilgrimage, fol. 1626. p. 817.

(48) Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas's Pilgrims; containing a History of the World, in Sea Voyages, &c. wherein God's wonders, &c. with a world of the World's rarities, are, by a world of eye-witness authors, related to the World, &c. See the engraved title of Purchas's first volume, fol. 1624.

(49) See Purchas's Pilgrimage, the last edit. fol. 1626, in the Dedication to King Charles and Archbishop Abbot.



(p) Hakluyt's dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, before his third volume of *Voyages*, folio, 1600.

(q) *Idem*.

received some substantial testimony of favour, or, as he expresses it, whose earnest desires to do him good, lately broke out into most bountiful and acceptable effects. (p); which might, from the fair prospects thereof, incline him to the thoughts of pursuing, more particularly than he had hitherto done, his own personal interest; but could never, when he had attained, perhaps by the death of his elder brother, or the fortune of his wife, an easy competency, break his rest, with aspiring after rich benefices and high titles or dignities in the Church; never relinquish his brave naval adventures, or withdraw his constancy in the commemoration of those who had most hazardously put their trust in the most inconstant element; however, we may now read in the last of those dedications to this Secretary, that, 'As he long since foresaw, his profession of Divinity, the care of his family, and other occasions, might call and divert him from these kind of endeavours, he therefore had, for three years past, encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmography, and foreign histories, his honest, industrious, and learned friend, Mr John Pory; one of speciall skill, and extraordinary hope, to perform great matters in the same, and beneficial to the commonwealth (q).' The fruits of his said encouragement and furtherance of Mr Pory was, that this gentleman having undertaken, at the instance or recommendation, and probably under the inspection, of Mr Hakluyt, to give the public a translation from the Spanish of John Leo's excellent History of Africa, it was this year, 1600,

vate letters, which never were, or without his care had not been, printed; partly out of small treatises, printed and since irrecoverably lost, had not his providence preserved them. For some pamphlets are produced, which for their cheapness and smallness, men for the present neglect to buy, presuming they may procure them at their pleasure; which small books, their first and last edition being past, like some spirits that appear but once, cannot afterwards with any price or pains be recovered: In a word, many of such useful tracts of sea adventures, which before were scattered as several ships, Mr Hakluyt hath imbodyed into a fleet, divided into three squadrons, so many several volumes. A work of great honour to England; it being possible that many ports and islands in America, which being base and barren, bare only a bare name for the present, may prove rich places for the future; and then these voyages will be produced and pleaded, as good evidence of their being longed to England, as first discovered and denominated by Englishmen.\* As for that anonymous writer, who had no true taste of this collection, nor due information of many others, he undertakes to characterize; reported to have been one Mr Locke, but apparently not the understanding Locke; he has betrayed his want of knowledge in the very beginning of his criticism upon our author, where he speaks of Hakluyt as the first Englishman who compiled any collection of travels; and his want of judgment is no less visible, in making the warlike expeditions and naval victories which are preserved by our author, so much to the honour and reputation of our country, a matter of objection; as if the art of war by sea, was not most essentially requisite to us who are surrounded by it. Then he cannot relish the charters, patents, commissions, privileges, treaties, letters, and instructions, which are the very foundation of all regular expeditions, from which their authority is derived, which shew the motives and reasons of them, and distinguish all lawful proceedings of this kind from those of pyrates and robbers: these he seems to think unnecessary, though they will often be useful precedents, as was observed before, and Mr Thevenot thought some of them so curious as to translate them into the French language. Then as to what he calls Pilgrimages, though some were made by pious persons to Jerusalem, which are very pertinent in a general collection of voyages and travels, for letting us into the knowledge of places, as well as the manners of the times; yet he confounds without any distinction, those which were made by some religious orders of men to the Holy-Land, with the warlike expeditions undertaken by some of our greatest Kings, Princes, Peers, and Knights of highest renown, to recover it from the hands of infidels. Yet in the whole, this author allows Hakluyt's collection to be scarce and valuable, for the good that is to be picked out of it; as he does also of Purchas his collection, though he has thrown in all that came to hand, and is full of his own notions, quibbling and playing upon words (56). On the other side, a later author, in his edition of another collection, has more advisedly made a greater difference between these two collectors, and set them at a much greater distance in point of merit from one another: where he says, 'We have in our own lan-

guage, as good and as bad collections as ever were made; one instance of each may suffice. Mr Hakluyt was an able, ingenious, diligent, accurate, and useful compiler; and his collections are as valuable as any thing in their kind; on the other hand, Purchas his Pilgrims are very voluminous, and for the most part a very trifling and insignificant collection: his manner, for I cannot call it method, is irregular and confused; his judgment weak and pedantic; his remarks often silly and always little to the purpose. This shews how much depends upon the care and skill of the collector; who on the one hand is to provide, what may entertain and please, and on the other, is to be careful, that knowledge and instruction be conveyed with pleasure and amusement (57).' There was at last, about fourteen years since, so much regard paid to Mr Hakluyt's collection, that a proposal was then printed for giving us a new impression of it, in one folio volume, of three hundred sheets; as the manner then prevailed, by weekly publications. The ingenious editor in his account of this new intended edition, having given a deserved character of the work, and its compiler, sets forth in what manner he proposes to comprehend the same in the compass aforesaid, by some little reformation of the style, in changing of obsolete, and discharging superfluous words, without any alteration of the sense, or curtailing the substance of the author. Also by omitting the discourses, articles, &c. in Latin, and other languages, retaining the translations after they have been compared with the originals. Also by dividing each of the three books into two; the first including the travels, voyages, and discoveries; and the second, the naval expeditions and sea fights, &c. with the several instruments relating to trade, maritime affairs, &c. and with no other alterations than the author would have made, had he been now alive, to publish himself a new edition; as it may be presumed from the alterations he made in the last. To which some improvements were to be added, in notes from other and later authors; or observations to supply deficiencies, rectify latitudes, and correct proper names, with an addition or supplement of Mr Hakluyt's posthumous remains, from Purchas, which he gathered preparatory to another impression. Likewise some account in the preface of the principal worthies, whose adventures and discoveries have enriched this excellent collection; as well as of the worthy collector himself. Hoping the publication would be the more seasonable at that juncture, as it comprises a branch so considerable of the English history, and might serve to revive such a spirit of trade and industry, as prevailed among us formerly, or has of late possessed the nations of Europe, most remarkable hitherto for their sloth and indolence (58). But the foundation being insufficient to support the expence, the publication gave way to others, and it was dropped: yet Hakluyt went on, to be pillaged, abridged, and reduced, as he had been; to be transposed and transformed, disguised and deformed; so has been published and republished, little or much of him, from one end to the other, in a confused, or indistinct conjunction with other collections; and no true genuine Hakluyt, or grateful acknowledgment to Hakluyt, after more than one hundred and fifty years, revived yet.

(57) The new edition of Dr John Harris's Collection of Voyages, &c. in 2 vols fol. Vol. I. 1744. Introd. p. 2.

(58) See the Proposals for reprinting by subscription, the Navigations, &c. of the English Nation, by Ric. Hakluyt, M. A. &c. in one vol. folio, printed on a half sheet, 1756.

\* Fuller's Worthies, under the article of Hakluyt, in Herefordshire.

(56) See a Collection of Voyages and Travels, published by A. and J. Churchill, in 4 vols fol. 1704. and in 6 vols, 1732. in the introductory characters of most books of travels, p. 37.



1600, brought forth from the press [K]. But Hakluyt himself appeared not long behind him, with the translation of another history, in 1601, written by A. Galvano in the Portuguese tongue; containing a compendious relation of the most considerable discoveries that had been made in various parts of the universe, from the earliest to the later times [L]. And this specimen, no less than many others of our author's industry, has yielded no scanty contributions to Mr Samuel Purchas's voluminous collections. About the year 1605, Doctor Richard Webster, Prebend of the fourth stall at Westminster, dying (r), he was succeeded therein by Mr Hakluyt; which, with the rectory of Wetheringset in the county of Suffolk (s), is all the ecclesiastical promotion we can find he arrived at. And about this time, as we compute, the translation of Peter Martyr's History of the West-Indies was undertaken, and first published by Mr Lok at the request and encouragement of our author; and what is said in the preface thereof before cited, might happily conduce to promote the grant of a patent by King James, for continuing or renewing the plantation of Virginia, dated April 10, 1606, wherein we find Richard Hakluyt, Clerk, named and chosen as one of the said corporation (t). Certain it is, that besides the reputation he acquired by his own publications of Naval History, far superior to any thing of the like kind that had ever appeared in this kingdom before; and his incitements of others, to translate, and familiarize among us, the conquests and discoveries of foreign adventurers, with the advantages accruing thereby; the spirit he also animated to the like national benefits, in those of his countrymen who were engaged in the like enterprizes, by

(r) Richard Webster, Newcourt's Hist. of the Diocese of London &c. fol. Vol. I. p. 925.

(s) Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 413.

(t) Sam. Purchas's Pilgrims, Part IV. fol. 1625. p. 1623.

[K] It was this year, 1600, brought forth from the press.] This book is entituled, *A Geographical Historie of Africa, written in Arabick and Italian by John Leo, a More, born in Granada, and brought up in Barbarie, &c.* To which is prefixed, *A Map of Africa, with a general Description of Africa and other Places, undescribed by Leo*: and there is added at the end, *A Relation of the great Princes, and the Religions in Africa: translated and collected by John Pory, lately of Gonvill and Caius College in Cambridge.* Lond. Impens Geo. Bishop, fol. 1600. The said translator, in his dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, Principal Secretary to her Majestie, &c. desires him to accept of this Geographical History, as it pleased him, not long since, most favourably to take in good part those commendable endeavours of his reverend friend Mr Richard Hakluyt; 'Who, says he, out of his mature judgment in these studies, knowing the excellence of this story, above all others in the same kind, was the only man that moved me to translate it.' Dated at London, the forty-third coronation day of her Majesty, 1600.

As for the author, John Leo, 'tis said he was born at Granada in Spain; and when it was taken by King Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1491, he removed to Africa, whence he was called Africanus, as may be somewhat implied from the application of his own fable, concerning the amphibious bird (59), to that occasional conformity, necessary for the safety of all discreet travellers; where he professes, that when he heard the Africans ill spoken of, he would affirm himself to be of Granada; and when the people of this country were discommended, he would declare himself an African; yet he says expressly but a little before, according to this translation (60), that he was born in Africa; or at least, according to his own words in Ramusio, that he was nursed and educated there (61). However it appears, in the second book of his history, that he was no older than ten years at the destruction of Azafi by the Portuguese. We may see throughout, that he was well trained in the learning of that country, and in good manners, for which he was much esteemed (62). And that he was well allied, may be gathered from his uncle's being sent sometimes upon embassies by the King of Fez (63); and being beloved by him for his accomplishments, being a good orator and poet, as his nephew this author also was, who at sixteen years of age, composed verses upon the Prince of Tenueres, which so pleased him, that he gave him fifty ducats, besides a good horse, and ten ducats apiece to his servants (64). He copied the epitaphs in the temple of Sella, in the year of the Hegira 915, which was about our year 1506. Between this and the year 1512, he served Mahomet King of Fez in his wars against the Portuguese, at Arzella, and was sent Ambassador from the said King to Morocco, about that or the next year (65). And in his travels, was once near being drawn into the water by crocodiles, and twice in danger of being devoured by lions. He mentions also himself other books of his writing; as an *Arabian Grammar* (66), which has been commended by those who have seen it: also a *Discourse of the Mahometan Religion* (67),

with a treatise of the Arabic Poetry (68), and the lives of the Arabian Philosophers, which were printed by Hottinger at Zurich. His last voyage that we read of, was from Fez to Constantinople, and from thence to Egypt; but in his return, he was taken prisoner between Tunis and Tripoly, by some Italian corsairs, who carried him to Rome, and his History of Africa with him, in which it appears he had been writing, 'till about or beyond the year 1520. They were both presented by the patron who bought him, to Pope Leo X. who won him over to Christianity, and he was baptized John Leo, after the Pope's name. While he was at Rome, he learnt the Italian tongue, and translated this History from his own Arabic copy into that language, in the year 1526; which, coming afterwards into the hands of Ramusio, Secretary to the republic of Venice, he has given us a correct edition of it in the first volume of his Voyages, as above quoted; also a character, to the author's commendation, in his Epistle Dedicatory to his friend Fracastorius. This, with the approbations of our author Mr Hakluyt, who accounted that History the best, most particular, and methodical of any, which was come to light of those territories; and the testimonies also of Ortelius, before his maps of Africa and Barbary, with others by John Bodin, in his Method of Reading History, cap. iv. as also by Ant. Possevinus de Historicis, cap. ii. sect. 7. may be seen in this English translation (69). See likewise Bernard Aderete, lib. iii. art. Hisp. & Afric. cap. v. Nic. Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. H. Hottinger, in Biblioth. Libertus Fromandus, Meteor. lib. v. cap. 2, 3. and Vossius de Histor. lib. iii. As Leo was the first author who has given any faithful and distinct account of those parts of the world, from his own knowledge and observation; many have been his translators into the European languages; and besides Marmol, several others have been his plagiarists; but Wedmanstadius is the only one who says he forsook Christianity and returned to Mahometanism.

[L] Galvano's History of Discoveries, &c. from the earliest to the later times.] This work is known in English by the title of *The Discoveries of the World, from the first original to the year 1555: written in the Portugal tongue, by Antonio Galvano, &c. corrected, much amended, and translated into English, by Richard Hakluyt, Lond. quarto, 1601.* The author was Governor of Ternate, the chief island of the Molucca's; and his History, for the authority, conciseness, and regular series of it, has been involved and swallowed up, as others that are copious and distinct have been contracted and cramped up in larger works. Particularly Mr Purchas, in that part of his Collections which he entitles *the Voyages of Spaniards and Portuguese*, taken out of this treatise, says in a marginal note, 'That the said author writ in Portugal, a summary of discoveries in chronological order, from the beginning of the world; and that he was translated and published in a small book in quarto by Mr Hakluyt.' Whereunto he adds, 'I have chosen these which follow out of his book; those which are here omitted I have more fully delivered in other parts of this voluminous work (70).'

[M] Which

(68) Lib. ii. p. 50.

(69) From p. 57 to 60.

(70) Pilgrims, Part II. fol. 1625. p. 1671.

(59) Leo's Hist. of Africa, at the end of his first book.

(60) Idem, p. 42.

(61) Raccola delle Navigazione, &c. in primo volume & terza edit. fol. 1563. p. II. b.

(62) Hist. of Africa, lib. iv. p. 231.

(63) Idem, lib. ii. p. 92.

(64) Ibid. lib. ii. p. 96.

(65) Idem, lib. ii. p. 90.

(66) Lib. iii. p. 150.

(67) Lib. ii. p. 55, 74, &c.



by his most intelligent and communicative conversation; gained the highest esteem and honour to his name and memory, by mariners in general of all ranks; in the most distant nations, no less than his own, whereof there are several instances; and particularly, in those northern discoveries that were made at the charge of the Muscovy Merchants in 1608, under Captain W. Hudson; when, among other places there denominated, on the continent of Greenland, which were formerly discovered, they distinguished an eminent promontory, lying in eighty degrees northward, by the name of Hakluyt's Headland, which continues to be so called, says our author, to this day (u). And now he exhibited another laborious proof of his faithful affection to Virginia, and the inviolable attachment thereof to the crown of England, in his translation from the Portuguese, of an History, which shews how highly that country ought to be prized; by another description of Florida, contiguous to it, from the travels of Don Ferdinando de Soto, the Adelantado thereof; which translation he published in the beginning of 1609 [M]. Two years after, in 1611, we find Edmund Hakluyt, the son of our author, entered a student of Trinity-college Cambridge (w). And in the same year, that the northern discoverers, under the company aforesaid, in a voyage to Pechora in Russia, denoted a full and flowing stream they arrived at, having it seems a pure and active current, by the name of Hakluyt's River (x); and three years after, anno 1614, it appears, that the banner and arms of the King of England were erected at Hakluyt's Headland abovementioned (y). All that we meet with more of our author is, that he paid his last debt to nature, probably at his apartments in the college at Westminster, on the 23d of November, in 1616, and was buried in the church of that abbey, dedicated to St Peter, on the 26th of the same month; leaving to his son Edmund aforesaid, whom he had by his wife Frances, his manour of Bridge-Place, and several houses in Tothil-street Westminster (z). Some authors inform us, that he left a fair estate to an unthrifty son, who embezzelled or squandered it away; yet was wont to boast, how much he had deceived the covetous usurer who bought it, and had given him spick and span new coin for the dirty old clods of his great-grandfather (a). Our author's literary treasures, however, met with a fate somewhat more favourable, and much more than those of the celebrated Ramusio; one part of whose manuscript remains, which might, to his Naval History, have added a fourth volume, being burnt in the house of his Printer; but Hakluyt's remaining collections, whereof he left at least as much as would have made another volume also to his three, falling into the hands of Mr Purchas, he has scattered them, or parts of them, about his four volumes, after his irregular and curtailed or contracted manner; and though in the whole not with due justice to the author, yet has he now and then dropped some short but emphatical and deserved praises of him, as was before observed; thereby concurring with those writers of established judgment, who have distinguished, according to his deserts, the surpassing knowledge and learning, diligence and fidelity, of this Naval Historian.

(u) Purchas, Part III. fol. 464, 714.

(w) Electio Discip. Westmonast. &c. ut supra.

(x) W. Gourdon's Relation of the Voyage to Pechora, &c. in Purchas, Part III. 1625. p. 531.

(y) Rob. Fortherby's Voyage of Discovery to Greenland, in Purchas, ibid. p. 723.

(z) Athen. Oxon. as before.

(a) T. Fuller's Worthies, in Herefordshire, fol. 40. Also the Apophthegms of the English Nation, 4to. MS.

[M] Which translation he published in the beginning of 1609.] 'Tis printed under the title of *Virginia richly valued, by the Description of the maine Land of Florida, her next Neighbour; out of the four years continual Travell and Discoverie for above one thousand miles East and West, of Don Ferdinando de Soto, and six hundred able men in his companie. Wherein are truly observed the Riches and Fertilitie of those parts, abounding with things necessarie, pleasant, and profitable, for the life of Man: with the Natures and Dispositions of the Inhabitants. Written by a Portugal Gentleman of Elvas, employed in all the Action, and translated out of Portuguese, by Richard Hakluyt. London, printed by F. Kyngston, quarto, 1609.* It is dedicated from his lodgings in the college of Westminster, 15 April the same year, To the Right Honourable the Right Worshipful Counsellors and others, the chereful adventurers for the advancement of that Christian and noble plantation of Virginia. And our author, after producing authorities for the richness of that country, which is contiguous to Virginia, says to them, 'What need I to stand upon foreign testimonies, since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much judgment in these cases, signified unto you all at your last solemn meeting, at the house of the Right Honourable the Earl of Exeter, how to the southward of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red metal; reporting the

'manner in working the same. Besides our own Indians lately have found either this or another rich mine of copper or gold, in a town called Ritanoe, near certain mountains lying west of Roanoac.' So he goes on to enumerate the other rich and useful commodities of that country, with the manners and dispositions of the inhabitants: and concludes with exhorting them, that, by their wise instructions, all things in their intended settlement at Virginia, may be carried on to the best advantage, for the honour of God, and the enlargement of his Majesty's dominions.

Upon the revival of our plantation in that country, which afterwards ensued, Michael Drayton the poet speaks thus to and of our author, in his

O D E

To the

VIRGINIAN VOYAGE.

Thy Voyages attend,  
Industrious Hakluyt;  
Whose reading shall inflame  
Men to seek fame,  
And much commend,  
To after times thy wit.

G



H A L E [Sir MATTHEW], a man of great learning and integrity, and Lord Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench in the last century, was the only child of Robert Hale a Barrister of Lincoln's-Inn [A], and born at Alderley in Gloucestershire November 1, 1609. Having lost his mother before he was three years old, and his father before he was five, he was committed to the care of Antony Kingscot, Esq; a near kinsman of his; who being puritanically inclined (a), caused him to be educated in grammar-learning by Mr Staunton, Vicar of Wotton-under-Edge, a noted Puritan (b). In Michaelmas term 1626, he was admitted in Magdalen-hall in Oxford, and put under the tuition of Obadiah Sedgwick, a zealous man of the same party. He was an extraordinary proficient at school, and for about three years at Oxford: but the stage-players coming thither, he became so much corrupted by seeing many plays, that he not only forsook his studies, but also ran into many of the levities and extravagances of youth; still preserving however his purity, and a great probity of mind. Yet, being over-fond of rough and martial exercises, he was preparing to go along with his tutor Sedgwick, who was chaplain to the Lord Vere in the Low-Countries, with a resolution of entering himself in the Prince of Orange's army. From this rash design he was diverted, by being engaged in a law-suit with Sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to some part of his estate. For Serjeant Glanvill, who was recommended to him for his counsellor, observing in the young man a clear apprehension of things, a solid judgment, and a great fitness for the drudgery of the Law, took pains to persuade him to forsake all thoughts of being a soldier, and to apply himself to the study of the Law. His persuasions were so effectual, that November 8, 1629, Mr Hale was admitted into Lincoln's-Inn, being just entered into the 21st year of his age. Deeply sensible of the great quantity and value of the time he had lost, he resolved to redeem it, by following his studies with an incredible diligence: for he studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours a day. At the same time, he threw aside all fine cloaths, and betook himself to a plain fashion [B], which he continued to use in many points to his dying day (c). Still he went on keeping too much company with some vain people, 'till he was frightened from it by an unhappy accident that befel one of his companions [C]. But thenceforward he forsook all his bad acquaintance, and divided himself between the duties of religion [D] and the studies of his profession (d). Not being satisfied with the law-books then published, and firmly resolving to take things from the fountain-head, he was very diligent in searching records. And, with collections out of the books he read, mixed with his own learned observations, he made a most valuable common-place-book [E]. He was early taken notice of by a gentleman of the same inn with himself, William Noy, Esq; the Attorney-General, who directed him in his studies, and grew to have such a friendship for him, that he came to be called young Noy (e). The great and learned Mr Selden also soon found him out; and though much superior to him in years, took such a liking to him, that he not only lived in great friendship with him, but also left

(a) Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, by G. Burnet, D. D. Lond. 1682. 8vo. p. 1, &c.

(b) Wood, Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 573.

(c) Burnet, as above, p. 4—7.

(d) Idem, p. 7—10.

(e) Idem, p. 10—12.

[A] Was the only child of Robert Hale, a Barrister of Lincoln's-Inn. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier of Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents; and they gave several parcels of land for the use of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an estate of ten thousand pounds, which he divided almost equally amongst his five sons; besides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous posterity has sprung.—His mother was Joan, daughter of Matthew Poyntz of Alderley, Esq; descended from the noble family of the Poyntz's of Acton.—His father was a man of that strictness of conscience, that he gave over the practice of the Law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lye; and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of truth and justice which became a Christian, so that he withdrew himself from the Inns of Court to live on his estate in the country [A very uncommon instance, seldom practised since, and the like to which could hardly be found now-a-days!] As the care he had to save his soul, made him abandon a profession in which he might have raised his family much higher, so his charity to his poor neighbours, made him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his small estate which was 100 l. a year) 20 l. a year to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed to them with some addition, and with this regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor house-keepers, as did not receive alms of the parish; for to give it to those, was only, as he used to say, to save so much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the parish (1).

(1) Burnet, as above, p. 1, 2, 3.

[B] And betook himself to a plain fashion. 'Passing thus from the extrem of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, he was once taken, when there was a press for the King's service, as a per-

son fit for sea-service; for he was a strong and well built man: but some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the press-gang let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any superfluity or vanity in them (2).'

(2) Burnet, as above, p. 12.

[C] He was frightened from it by an unhappy accident that befel one of his companions. The accident was this. 'Mr Hale with some other young students being invited out of town, one of the company called for so much wine, that, notwithstanding all that Mr Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his excess till he fell down as dead before them: so that all that were present were not a little affrighted at it, and did what they could to bring him to himself again. This did particularly affect Mr Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and shutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his friend, that he might be restored to life again; and that himself might be forgiven for giving countenance to so much excess: and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he most religiously observed his vow, 'till his dying day (3).'

(3) Burnet, p. 8, 9.

[D] And divided himself between the duties of religion. 'He was so regular in the duties of religion, that for six and thirty years, he never once failed going to church on the Lord's-day.' Which is an observation he made himself (4).

(4) See Burnet, p. 10.

[E] He made a most valuable common-place-book. It was done with great industry and judgment. In-somuch, that an eminent Judge of the King's-Bench having borrowed it of him, (though he very unwillingly lent it, as thinking it too imperfect,) the judge, after having perused it, said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himself would again set about it (5).

(5) Idem, p. 14.



left him at his death one of his executors. It was this acquaintance that first set Mr Hale on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession. So that by his uncommon industry and good natural parts, he arrived at a considerable knowledge in the Civil Law, in Arithmetick, Algebra, and other mathematical sciences, as well as in Physick, Anatomy, and Chirurgery. He was also very conversant in Experimental Philosophy, and other branches of philosophical learning; and in Antient History and Chronology. Nor was he unacquainted with the antient Greek Philosophers, but want of use wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never studied Hebrew, yet by his frequent conversations with Selden, he understood the most curious things in the Rabinical learning. But, above all, he seemed to have made Divinity his chief study; to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that perfection in it, that those who read what he wrote on those subjects, will think they must have taken most of his time and thoughts (f) [F]. Some time before the civil wars he was called to the Bar (g), and began to make a figure in the world. But, upon their breaking out, observing how difficult it was to preserve his integrity and to live securely, he resolved to follow these two maxims of Pomponius Atticus (h), whom he proposed to himself as a pattern: namely, to engage in no faction, nor meddle in publick business; and, constantly to favour and relieve those that were lowest. Accordingly he avoided all publick employment, and the very talking of news; being strictly careful, never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their actions. And he often relieved the Royalists in their necessities [G]. This so ingratiated him with them, that he came generally to be employed by them in his practice. He was one of the Counsel to the Earl of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and King Charles himself (i): as also to the Duke of Hamilton (k), the Earl of Holland, the Lord Capel, and the Lord Craven (l) [H]. But being esteemed a plain honest man, a person of great integrity and knowledge in the Law, he was entertained by both parties, the Presbyterians as well as Loyalists. In 1643 he took the Covenant, and appeared several times with other lay persons among the Assembly of Divines. He was then in great esteem with the Parliament, and employed by them in several affairs, for his counsel, particularly in the reduction of the garrison at Oxford; being, as a lawyer, added to the commissioners named by the Parliament to treat with those appointed by the King. In that capacity he did good service, by advising them, especially the General, Fairfax, to preserve that famous seat of learning from ruin. Afterwards, though the barbarous death of King Charles I. was a great grief to him, yet he took the oath called the Engagement. And, on the 20th of January 1651-2, was one of those appointed to consider of the Reformation of the Law (m) [I]. Oliver Cromwell, who affected

(f) Idem, p. 14—18.

(g) Wood, Ath. col. 574.

(h) Vide Corneliolum Nepot. in vita P. Attici.

(i) Burnet, as above, p. 19, 20, 21. Memorials of Archbishop Laud, p. 422, &c.

(k) Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, by G. Burnet, D. D. Lond. 1676. fol. where Mr Hale's Plea for that Duke is printed.

(l) Life by Burnet, as above, p. 20, 21.

(m) See Mr Whitelock's Memorials, &c. edit. 1732. p. 520, 521.

(6) Life, as above, p. 18, 19.

[F] Will think they must have taken most of his time and thoughts.] 'It may seem almost incredible, as Dr Burnet observes (6), that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge: and that in sciences, which require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehension lively, his memory great, and his judgment strong; so his industry was almost indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the morning; was never idle; scarce ever held any discourse about news, except with some few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correspondence by letters, except about necessary business, or matters of learning, and spent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public feasts, so he gave no entertainments but to the poor; for he followed our Saviour's direction (of feasting none but these) literally: and in eating and drinking, he observed not only great plainness and moderation, but lived so philosophically, that he always ended his meal with an appetite; so that he lost little time at it, (that being the only portion which he grudged himself) and was disposed to any exercise of his mind, to which he thought fit to apply himself immediately after he had dined. By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted. He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for whatever studies he thought fit to turn himself to; and some very uneasy things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to, than distract him from, his studies.'

[G] And he often relieved the Royalists in their necessities.] 'This he did in a way no less prudent than charitable, considering the dangers of that time: for he often deposited considerable sums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the King's party, who knew their necessities well, and was to distribute his charity according to his own discretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himself any account to whom he had given it (7).'

[H] And the Lord Craven.] When he was counsel for this Lord, he pleaded with that force of argument,

that the then Attorney-General, Edmund Prideaux, threatened him for appearing against the government: to whom he answered, He was 'pleading in defence of those laws, which they declared they would maintain and preserve, and he was doing his duty to his client, so that he was not to be daunted with threatnings (8).'

[I] Was one of those appointed to consider of the Reformation of the Law.] The rest of the committee, were, William Steel, Esq; Recorder of London, Charles-George Cock, Esq; Mr Manby, Mr Sadler, Col. Blount, Sir Henry Blount, Kt. Mr Berners, Major General Desborough, Mr Moyer, Col. Tomlinson, John Fountaine, Esq; Alderman Fowke, Hugh Peters clerk, Major Packer, Sir William Roberts, Mr Meltwold, Mr Mansell, John Rushworth of Lincoln's-Inn, Mr Sparrow, and Sir Antony Ashley Cooper, Bart. They were to take into consideration what inconveniences there were in the law; how the mischiefs which grew from delays, the chargeableness, and irregularities in the proceedings of the Law might be prevented, and the speediest way to prevent the same. And to present their opinions to the committee of Parliament appointed for that purpose, and they or any seven of them had power to send for any persons to confer with them in this business, and for records. They met several times, and desired the Judges in their several courts to return to them a list of their several officers, what fees they received, and what they did for the same. And none was more busy than Hugh Peters, who understood little of the Law, and was very opinionative. On the 21st of February next ensuing, they passed the following resolutions. 'If the defendant in a personal action, before pleading, tender satisfaction to the plaintiff with costs of suit, and it appear afterwards at the trial to the jury sufficient and not accepted of, the plaintiff to lose his own and pay the other's cost in the suit. That summons be the first process in all personal actions, with the true date when sued forth and executed upon oath, and returnable within fifteen days after the service; the defendant to have a copy from the original, under seal, given or left at his house, and the cause of the suit

(8) Idem, p. 27.

(7) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 21, 22.



fectd the reputation of honouring and trusting persons of eminent virtues, and wanted such a man as Mr Hale to give countenance to his courts, never left importuning him, 'till he accepted of the place of one of the Justices of the Common-Bench, as it was then called. For which purpose he was by writ made Serjeant at Law, on the 25th of January 1653-4 (n). In that station he acted with great integrity and suitable courage [K]. The same year he was elected one of the five Knights to represent the county of Gloucester, in the Parliament which began at Westminster, September 3, 1654 (o). He duly attended the House, on purpose to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then set on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends (p) [L]. When the Protector died, he not only excused himself from accepting of the mourning that was sent him, but also refused the new commission offered him by Richard; alledging, 'He could act 'no longer under such authority (q).' He did not sit in Oliver's second Parliament, in 1656; but, in Richard's, which met January 27, 1658-9, he was one of the Burgeesses for the university of Oxford (r). And in the Healing Parliament, anno 1660, which recalled King Charles II. he was elected one of the Knights for the county of Gloucester, through the Lord Berkeley's interest, and without any charge to himself, though he had a competitor that had spent near a thousand pounds; a great sum to be employed that way

(n) Life by Burnet, as above, p. 22, 23. Wood Ath. as above.  
The Perfect Politician; or Life of O. Cromwell, by J. S. Land, 1660. 8vo. p. 335.

(o) Br. Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, edit. 1700. 8vo. Part ii. p. 261.

(p) Burnet, as above, p. 28, &c.

(q) Idem, p. 30.

(r) Willis, ut supra, p. 291.

'suit set down in the body of the writ; that upon default of appearing, a further process be granted to arrest the party, till he appear or give warrant. And in case of non appearance, the defendant's lands and goods to be distrained to a certain value, 'till he appear or give warrant.' The 23d of March, they presented to the Committee of Parliament, the draughts of several acts: two of which were, For 'taking away common recoveries, and the unnecessary charge of fines, and to pass and charge lands intailed, as lands in fee-simple. For ascertaining arbitrary fines upon descent, and alienation of copyholds of inheritance (g).' Very necessary laws to restrain the oppressions of Lords of Manors.

[K] In that station, he acted with great integrity and suitable courage.] He had at first great scruples concerning the authority under which he was to act. And, after having gone two or three circuits, he refused to sit any more on the crown side; that is, to judge criminals. He had indeed so carried himself in some tryals, that the powers then in being were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which Dr Burnet gives the following instances (10). Not long after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, a tryal was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the King's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling piece on his shoulder; which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said, it was contrary to an order which the Protector had made, *That none who had been of the King's party should carry arms*; and so he would have forced it from him. But as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lye in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he refusing, the soldier struck at him; and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body; of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried: against the one, there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder: and though Col. Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged, *That the man was killed only for disobeying the Protector's order, and that the soldier was but doing his duty*; yet the Judge regarded both his reasons and threatnings very little; and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it. — Another occasion was given him, of shewing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a tryal, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under-sheriff; and having next asked the under-

sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he shewed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff, or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause. Upon which the Protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, *He was not fit to be a judge*; to which all the answer he made was, *That it was very true*. — Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely. Some Anabaptists had rushed into a church, and had disturbed a congregation while they were receiving the sacrament, not without some violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said, *It was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others; especially those who had the encouragement of the law on their side*. But these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would meddle no more with the tryals on the Crown side. — When Penruddock's tryal was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country-house at Alderley: he plainly refused to go, and said, *The four terms and two circuits were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs*; and so he excused himself. But, if he had been urged, he would not have been afraid of speaking more plainly.

[L] On purpose to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then set on foot by two parties, &c.] One of those parties, who were down right brainick Enthusiasts, were resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up in their room an indigested Enthusiastical Scheme, which they called the Kingdom of Christ, or of his saints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or other Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation. — The others, taking advantage from the fears and apprehensions all the sober people of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of that distracted sort of people, (who, to all their other principles added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age) intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these, Judge Hale steered a middle course; for, as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments, more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; that is, to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the Enthusiasts as well as the Usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was, to destroy all the records in the Tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation; so he took this province to himself, to shew the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all sober persons (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopt even the mouths of the frentick people themselves (11).

[M] Constituted

(11) Burnet, Life, &c. p. 28, 29, 30.

(9) Whitelock, as above, p. 520, 521, 523, 528. Wood Ath. as above, col. 574.

(10) Life, p. 23, 25, &c.



(s) Burnet, p.  
30, 31.

(t) Burnet Hist.  
of his own Time,  
edit. 1753, 8vo.  
Vol. I. p. 122.

(u) Idem, Life,  
as above, p. 32.

(w) Syderfyn's  
Reports, fol.  
p. 21.

(x) Dugdale  
Chron. Series.

way in those days (s). In that parliament, he moved that a committee might be appointed to look into the propositions that had been made, and the concessions that had been offered by King Charles I. during the late war; that from thence such propositions might be digested, as they should think fit to be sent over to the King at Breda (t). He was also very earnest and instrumental in getting the act of indemnity passed (u). The 22d of June, his Majesty recalled him, among others, by writ, to the degree of Sergeant at Law (w). And, upon settling the courts in Westminster-hall, constituted him, November 7 the same year, Chief-Baron of the Exchequer (x) [M]. Some time after he was knighted (y) [N]. He continued eleven years in that place; and very much raised the reputation and practice of the Court, by his exact and impartial administration of justice [O], as also by his generosity, vast diligence, and great exactness in tryals (z). According to his rule of favouring and relieving those that were lowest, he was now very charitable to the Nonconformists, and took great care to cover them as much as possible from the severities of the law [P]. He thought many of them had merited highly in the business

(y) Burnet, Life,  
as above, p. 32,  
33.

(z) Ibid.

[M] *Constituted him, November 7, the same year, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.* When the Lord Chancellor Clarendon delivered him his commission, he made a speech to him according to custom, wherein he expressed his great and just esteem for him in the following words: 'That if the King could have found out an honest and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well (12).'

(12) Idem, p.  
32.

[N] *Some time after he was knighted.* It is an honour usually conferred upon the Chief Judges; but Mr Hale desired to avoid it: and therefore declined for a considerable time all opportunities of waiting on the King. Which the Lord Chancellor observing, he sent for him upon business one day, when the King was at his house, and told his Majesty, 'There was his modest Chief-Baron;' upon which he was unexpectedly knighted (13).

(13) Idem, p.  
33.

[O] *By his exact and impartial administration of justice.* Of which we have the following instances. 'He would never receive any private addresses or recommendations from the greatest persons, in any matter in which justice was concerned. One of the first Peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, 'That having a suit in law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in court.' Upon which Sir Matthew interrupted him, and said, 'He did not deal fairly to come to his chamber about such affairs, for he never received any information of causes but in open court, where both parties were to be heard alike; so he would not suffer him to go on. Whereupon his Grace (for he was a Duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the King, as a rudeness that was not to be endured. But his Majesty bid him content himself that he was no worse used,' and said, 'He verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to sollicite him in any of his own causes.' Another passage fell out in one of his circuits, which was somewhat censured as an affectation of unreasonable strictness; but it flowed from his exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gentleman had sent him a buck for his table, that had a tryal at the assizes; so when he heard his name, he asked, 'If he was not the same person that had sent him venison?' and finding he was the same, he told him, 'He could not suffer the tryal to go on, till he had paid him for his buck:' to which the gentleman answered, 'That he never sold his venison, and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every judge that had gone that circuit,' which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present: but all would not do, for the Lord Chief Baron had learned from Solomon, *That a gift perverteth the ways of judgment*; and therefore he would not suffer the tryal to go on, till he had paid for the present; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And, at Salisbury, the Dean and Chapter having, according to custom, presented him with six sugar loaves in his circuit, he made his servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause (14).

(14) Idem, p.  
37, 38.

(15) Life of the  
Hon. Sir Francis  
North, Baron of  
Guilford, &c.  
Lond. 1742, 4to.  
p. 61, &c.

[P] *And took great care to cover them as much as possible from the severities of the law.* The honourable Roger North, Esq; affirms, that he was even partial to them. His account of Sir Matthew, in his judicial capacity, is as follows (15).—'While Hales was Chief Baron of the Exchequer, by means of his great

learning, even against his inclination, he did the crown more justice, in that court, than any others, in his place, had done with all their good will and less knowledge. But—his foible—was leaning towards the popular; yet, when he knew the law was for the King, (as well he might, being acquainted with all the records of the Court, to which men of the law are commonly strangers) he failed not to judge accordingly. He was an upright judge, if taken within himself; and when he appeared, as he often did, and really was, partial, his inclination or prejudice, insensibly to himself, drew his judgment aside. His bias lay strangely for, and against, characters and denominations; and sometimes the very habits of persons. If one party was a courtier, and well dressed, and the other a sort of puritan, with a black cap and plain cloaths, he insensibly thought the justice of the cause with the latter. If the dissenting, or anti-court party was at the back of a cause, he was very seldom impartial; and the Loyalists had always a great disadvantage before him.—It is said he was once caught. A courtier, who had a cause to be tried before him, got one to go to him, as from the King, to speak for favour to his adversary, and so carried his point; for the Chief Justice could not think any person to be in the right, that came so unduly recommended.—Mr North adds these further particulars concerning him.—'He became the cushion exceeding well: his manner of hearing patient, his directions pertinent, and his discourses copious and, though he hesitated often, fluent. His stop, for a word, by the produce always paid for the delay; and, on some occasions, he would utter sentences heroic. One of the bankers, a courtier, by name Sir Robert Viner, when he was Lord-Mayor of London, delayed making a return to a mandamus, and the prosecutor moved for an attachment against him. The Recorder Howel appeared; and, to avert the rule for an attachment, alledged the greatness of his magistracy; and the disorder that might happen in the city, if the Mayor were imprisoned. The Chief Justice put his thumbs in his girdle, as his way was, and, *Tell me of the Mayor of London, said he? Tell me of the Mayor of Queenborough*: but still this was against the Court. He put on the shew of much valour, as if the danger seemed to lie on that side, from whence either loss of his place, (of which he really made no great account) or some more violent, or as they pretended, arbitrary, infliction might fall upon him! Whereas, in truth, that side was safe, which he must needs know, and that all real danger, to a judge, was from the impetuous fury of a rabble, who have as little sense and discretion as justice; and from the House of Commons, who seldom want their wills, and, for the most part, with the power of the Crown, obtain them. Against these powers he was very fearful; and one bred, as he was, in the rebellious times, when the government, at best, was but rout and riot, either of rabble committees, or soldiers, may be allowed to have an idea of their tyranny, and consequently stand in fear of such brutish violence and injustice as they committed. But it is pleasant to consider that this man's not fearing the Court was accounted valour; that is by the populace, who never accounted his fear of themselves to have been a mere timidity. Whatever his courage or fear was, it is most certain his vanity was excessive; which grew out of a self-conversation, and being little abroad.—Mr North adds moreover (16), That 'this great man was often a slave to prejudice, a subtiliser, and an inventor of unheard of distinctions, and exercising

(16) Ibid. p. 64.



business of the King's Restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of Conformity should not have been made stricter than they were before the war. But as he lamented the too rigorous proceedings against them, so he declared himself always of the side of the Church of England, and said, Those of the Separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the Church about such inconsiderable matters as the points in difference were (a). After the Fire of London, he was one of the principal Judges that sat in Clifford's-inn, to settle the differences between landlord and tenant; being the first that offered his service to the city in that affair: wherein he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all parties concerned (b). In 1668, he earnestly promoted the Comprehension then set on foot between the Church and the Nonconformists, and drew up the bill to be presented to Parliament for that purpose (c). On the 18th of May 1671, he was promoted to the place of Lord Chief Justice of England, that is of the King's Bench, vacant by the death of Sir John Keeling. He behaved in that high station with his usual strictness, regularity, and diligence [Q], and thereby drew most of the business of the other courts after him (d). But, about four years and a half after this advancement, he, who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance and the equality of his mind did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff: In two days time it broke his constitution to such a degree, that he never recovered; for his illness turned to an asthma, that terminated in a dropsy, which brought him to his end (e). Finding himself unable to discharge the duties of his function, he petitioned, about the beginning of the year 1675-6, for a writ of ease: but it being delayed, he surrendered his office into the Lord Chancellor's hands, the 21st of February 1675-6. He had now nothing to do but to prepare himself for his death, which happened the 25th of December following. On the 4th of January, he was interred in the churchyard of Alderley [R] among his ancestors; and a plain monument, according to his direction, was soon after erected over his grave (f) [S]. The most material part of his character, as drawn up by Dr Burnet and others, is given below in the note [T]. He was

(a) *Idem*, p. 39, 40, 41.

(b) *Idem*, p. 33, 34.

(c) See the Life of R. Baxter.

(d) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 55, &c.

(e) *Idem*, p. 57.

(f) *Idem*, p. 70, 71.

exercising criticisms to get the better of known maxims of the law, and thereby to transmit great estates and interests from some persons and families to others. This over-ruling temper of his did not so much take place in small concerns, and in those between common men; for there his justice shined most, and armed him with reputation that sustained his authority to do as he pleased in greater. Whereby it seems that if he never had dealt in other but great causes, to hear and determine them, he might have been accounted the worst judge that ever sat.—Yet the generality, both gentle and simple, lawyers and laymen, did idolize him.—His voice was oracular, and his person little less than adored. This fascination, as Mr North styles it, proceeded [in his opinion,] from faction, and had, at the root, more of confederacy than judgment; for because the Chief Justice was, in principle, averse to Monarchy and the Court, they all, with one voice, exalted him, in order to have him lead the Law, and all the lawyers, that way; and left no room for just thoughts of him, which attributed enough of honour and commendation, but all that he said was right, and whoever said to the contrary was wrong.—Mr North having delivered himself thus freely about Sir Matthew Hale, concludes his account of him with the following apology (17).—‘I must not part without subjoining my solemn protestation, that nothing is here set down for any invidious purposes, but merely for the sake of truth; first, in general, for all truth is profitable; and, secondly, in particular, for justice to the character I write of (18), against whom never any thing was urged so peremptorily as the authority of Hales; as if one must of necessity be in the wrong, because another was presumed to be in the right. These two Chiefs were of different opinions in matters of private right, as well as touching the publick. And if one were a Solomon, Saint, and Oracle, what must the other be taken for? therefore I have understood it absolutely necessary for me, as I have done, to shew Hales in a truer light than when the age did not allow such freedom, but accounted it a delirium, or malignancy at least, not to idolize him; and thereby to manifest that he had his frailties, defects, prejudices, and vanities, as well as excellencies; and that he was not a very touchstone of law, probity, justice and publick spirit, as, in his own time, he was accounted: but that some, that did not agree with him, might have those virtues as eminently, in the eye of a just observer. This is the only consideration that moved me so freely to display the matters foregoing; wishing only that I had means, or ability, of doing it with more punctuality. I conclude with this observation; that it is a general error of the community, learned and unlearned,

when a man is truly great in some capacities, by the measure of them to magnify him in all others, wherein he may be a shallow pretender. But it is the office of a just writer of the characters of men, to give every one his due, and no more.’

[Q] *He behaved in that high station with his usual strictness, regularity, &c.* ‘One thing was much observed and commended in him, viz. that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the counsellors that were to plead one against another, he thought it became him, as the judge, to supply that: so he would enforce what the weaker counsel managed but indifferently, and not suffer the more learned to carry the business by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickness and skill in law, and readiness in pleading, till all things were cleared, in which the merits and strength of the ill defended cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his judgment in causes; but did, especially in all intricate ones, give such an account of the reasons that prevailed with him; that the counsel did not only acquiesce in his authority, but were so convinced by his reasons, that he brought them often to change their opinions; so that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law. And even the parties interested were generally satisfied with the justice of his decisions, even when they were made against themselves (19).’

[R] *He was interred in the church-yard of Alderley.* He did not much approve of burying in churches, and used to say, ‘The churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead (20).’

[S] *And a plain monument, according to his direction, was soon after erected over his grave.* The sides are of black and white marble, and the top a plain black marble, with the following inscription ordered by himself.

*Hic inhumatur corpus  
Matthæi Hale, Militis;  
Roberti Hale, et Joannæ,  
Uxoris ejus, Filii unici.  
Nati in hac Parochia de  
Alderly, primo die Novem-  
bris Anno Dom. 1609.  
Denati vero ibidem vicesimo  
quinto die Decembris,  
Anno Dom. 1676.  
Ætatis suæ LXVII.*

[T] *The most material part of his character, as drawn up by Dr Burnet and others, &c.* ‘His capacities,

(19) Burnet, Life, &c. as above, p. 55, 56.

(20) *Ibid.* p. 70.

(17) *Ibid.* p. 69.

(18) Viz. Sir Francis North, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards Lord Keeper.



was author of several things, some of which were published by himself [U], and others after

cities, says Dr Burnet, were great, and much improved by constant study; which rendered his learning various. He rose always early in the morning; loved to walk much abroad, not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts, to have the creation of God before his eyes. He had great vivacity in his fancy, as appears by his inclination to poetry, and his poetical performances; but he looked on eloquence and wit as things to be used very chafly and sparingly. He was a devout Christian, a sincere Protestant, and a true son of the Church of England; moderate towards Dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most. He used constantly to worship God in his family, performing it always himself; if there was no clergyman present: he was also very regular in his private devotions. So far was he from covetousness, that he did not make the profits he might have had by his practice: taking, in common cases, only ten shillings for his fee. And he raised his estate, from one hundred pounds a year not quite to nine hundred; of which a very considerable part came from his share of Mr Selden's effects, to whom he was an executor, and residuary legatee. In his practice; if he saw a cause was unjust, he, for a great while, would not meddle further in it, but give his advice that it was so: if the parties, after that, would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice: if he found the cause doubtful or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to agree their business. In his pleading, he abhorred those too common faults of mis-reciting evidences, quoting precedents or books falsely, or asserting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too often influenced. He pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life, and used to say, 'It was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than as he thought.' All this he ascribed to the immeasurable desire of heaping up wealth. When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled; but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made; for he said, 'In those cases he was made a judge, and a judge ought to take no money.' *Festina lente*, was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be ingraven on the head of his staff; and was often heard to say, 'That he had observed many witty men run into great errors, because they did not give themselves time to think.' He laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities; and, after he was a judge, many of the perquisites of his place were sent by him to the jays, to discharge poor prisoners. He usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them sit at table with himself: and if any of them were sick, so that they could not come, he would send meat warm to them from his table. But as to common beggars, if they were able to work, he would employ them. He loved building much, wherein he consulted usefulness more than magnificence: for, in that, as well as his furniture and clothes, he avoided every thing that looked like pomp or vanity. He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready, upon any reasonable complaints, to make abatements; for he was merciful as well as righteous. After he was made a judge, he would needs pay more for every purchase he made than it was worth; of which he assigned this reason, 'That it became judges to pay more for what they bought than the true value; to the end, that those they dealt with, might not think they had any right to their favour, by having sold such things to them at an easy rate.' He was of a most tender and compassionate nature; and, at trials, behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men whose lives lay at stake. His mercifulness extended even to his beasts, for when the horses that he had kept long, grew old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought, but ordered his men to turn them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work (21). He was a great encourager of all young persons, that he saw followed their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with a humanity and sweetness, that

wrought much on all that came near him: and, in a smiling pleasant way, he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them. He was very free and communicative in his discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful subject, and loved for an hour or two, at night, to be visited by some of his friends (22).—Mr North suggests (23), that those friends were none but flatterers. For, says he, 'When he was off from the seat of justice, and at home, his conversation was with none but flatterers.'—He was, adds Mr North (24), the most flatterable creature that ever was known; for there was a method of resignation to him, and treating him with little meals, and private, with his pipe, at ease, which certainly captivated him. In short, to give every one his due, there was in him the most of learning and wisdom, joined with ignorance and folly, that ever was known to coincide in the character of any one man in the world. But he doth Sir Matthew this justice, to testify of him, that his reputation for his great ability in the law, and rigorous justice will be very long lived in Westminster-hall, and the Inns of Court and Chancery.——And praises him, for 'his great learning in the history, law, and records of the English constitution: styles him, 'an upright judge;' and says, 'he was allowed on all hands to be the most profound lawyer of his time.'—R. Baxter gives this character of him (25). 'He was an unwearied student, a prudent man, a solid philosopher, a famous lawyer, the pillar and basis of justice, (who would not have done an unjust act for any worldly price or motive) the ornament of his Majesty's government, and honour of England; the highest faculty of the soul at Westminster-hall, and pattern to all the reverend and honourable Judges, a godly serious practical Christian, a lover of goodness and all good men; a great contemner of riches, pomp, and vanity of the world, a pattern of honest plainness and humility, &c.'—Dr Burnet concludes his character in these words: 'That he was one of the greatest patterns this age has afforded, whether in his private deportment as a Christian, or in his public employments, either at the bar or on the bench.'

[U] Some of which were published by himself.] Namely, I. 'An Essay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation of Fluid Bodies, and the Reasons thereof.' Lond. 1674, 8vo. II. *Difficilis Nuga*, or Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various solutions of the same, especially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air. Lond. 1674, 8vo. Dr Henry More wrote some remarks upon this, so far as it might concern any passages in his *Enchiridion Metaphys.* III. 'Observations touching the Principles of natural Motion, and especially touching Rarefaction and Condensation, together with a Reply to certain Remarks touching the Gravitation of Fluids.' Lond. 1677, 8vo. IV. 'Contemplations Moral and Divine.' In two parts. The first printed at London in 1676, 8vo, and the second part in 1677, 8vo. To the first were added, 'Directions touching keeping the Lord's-day: And, Poems on Christmas-day.' They were both reprinted together in 1679, 8vo. These Contemplations came abroad without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention. V. An English translation of 'The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus, written by his contemporary and acquaintance Cornelius Nepos; together with Observations political and moral.' Lond. 1677, 8vo. This translation is said to be badly done (26). VI. 'The primitive Origination of Mankind considered and explained according to the Light of Nature.' Lond. 1677, fol. VII. He also wrote the preface to, and published, the 'Abridgment of many Cases and Resolutions of the Common Law, alphabetically digested under several titles, &c.' By H. Rolle. Lond. 1668, fol. VIII. Likewise, he was partly the author of, 'London's Liberty: Or a learned Argument of Law and Reason.' An. 1650. Reprinted in 1682, fol. under this title, 'London's Liberties: Or, The Opinions of those great Lawyers, Lord Ch. Justice Hale, Mr Justice Wild, and Mr Serjeant Maynard, about the Election of Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen and Common-Council of London, and concerning their Charter.'

(22) Ibid. p. 99, 100.

(23) Life of Lord Guilford, as above, p. 62.

(24) Ibid. p. 64.

(25) Additional Notes on the Life and Death of Sir Matth. Hale, Lond. 1682. 8vo. p. 43, 44. a small pamphlet.

(26) See Life of Lord Guilford, as above, p. 63.

(21) Burnet, Life, as above, p. 83—99.



after his decease [W]. By his Will, he bequeathed to the society of Lincoln's-inn, his manuscript books [X] of inestimable value, which he had been near forty years in gathering, with very great industry and expence. An account of his wives and family is given below in the note [Y].

[W] And others after his decease ] They were, 1. 'Pleas of the Crown: or a Methodical Summary of the Principal Matters relating to that Subject.' Lond. 1678. 8vo. 2. 'Discourse touching Provision for the Poor.' Lond. 1683. 12mo. 3. 'A Treatise touching Sheriffs Accounts.' Lond. 1683. 8vo. To which is joined his 'Tryal of Witches at the Assizes held at Bury St Edmunds on the first of March, 1664.' His condemnation of those poor crazy wretches, was the worst and the most culpable action in his whole life (27). 4. His 'Judgment of the Nature of True Religion, the Causes of its Corruption, and the Churches Calamity by Mens Additions and Violences; with the desired Cure,' Lond. 1684. 4to. Published by R. Baxter. 5. 'Several Tracts, as A Discourse of Religion under three heads, &c. His Treatise concerning Provision for the Poor, already mentioned: A Letter to his Children, advising them how to behave in their speech: A Letter to one of his Sons, after his recovery from the small-pox.' Lond. 1684. 8vo. 6. 'Discourse of the Knowledge of God and of our Selves, first by the Light of Nature, secondly by the Sacred Scriptures.' To which is added, 'Brief Abstract of the Christian Religion: and considerations seasonable at all times for the cleansing of the Heart and Life.' Lond. 1688. 8vo. 7. 'The Original Institution, Power, and Jurisdiction, of Parliaments.' Lond. 1707. 8vo. 8. 'Historia Placitorum Coronæ. The History of the Pleas of the Crown. First published, in 1736, from his original manuscript, and the several references to the Records examined by the Originals, with large notes, By Sollom Emlyn of Lincoln's-inn, Esq; 2 vols fol.' The House of Commons had made an order, 29 Novemb. 1680. that it should then be printed; but it was never printed till now. The *Pleas of the Crown*, &c. printed in 1678, 8vo. (as above) was only a plan of this work.

He left several other pieces in manuscript, as, 'Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind, fol. 'Concerning Religion, 5 vols fol.' and many others,

of no great value: whereof an account may be seen at the end of his life by Dr Burnet (28)

[X] By his Will he bequeathed to the society of Lincoln's-inn his manuscript books, &c ] They are of inestimable value; as being, Close and Patent Rolls, and Charter-Rolls in the time of King John for the clergy: the principal matters in the Close and Patent Rolls of Henry III. from the 9th to the 36th of his reign: Close Rolls of King John: *Placita de tempore Regis Johannis*, Edw. I. Edw. II. Edw. III. Ric. II. Henr. IV. and V. *Placita de Banco*, Edw. I. ab anno 1 ad annum 21: the Pleas in the Exchequer, styled *Communia*, from 1 to 46 Edw. III. Close Rolls of Edw. II. and III. Close and Patent Rolls in the time of Edward III. Leagues of the Kings, Edw. I. II. and III. in many volumes. 'He desired they should be kept safe, and all together, bound in leather, and chained; not lent out or disposed of: only, if any of his posterity of that society should desire to transcribe any book, and give good caution to restore it again in a prefixed time, they should be lent to him, and but one volume at a time.' They are, says he, 'a treasure that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every man capable of making use of them' (29).

[Y] An account of his wives and family, &c ] He was twice married. His first wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Moor of Faley in Berkshire, by whom he had ten children: the four first dyed young, the other six lived to be all married; and he outlived them all except his eldest daughter and his youngest son. The name of his eldest son was Robert, to whose children he left his estate. Their posterity is still seated at Alderley. Sir Matthew, it, seems, was not very happy in his children (30).—His second lady was Anne, daughter of Mr Joseph Bishop of Faley abovementioned. She was his own servant; and it was upon occasion of his marriage with her, that he made use of this ludicrous saying, 'That there is no wisdom below the girdle' (31).

(27) P. 113. See

(29) Burnet in the same Life, p. 116, &c. See North, as above, p. 63.

(30) North, as above, p. 63.

(31) Ibid.

H A L E S [JOHN], an excellent Divine and Critick (a) usually distinguished by the appellation of *ever memorable* \*; seems to have been descended from a family of some note [A] in Somersetshire, and was born in that county at the city of Bath in St James's parish anno 1584; where being put to school, he made a progress in grammar learning so quick as to be judged fit for the university at the age of thirteen, and in the beginning of the year 1597 being sent to Oxford, became a scholar of Corpus-Christi-college, where he continued for some time; and taking his first degree in Arts, signalized himself prodigiously in all his academical exercises (b), and was much famed for his accurate skill in the Greek language. Such rare talents particularly engaged the attention of Sir Henry Savile then Warden of Merton, who always studious to promote the honour and interest of his society, took care to bring Mr Hales into it [B]; and in 1605 he was chosen fellow there, his merit having procured him the first place in the election (c). He had not been long in this station, when the learned Warden resolving to make use of his assistance in preparing St Chrysostom's works for the press, had the satisfaction to receive continually fresh proofs of his abilities (d). In the interim he was appointed Greek Lecturer in the college, and preferred in 1612 to the public lecture of that language in the university (e). Upon the death of Sir Thomas Bodley founder of the Bodleian Library, January 28, 1613 (f), that university determining to inter the corpse in the most solemn manner, chose Mr Hales to make the funeral oration which he spoke on the 29th of March (g), and on the 24th of May (h) following was admitted Fellow of Eton-college (i), being then in Holy Orders, and a few years after an eminent preacher according to the taste of those times [C]. In 1618

author's return from Holland. See his account of the Life and Writings of Mr Hales, &c. p. 3. (i) Probably by the interest of Sir H. Savile, and also of Sir Dudley Carlton. Ath. Ox. Vol. II.

[A] Descended from a family of some note.] This is collected from the account of it by Mr Wood, who observes (1) that our author was a younger son of John Hales (teward to the family of the Horners in Somersetshire) eldest son of Edward Hales of Highchurch in that county, son of John Hales of the same place, son of Richard Hales by his wife the daughter of Beauchamp.

[B] Sir Henry Savile took care to bring him into Merton-college.] The last cited author from whom we have this particular expresses it thus, 'The prodigious

'pregnancy of his parts being discovered by the hedge-beaters of Sir Henry Savile, he was encouraged by them to stand for a fellowship in Merton-college (2). And another author intimating that Sir Henry was used to do the like in respect to all young men who distinguished themselves in the university by their merit, observes that the example can never be too much commended or imitated (3).

[C] In a few years became an eminent preacher.] The first sermon of the collection in his *Golden Remains*, edit. 1659. upon 2 Pet. iii. 16. upon wrestling hard places

(a) Wood ubi supra.

(f) Idem, in the article BODLEY [THOMAS], who it appears there was buried at the upper end of the choir in Merton-college-chapel.

(g) See the speech, which was printed at Oxford that year, and again in *Vitæ selectorum aliquot virorum*, &c. by Dr W. Bates, in 1681. 4to.

(b) Or else the 4th. Compare Gen. Dist. Vol. V. p. 783. with Vol. VIII. p. 236. note [B]. Des Maizeaux is mistaken in fixing the time of this fact after our Lond. 1719. 8vo. col. 199.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Des Maizeaux's account of the Life and Writings of our author, Lond. 1719. 8vo. p. 2.

(27) See Dr Hutchinsen's Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft, Lond. 1718. 8vo. p. 109, &c.

(a) Mr Wood calls him the best critic of the last age. Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 556. \* See the title page to his *Golden Remains*, and his *Tracts* likewise.

(b) There was never any who went beyond him either for disputations or declamations. Idem, Vol. II. col. 199.

(c) Mr Wood in the place above cited informs us, that in this election Mr Hales showed himself to be a person of learning above his age and standing. He proceeded Master of Arts, probably not long afterwards.

(d) Id. ibid. and Heylin's *Cyprianus Anglicus*, lib. iv. p. 362.

(1) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 199.



(k) This is evident from his letters, though the contrary is asserted by two authors cited by Mr Des Maizeaux, ubi supra, p. 82. in the notes.

1618 he accompanied Sir Dudley Carlton Embassadour to the Hague in quality of chaplain, by which means he procured admission into the synod of Dort [D]; and though he was not properly a member (k), yet his letters to Sir Dudley giving an account of their proceedings, are penned with greater respect to that assembly, than those written on the same occasion by Mr Balcanqual Commissioner there for the Scottish Church [E]. Every body

(4) Mr Wood. in Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 125. first edition, but 'tis omitted in the second edition of this work.

places of Scripture, which 'tis said was printed in 1617 at Oxford in 4to. (4) seems inferior to none that we have of his in any point, and is freer than most of them from that affected archness of argument and quaintness of expression and observation, which indeed was the vice of the times, and he was a compleat adept therein. It will not be amiss to give one instance as a specimen. We shall take it from his first sermon of Duels preached at the Hague before the Ambassador; wherein observing that the Scriptures every where inculcate gentleness, meekness, and peace, he proceeds thus, 'The Son of God, who is the wisdom of the Father, and who for us men came down from heaven, first, and before all other virtues, commended this unto the world: for when he was born, the song of the Angels was, *Peace upon earth, and good will towards men.* All his doctrine was peace, his whole life was peaceable, and no man heard his voice in the streets; his last legacy and bequest left unto his disciples was the same; *Peace*, saith he, *I leave unto you, my Peace I give unto you: as Christ to Christians.*' So far the piety and gravity of the preacher is truly admirable, the hearer must needs feel and acknowledge the force of his eloquence; but this it is that serves to make the contrast in what follows so much the more conspicuously odious, for thus he shuts up the argument, 'In the building of Solomon's temple there was no noise of any hammer, of any instrument of iron; so in the spiritual building and frame of a Christian, there is no sound of iron, no noise of any weapons, nothing but peace and gentleness (5).' Can this be read upon the subject of duels without suggesting these two lines of Hudibras,

Ah me what perils do inviron,  
The man that meddles with cold iron.

In reality, a solid and pious strain of reasoning, pointed with such a quaint witticism at the end, is thereby metamorphosed into a compleat piece of drollery. However this is no more than a single stroke, and the only one that disgraces that sermon, and such a one too as provokes indignation as much as laughter. But whoever has the curiosity to peruse the first of the four sermons [not in the Remains] published in 1673, will find himself held in a continued twitter throughout. It is absolutely a master-piece in the art of text-splitting so much admired in those days; and as our author was then probably young, being also, as he tells us himself, of a gay temper\*, it will perhaps not be doing him any wrong to suppose, the review of such a lucky production of his own genius could not fail of raising a smile in him. Somewhere in these sermons, if I mistake not, he tells a story which naturally starts up on this occasion, of Zeuxis the famous Grecian painter, who having finished the picture of an old woman exactly to his mind, was so extremely delighted in viewing the delicious piece, that he killed himself with laughing at it. After all, in justice to our author it must be allowed, that these discourses abound with excellent uncommon turns of reasoning and oratory, as well as curious historical reflections; and in that light are indeed *non vulgaris monetæ*, as is intimated by his friend Mr Farindon (6).

[D] He procured admission into the synod of Dort.] This seems to have been his principal view in going to Holland with Sir Dudley, who, besides his brother the Bishop of Landaff first English Commissioner, recommended him to Bogerman President of the Synod, and some others of the leading men there (7); by which means he got acquainted with their most secret deliberations, and being constantly present at their open sessions, he was a witness to their public transactions, and gave an account of every thing in a series of letters to the Ambassador, from whose archives they were obtained, and thence inserted in his *Golden Remains*†.

[E] His letters are more respectful to the Synod than those of Mr Balcanqual.] This appears evidently upon the face of the letters; we shall give one instance as a specimen. Mr Balcanqual, in a letter dated the 13th

of February (it should be January), 1618, writes in these terms. 'The confusion here in handling of business is very great; they don't know how to put any thing to committees to agree of business, and then afterward to propound it to the Synod to be approved or disapproved, which hath been the custom observed in all Councils and Synods; but nothing is known 'till it be propounded in the Synod, and then there are almost as many several voices as heads; if your Lordship would give your advice to some of the Estates in this kind, it may be they would apprehend it, and we should bring business to some issue. The Palatine divines and we (8) have met now three times, and we have agreed on the same propositions, and have resolved to call one of every college of the foreign divines, and communicate the same with them, that so, if it be possible, all we strangers may set up, and throw down the same conclusions. For the Provincials, for any thing I can see, they are so far set against the Remonstrants, I wish not their persons as well as their opinions, that I am afraid they will not like well of our moderation. For the dismissal of the Remonstrants, since your Lordship is pleased to take notice of it, I hope I may without offence say, that it was certainly such as did the Synod much wrong. On Friday when they seemed to yield, then the *Exteri Theologi* could not be heard for the continuing them in the Synod. Nay the trick which was put upon them was a little too palpable: For the *Delegates [of the Estates General]* had the decree of their dismissal written before they came into the Synod. Yet our voices were asked, hoping it should have been answerable to their decree; but finding it was otherwise, without so much as laying their heads together for consultation, they published a decree which they brought written with them into the Synod. On Monday the late acts of the Remonstrants incredible obstinacy being read, the *Theologi Exteri* gave suffrages for their dismissal; only one, to wit Steinius, gave a bitter sentence, their [the foreigners'] voices being asked only, who are not above a third part of the Synod, they were called in and dismissed with such a powdering speech, as I doubt not but your Lordship hath heard with grief enough. I protest I am much afflicted, when I think of it; for if the Remonstrants should write, that the President pronounced a sentence, which was not the sentence of the Synod, they should not lye. The civil lawyers and canonists of France, who write much about the formalities omitted in the Council of Trent, urge exceptions of less moment than these; so neither was there above a third part of the voices asked *ex quibus sententia ferri nequit*: neither was the sentence conceived in writ, and approved by the Synod, and the bitter words in the sentence were not the words of any of the suffrages, unless that some of them were spoken by one man only (9).' Thus Balcanqual, whose letter is followed by that of Mr Hales, dated January 15, 1618, upon the same subject, viz. the dismissal of the Remonstrants, wherein he relates the simple matter of fact, without making any reflections thereon, except in the single step of omitting to take the votes of the Provincials, for which he offers, what was undoubtedly the true reason, by way of apology. 'When the foreigners had spoken, says he, it was thought sufficient; neither did the Præses proceed to ask the judgment of the Provincials, knowing belike before what it was.' The same caution of sticking barely to the matter of fact is observed by him in the next letter wrote the day following on the same subject (10): and he begins a third letter dated 22 January, with the apology of the Synod, on account of the unbecoming heat shewn in that proceeding. Thus,

'Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

'The errors of public actions (if they be not very gross) are with less inconvenience tolerated than amended. For the danger of alteration, of disgracing or disabling authority, makes that the fortune of such proceedings

(8) That is, the English Commissioners with himself. Balcanqual having, as appears from the beginning of this letter, lately obtained an appointment from K. James to be joined with them, to make up one Collegium Theologorum Magnæ Britanniae.

(5) Golden Remains, p. 70. edit. 1673.

\* In his letter to Archbishop Laud. See below in remark [L].

(6) In his letter to Garthwait prefixed to the Golden Remains.

(7) See our author's letters to Sir Dudley, the first and third in the last cited piece.

† So we are informed in the preface to that Collection by Dr Pearson.

(9) Golden Remains, p. 73, 74, edit. 1673. 4to.

(10) Ibid. from p. 74 to 79.



body knows the issue of that synod in general; but the result thereof to our author was, that he went thither a Calvinist and returned home an Arminian. The convert of Episcopus [F] he grew fond of the Remonstrants method of theologizing [G], and being naturally

proceedings admits no regrets, but being once howsoever well or ill done, they must for ever after be upheld. The most partial spectator of our synodal acts cannot but confess, that in the late dismissal of the Remonstrants with so much choler and heat, there was a great oversight committed; and that whether we respect our common profession of Christianity, *quæ nil nisi justum suadet & lenè*; or the quality of this people apt to mutine by reason of long liberty, and not having learnt to be imperiously commanded, in which argument the Clergy above all men ought not to have read their lesson. The Synod therefore to whom it is not now *in integro* to look back, and rectify what is amiss without disparagement, must now go forward, and leave events to God, and for the countenance of their action do the best they may. For this purpose have they lately, by deputies appointed for that end, made a declaration of all their proceedings unto the States General, from whom they have procured a decree in confirmation of them

(11). This instance of our author's temper and judgment above that of his fellow-correspondent with the ambassador, was afterwards as unavoidably so undesignedly insinuated by an eminent divine among the Remonstrants in Holland (12), who to serve that cause, published among other letters fifteen of Mr Balcanqual's and seven of Mr Hales's in Latin, with the following account of them prefixed in the preface of his book. Sed & non pauca hic quibus historiæ veritas explorari potest, monumenta comparent; & inter alia in epistolis Johannis Halesii & Gualtheri Balcanquali, pluræ in Synodo Dordracena secreto & post siparium gesta, ac hæcenus orbi Christiano incognita, diductis quasi velis reteguntur, illa autem hic ea fide ac certitudine exhibentur, quæ omnem dubitandi ansam penitus excludunt. He then informs his reader what the station of each of them was at the Synod, and proceeds to confirm the indisputable authority of their several accounts by a circumstance which he describes in the following words, Uterque res eodem quo scribebant die aut saltem hebdomade gestas, quarum proinde recens erat memoria Legato narrat, & Balcanqualus nonnunquam non sine indignatione.

[F] *The disciple of Episcopus.* So Mr Farindon informs us. You may please, says he to Mr Garthwait (13), to take notice, that in his younger days he was a Calvinist, and even then when he was employed in that Synod [of Dort], and at the well pressing of St John iii. 16 by Episcopus there I bid John Calvin good night, as he often told me. This account is confirmed by Mr Montague, one of the trustees to our author's last will (14). To the same effect is the remark of Dr Walker (15) who relates that a friend of Mr Hales finding him one day reading *Calvin's Institutions*, asked him if he was not passed that book? to which he answered, *In my younger days I read it to inform myself, but now I read to reform him.* But however certain it be that he changed his opinion upon the points of the Predestinarian controversy; yet it is not less certain that he esteemed it to be no more than an opinion. For we find him in his sermons declaring, with regard to that dispute (in which he observes the Churches were then at variance), that the will of God and his manner of proceeding in Predestination is undiscernable; and shall so remain until that day, wherein all knowledge shall be made perfect, and that each side in that dispute had an equally favourable countenance of scripture, which indeed was herein ambiguous, and therefore that the best course would be, To think that these things which with some shew of probability we deduce from scripture are at the best but *our opinions*, for that this peremptory manner of setting down our own conclusions under this high commanding form of necessary truths, is generally one of the greatest causes which keeps the Churches this day so far asunder; when as a gracious receiving of each other by mutual forbearance in this kind might peradventure bring them nearer together (16). This proposal of a mutual toleration is strenuously pleaded for in the speech of Episcopus at the Synod of Dort, as the only method of settling these differences. It is indeed the main drift of that speech, as appears from the abstract thereof

taken by our author, and printed in his *Golden Remains* (17).

[G] *He grew fond of the Remonstrants method of theologizing.* Besides what is mentioned in the last remark, where we have seen him side with Episcopus against the then established doctrine of the English Church, in respect to the prudential necessity of the article concerning Predestination (18). There is another point generally held to be of much greater importance, wherein he seems to follow the same master, at least he embraces the same opinion with that leading divine among the Remonstrants. I mean the necessity of believing the article of Christ's divinity (19). Here follows his doctrine concerning that point. It is in his famous tract of Schism, where speaking of that species of it, which is occasioned by variety of opinion, he expresses himself thus. It hath been the common disease of Christians from the beginning, not to content themselves with that measure of faith, which God and scriptures have expressly afforded us, but out of a vain desire to know more than is revealed, they have attempted to discuss things, of which we can have no light neither from reason nor revelation, neither have they rested here; but upon pretence of Church-authority which is none, or tradition, which for the most part is but figment, they have peremptorily concluded, and confidently imposed upon others, a necessity of entertaining conclusions of that nature, and to strengthen themselves have broken out into divisions and factions, opposing man to man, synod to synod, till the peace of the Church vanished, without all possibility of recall. Hence arose those ancient and many separations amongst Christians, occasioned by Arrianism, Eutychianism, Nestorianism, Photinianism, Sabellianism, and many more both ancient and in our time; all which indeed are but names of schism, howsoever in the common language of the Fathers, they were called Heresies. For Heresy is an act of the will, not of reason, and is indeed a lye, not a mistake, else how could that known speech of Austin go for true, *Errare possum, hereticus esse nolo.* Indeed Manicheism, Valentinianism, Marcionism, Mahometanism, are truly and properly heresies. For we know that the authors of them received them not, but minted them themselves, and so knew that which they taught to be a lye. But can any man avouch that Arrius and Nestorius, and others, that taught erroneously concerning the Trinity, or the person of our Saviour, did maliciously invent what they taught, and not rather fall upon it by error and mistake? till that be done, and that upon good evidence, we will think no worse of all parties than needs we must, and take these rents in the Church to be at the worst but Schisms upon matter of opinion (20). We have given the passage intire, as containing in itself a clear proof, needing no comment, of the truth of the assertion, that our author held the no necessity of believing the article of Christ's divinity. And that herein he followed his master Episcopus, seems probable in that he was of a contrary opinion before he went to Holland, as appears from a passage in his sermon on 2 Pet. iii. 16. printed as we have already observed in 1617, where speaking of the abuse of scripture by too much subtilty of wit, as the great fault of the Greek Church, he has the following words. The Grecians, till barbarism began to steal in upon them, were men of wonderous subtilty of wit, and naturally over indulgent unto themselves in this quality. Those deep and subtle heresies concerning the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost, the union and division of the divine substance and persons, were all of them begotten in the heat of their wits, yea by the strength of them were they conceived and born and brought to that growth, that if it had been possible for the gates of Hell to prevail against the Church, they would have prevailed this way; wherefore as God dealt with his own land, which being sometimes the mirror of the world for fertility and abundance of all things, now lies subject to many curses, and especially to that of barrenness; so at this day is it with Greece, where sometimes was the flow and luxury of wit, now is there nothing but extreme barbarism and

(17) P. 44. & seq. Part 2.

(18) The reader will take notice that we are inquiring here barely into the fact, what might probably be the occasional means of fixing our author in these sentiments, without any intention to impeach the real merit of the sentiments themselves.

(19) See Bishop Bull's treatise *De necessitate credendi*, quod Iesus Christus sit verus Deus, contra Episcopium, 1694. 4to.

(20) Tract of Schism, p. 212, & seq. among his other tracts, Lond. 1677. 8vo.



turally of an open frank disposition [H], he both talked and wrote in such a style as brought him under some suspicion of leaning a little to Socinianism [I]. But however that

'stupidity.——God as it were purposely plaguing their miserable posterity with the extreme want of that, the abundance of which their fathers did so wantonly abuse (21).'

(21) Golden Remains, p. 7. 8.

(22) Cyprianus Anglicus, ubi supra.

(23) Preface to the Golden Remains.

(24) Mr Garthwait, to whom this is addressed in a letter referred to above.

(25) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

(26) Account, &c. p. 4, & seq. in note [B].

(27) Vol. V. p. 703. in note [E].

(28) I mean with regard to Des Maizeaux's Account, &c. p. 26. note [G]. Dr Birch has added Dr Sam. Ward one of the Commissioners at Dort. See Usher's Life, &c. by Parr, let. 181. p. 473. edit. Lond. 1686. fol. But these gentlemen mention only one of these books, intitled *Disquisitio brevis*, &c. The other called *Disquisitio de Pace & Concordia Ecclesiae*, is ascribed to our author by Mr Wood, ubi supra, col. 202.

(29) About the year 1638, when Dr Heylin observes that Archbishop Laud was particularly busied in suppressing Socinian books, as is likewise remarked by Des Maizeaux in another place, viz. in Account, p. 26. note [G]. And the Canons of 1640 are observed by Lord Clarendon to contain more express declarations against Socinianism than are made by any other Church. Clarendon against Creffly, p. 190, or thereabouts, Lond. 1674. 8vo.

[H] Of a frank and open disposition ] Dr Heylin tells us (22), that as he was a man of infinite reading, so had he not less ingenuity; being free of discourse, and as communicative of his knowledge as the celestial bodies of their light and influences. Bishop Pearson likewise observes, that though no solicitations of his friends who often urged him to it, could prevail with him to write any thing for the public, yet that he cannot be accused for hiding his talent, *being so communicative, that his chamber was a church and his chair a pulpit* (23). We are informed too by Mr Farindon, speaking of the letters written by him, that he had much trouble in that kind from several friends; and, continues he, I heard him speak of that friend's letter you (24) mention pleasantly, Mr —, *He sets up tops, and I must whip them for him*. Lastly to the same purpose, Mr Wood tells us, that being highly esteemed by learned men beyond and within the seas, he seldom failed to receive letters every week, wherein his judgment was desired as to several parts of learning (25).

[I] He wrote in such a style as brought him under the suspicion of leaning to Socinianism.] As to the fact that he was suspected of Socinianism it is even notorious and has been observed already by Des Maizeaux (26), (and after him by Dr Birch in the General Dictionary) (27) who has sufficiently exposed that part of the charge which made him the author of two books actually written by professed Socinians. These are (1.) *Brevis Disquisitio an & quomodo vulgo dicti Evangelici Pontificios ac nominatim Val. Magni de A Catholicorum credendi regula Judicium solide atque evidenter refutare queant. Eleuthero-poli apud Godfridum Philalethium*, 1633, 12mo. (2.) *Dissertatio de Pace & Concordia Ecclesiae [edita per Ireneum Philalethen] Eleuthero-poli*, 1628, 12mo. The first of these pieces was written by Joachim Stegmannus a Socinian Divine, and the other by Przypcovius a Polish Knight and an Unitarian, as appears from Sandius's *Bibliotheca Anti trinitariorum*, p. 123. 132, 133. Who observes that this letter had been ascribed to *Episcopus*. So far is clear on the side of Mr Des Maizeaux, who goes on thus. 'For the rest it is not unlikely but what gave occasion to attribute these books to Mr Hales, was the general principles they are grounded upon, viz. having no rule of faith but the scripture explained according to sound reason, and allowing all Christian communions an equal right to interpret the scripture to the best of their judgment, and to order their government and discipline accordingly; that these general principles, I say, were agreeable to Mr Hales's notions, as they are, it must be acknowledged, principles common to all Protestants, but explained and insisted upon with more freedom and in a particular manner by our author.' This conjecture evidently points to Dr Heylin, who stands principal in the list of those who have laid these books to our author's charge (28), and whose notions of Church power are asserted to be very different from those of Mr Hales. Now though we should allow all this to be true, yet it may be observed that the truth, as it stands in the passage just cited, is a little unfairly represented, though perhaps not designedly. For the charge of Socinianism might very well take its rise from the danger that was then particularly apprehended from the spreading of Socinian principles, since at such a juncture (29), the singular freedom and particular manner used by our author, would be unavoidably watched with a more jealous eye, which in some things too might find matter to suspect him inclining that way. In his tract concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, having observed, that generally the reformed divines do falsely report that holy action, whether you regard the essence or use thereof, and given some instances of both respects, he proceeds thus. 'Now all these mistakes and errors have risen upon some ungrounded and fond practices crept long since (God knows how) into the Church, and as yet not sufficiently purged out. I will be bold to inform you what it is, which is *πρώτον λείψαν*, the main fundamental fallacy whence all these abuses have sprung. There hath been a fancy of long subsistence in the Churches, that

in the communion there is something given besides bread and wine, of which the numeralty given men have not yet agreed: some say it is the body of God into which the bread is transubstantiated, some say it is the same body with which the bread is consubstantiated: some, that the bread remaining what it was, there passes with it to the soul, the real body of God in a secret unknown manner. Some, that a further degree of faith is supplied us: others, that some degree of God's grace, whatever it be, is exhibited, which otherwise would be wanting. All which variety of conceits must needs fall out, as having no other ground but conjecture weakly founded. To settle you therefore in your judgment, both of the thing itself, and of the true use of it, I will commend to your consideration these few propositions. First, In the communion there is nothing given but bread and wine. Secondly, The bread and wine are signs indeed, but not of any thing there exhibited, but of somewhat given long since, even of Christ given for us upon the cross sixteen hundred years ago and more. Thirdly, Jesus Christ is eaten at the communion table in no sense, neither spiritually by virtue of any thing done there, nor really, neither metaphorically nor literally. Indeed that which is eaten (I mean the bread) is called Christ by a metaphor; but it is eaten truly and properly. Fourthly, The spiritual eating of Christ is common to all places as well as the Lord's table. Last of all, the uses and ends of the Lord's supper can be no more than such as are mentioned in the scriptures, and they are but two. First, The commemoration of the death and passion of the Son of God specified by himself at the institution of the ceremony. Secondly, To testify our union with Christ and communion one with another; which end St Paul hath taught us. In these few conclusions the whole doctrine and use of the Lord's supper is fully set down, and whoso leadeth you beyond this, doth but abuse you. *Quicquid ultra queritur non intelligitur* (30). He had before argued against the necessity of using any words of consecration, or their having any force to that purpose, and maintaining that the action would be perfect without any, concludes his argument thus 'And in truth to speak my opinion, I see no great harm could ensue, were they [the words of institution] quite omitted. Certainly thus much good would follow, that some part (though not a little one) of the superstition that adheres to that action by reason of an ungrounded conceit of the necessity and force of the words in it, would forthwith pill off and fall away (31).' Such as are acquainted with the controversies on this subject, need not be told, that these tenets are maintained by the Socinians, in consequence of their doctrine concerning the person and office of Christ, and the ordinary reader may find it particularly shewn in each article by Dr Waterland, who likewise expressly takes notice of our author's unorthodox opinion in one of them (32). He is treating of the sanctifying grace conferred in the Eucharist against the Socinians, and having answered other objections, he concludes thus. 'Some perhaps may think it an objection to what has been pleaded, that grace is also promised sometimes to prayer, sometimes to faith, and sometimes to hearing, and therefore is not peculiar to the sacraments. For it has been suggested, that the spiritual eating of Christ is COMMON to all places as well as to the Lord's table (33). This I have touched upon before, and shall only add here, that we do not confine God's grace to the sacraments, neither do we assert any peculiar grace as appropriate to them only, but what we assert is some peculiar degree of the same graces, or some peculiar certainty or constancy as to the effect, in the due use of those means (34).' To conclude, there seems to be no good grounds for the insinuation that it was only our author's particularly free manner of handling the Popish controversy, which occasioned the censure of Socinianism, neither does Mr Des Maizeaux produce any instance to confirm it. A liberal freedom was apparently the natural turn of his genius, and he might be more easy in indulging it on those occasions, in the view of letting his smart antagonists see, that as he was a match at least for them in subtlety of reasoning, so he knew how to return their scorn with a suitable stile of contempt (35).

[K] He

(30) Tract on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper among his Tracts in 1677, 8vo. p. 58 to 62.

(31) Ibid. p. 47.

(32) Viz. the 4th. See his Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist, &c. chap. x. p. 423, 424. Lond. 1737. 8vo.

(33) Here he refers in the margin to Hales's Tract, p. 57.

(34) To confirm this he quotes the following words of Vossius de Sacramentis, p. 251. *Verbum & Sacramenta in eo conveniunt, quod ambo gratiam regenerationis offerunt & exhibent, sed quod nonnunquam Sacramentis peculiariter adscribi videtur, id inde est quod fides in Sacramentis hanc gratiam videat clarius, apprehendat fortius, teneat certius.*

(35) The like apology in respect to another of our author's Tracts, The power of the Keys, is offered by Des Maizeaux himself. Account, p. 81.



that be, 'tis certain that he gave into the opinion of those who were afterwards called Latitudinarians. His sentiments in that respect were expressed very unreservedly, in the small tract which he wrote for the use of his friend Mr Chillingworth (1), about the year 1636, concerning Schism, &c. [K]; and being informed that Archbishop Laud was displeased with it, he drew up a vindication of himself, which he addressed in a letter to his Grace [L], who in 1638 sent for him to Lambeth, and after a conference of several hours appears

(1) A. b. Oc.  
Vol. II. col. 227.

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[K] *He gave into the opinion of the Latitudinarians, as appears by his tract of Schism.* This has never been denied, and indeed is evident beyond all contradiction, from the following passages in that tract. 'Were liturgies and public forms of service so framed, says he, as that they admitted not of particular and private fancies, but contained only such things as in which all Christians do agree, Schisms on opinion were utterly vanished. For consider of all the liturgies that either are or ever have been, and remove from them whatsoever is scandalous to any party, and leave nothing but what all agree on, and the event shall be, that the public service and honour of God shall no ways suffer: whereas to load our public forms with the private fancies upon which we differ, is the most sovereign way to perpetuate schism unto the world's end. Prayer, confession, thanksgiving, reading of scriptures, exposition of scripture, administration of sacraments in the plainest and simplest manner, were matter enough to furnish out a sufficient liturgy, though nothing either of private opinion or of Church pomp, of garments, of prescribed gestures, of imagery, of music, of matter concerning the dead, of many superfluities which creep into the Churches under the name and order of decency, did interpose itself. For to charge churches and liturgies with things unnecessary, was the first beginning of all superstition, and when scruples of conscience began to be made or pretended, then schisms began to break in. If the spiritual guides and fathers of the Church would be a little sparing of incumbering churches with superfluities, and not over rigid either in reviving obsolete customs, or imposing new, there would be far less danger of schism or superstition; and all the inconvenience, likely to ensue, would be but this, they should in so doing yield a little to the imbecillities of inferiours; a thing which St Paul would never have refused to do (36).' After this speaking of schism, occasioned by episcopal ambition, and particularly the superiority of bishops in different sees, he declares that it had been from time to time a great trespasser against the Church's peace, and was now the final ruin of it. The East and the West, through the fury of two prime bishops, being irretrievably separated without all hope of reconciliation. 'And besides, continues he, all this mischief, it is founded in a vice contrary to all humility, without which no man shall see his Saviour: for they do but abuse themselves and others, that would persuade us, that bishops by Christ's institution have any superiority over other men further than of reverence; or that any bishop is superiour to another, further than positive order agreed upon amongst Christians hath prescribed. For we have believed him that hath told us, *That in Jesus Christ there is neither high nor low, and that in giving honour every man should be ready to prefer another before himself*, which sayings cut off all claim most certainly to superiority by title of Christianity, except men can think, that these things were spoken only to poor and private men. Nature and religion agree in this, that neither of them hath a hand in this heraldry of *secundum sub* & *supra*, all this comes from composition and agreement of men among themselves. Wherefore this abuse of Christianity to make it lacquey to ambition, is a vice for which I have no extraordinary name of ignominy, and an ordinary, I will not give it, lest you should take so transcendent a vice to be but trivial (37).' These passages are quoted by Dr Stillingfleet in his *Irenicum* (38), as serving his purpose in that treatise wrote plainly in the view of promoting the *Comprehension*, and to the Doctor we may add another gentleman who will not perhaps take it wrong to be stiled the *Alevis nobri temporis*, and who having declared his opinion in favour of moderation, proceeds thus. 'And now if men should say I persuade to indifference, I must bear it as well as I can, I am not yet without remedy as they are; for patience will help me, and reason cannot cure them.' The words are borrowed from a pious, ingenious, earned, charitable,

table, and sweet tempered Bishop, who with a noble candour and generous openness, pleads the cause of liberty of prophesying, and who never was censured for it by any man worth the mentioning (39), though probably he was reviled by those who called him an Atheist. If these two excellent prelates, and Erasmus, and Chillingworth, and John Hales, and Locke, and Episcopius, and Grotius,—had been contemporaries, and had met together freely to determine the important question. *What makes a man a Christian, and what profession of faith should be deemed sufficient*, they would probably have agreed, notwithstanding the diversity of opinion they might all have had in some theological points (40). In reality it was the Latitudinarian (and not the pretended Socinian) principles advanced in this tract of schism, which occasioned so much notice to be taken of it by the writers on each side in that controversy. As is evident by the account of them in the *Ath Oxon.* under our author's article, and more largely in Des Maizeaux's account of his life, &c.

[L] *He wrote an apologetical letter to Archbishop Laud.* This remarkable letter was first printed in Dr Hare's *Difficulties and discouragements*, &c. 7th Edition 1716, 8vo. It contains our author's own sentiments of the several passages censured in his tract, therefore being given only piece-meal by Mr Des Maizeaux, and in the General Dictionary we shall present the reader with an extract from it, in the order it lies, as follows. He begins thus, 'Whereas of late an abortive discourse indited by me for the use of a private friend, hath without lawful pass wandered abroad, and mistaking its way is arrived at your Grace's hands: I have taken the boldness to present myself before you in behalf of it, with this either apology or excuse indifferently, being resolved in *utramvis aleam*, to beg either your approbation or your pardon. Whatsoever there is in that schedule, which may seem apt to give offence, consists either in phrase and manner of expression, or in the conceits and things themselves there pressed and insisted upon. For the first, whosoever has the misfortune to read it, shall find in it for stile some things over-familiar and subrustick, some things more sour and satyric. For these my apology is but this, that your Grace would be pleased to take into consideration, first, what the liberty might entice me to. Secondly, I am by genius open and uncautelous, and therefore some pardon might be afforded to harmless freedom and gaiety of spirit, utterly devoid of all distemper and malignity. Thirdly, some part of the theme I was to touch upon, was (or at least seemed to me) of so small and inconsiderable a moment, and yet hath raised that noise and tumult in the Church, that I confess it drew from me that indignation which is there expressed. For all these things which I have above touched upon, my answer is, *incumbant in spongiam*, and I could heartily wish, (for in the case I am, I have nothing but good wishes to help me) that they into whose hands that paper is unluckily fallen, would favour me so much as to sponge them out.' After this declaration he proceeds concerning the things discussed in that pamphlet, 'I humbly beg leave before I come to particulars, to speak for myself thus much in general. If they be errors which I have there vented (as perchance they are) yet my will hath no part in them, and they are but the issues of unfortunate inquiry. Galen that great physician speaks thus of himself, *Εγὼ δ' ἔκ οὐδ' ὁπὸς ἐνθὺς*, &c. I know not how, says that worthy person, even from my youth up in a wonderful manner, whether by divine inspiration, or by fury and possession, or however you may please to style it, I have much contemned the opinion of the many; but truth and knowledge I have above measure affected; verily persuading myself, that a fairer, more divine fortune could never befall a man. Some title, some claim, I may justly lay to the words of this excellent person; for the pursuit of truth hath been my only care, ever since I first understood the meaning of the word. For this I have forsaken

(39) B. i. c. vi. Hare's Liberty of Prophesying is joined in the same censure with that of Mr Hales's Tract of Schism, in a piece intitled Mr Hales's Tract of Schism, &c. examined and censured, Lond. 1678. 8vo. by Mr Tho. Long.

(40) Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. in preface, p. 40, 41. Lond. 1751. 8vo.

(36) Tract of Schism, p. 215 to 218.

(37) Ibid. p. 224, 225.

(38) B. i. c. vi. And the doctor, as is usual on such occasions to a brother militant in the same cause, prefaces them with the highest eulogiums of our author, to whom indeed it happens they are daily due.

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(*m*) He succeeded Dr James Rowlandson, who died on the 9th of May. Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 670. and Mr Hales's patent bears date May 27. Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 94. c. i.

to have been reconciled to him [*M*], telling him that he might have any preferment that he pleased, which was modestly declined by him; yet a Canonry of Windfor was pressed upon him the next year in such a manner, he thought himself obliged, though unwilling, to accept it [*N*], and was installed June the 27th 1639 (*m*); however he enjoyed it only for two years 'till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642 (*n*). And the same year his tract of Schism was printed in one large sheet in 4to. without his consent, being thought

(*n*) Gen. Dict. where last cited.

to

'all hopes, all friends, all desires, which might bias me, and hinder me from driving right at what I aimed. For this I have spent my money, my means, my youth, my age, and all I have; that I might remove from myself that censure of Tertullian *suo vitio quis quid ignorat*. If with all this cost and pains, my purchase is but error; I may safely say to err hath cost me more, than it hath many to find the truth; and truth itself shall give me this testimony at last, that if I have mist of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune. And howsoever I may have miscast some parcels of my account, yet am I most certain that the sum total is right, for it amounts to no more than that precept of the apostle. As far as it is possible have peace with all men; and surely there can be no great harm in the premises, where the conclusion is nothing else but peace.' These things being premised, he goes on: 'All that may seem to lie open to exception, is comprised under two general heads: my carriage, 1. Towards antiquity, 2. Towards authority. He answers first those who thought he had been too sharp in censuring antiquity beyond that good respect which is due unto it (41). And as to authority, whereas in one point speaking of Church authority. I bluntly added, [*which is none*]. I must acknowledge it was uncautiously spoken, and being taken in a generality is false, though as it refers to the occasion, which there I fell upon, 'tis as I think I may safely say most true. By Church authority, I do not mean the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical persons in Church causes or matter of fact, wherein the said persons in cases of their cognizance have the same authority, as any other have to whom power of jurisdiction is committed. Their consistories, their courts, their determinations stand upon as warrantable evidence, as the decisions of other benches and courts do. But what I visibly meant was the decision of ecclesiastical persons in point of Church questions and disputable opinions. I count in point of decision of these, if I say of the authority of the Church that it was none, I know no adversary that I have, the Church of Rome only excepted; for this cannot be true, except we make the Church judge of controversies; the contrary of which, we generally maintain against that Church. Now it plainly appears, that upon this occasion I spake it; for beginning to speak of schism arising by reason of ambiguous opinion, I brought in nakedly those words, which gave occasion of offence; which if I had spoken with due qualification, I had not erred at all. Again, whereas I did too plainly deliver myself *de origine domini*, and denied it to be founded either in nature or religion; I am very well content to put off the decision of this point till Elias comes; since it is but a point of meer speculation, which in common life and use hath no place at all. And whether dominion *in civilibus* or *in sacris*, be *utristis*, &c. or comes in by divine right, it concerns them to look to, who have dominion committed to them: To others whose duty it is to obey (and myself above all who am best contented to live and die a poor and private man) it is a speculation merely useless; save only, that what is commanded to private persons by their superiors, may be done with good conscience. Lastly, he vindicates himself against some persons, who by reason of the passage cited in the preceding note, wherein he sharply takes episcopal ambition, suspected that in his heart he did secretly lodge a malignity against the episcopal order, and that under pretence of taxing the ancients, he secretly lashed at the then present times; shewing that he had not given the least pretence for such an imputation: and concludes by rejoicing at the happy condition of Episcopacy in the Church of England, as it was then, and had been settled for well near one hundred years.

[*M*] *The Archbishop after a conference at Lambeth seems to have been reconciled to him.* The best account we have of this much talked of conference, is that given by Dr Heylin (42), of which the substance is,

That the Archbishop, intent to prevent the spreading of Socinianism, had directed the suppressing all books of that kind imported from abroad. That one of these called *Disquisitio brevis*, was commonly ascribed to Hales of Eton. That there passed also up and down a *Discourse of Schism* in MS. levelled chiefly against the authority of the Church, which being dispersed about this time [1638], gave the Archbishop occasion to send for him to Lambeth, in hope to gain the man whose abilities he was well acquainted with. About nine o'clock in the morning, he came to know his Grace's pleasure, who took him into his garden, giving orders not to be disturbed upon any occasion. There they continued in discourse till the bell rang to prayers, and after prayers till dinner was ready, and after that too, till the coming in of the Lord Conway and some other persons of honour, put a necessity upon some of his servants to give him notice how the time had passed away. So in they came high coloured, and almost panting for want of breath; enough to shew that there had been some heats between them not then fully cooled, 'I was chance, continues he, to be there that day (43), and I found Hales very glad to see me (44), as being himself a meer stranger there, and unknown to all. He told me afterwards, that he found the Archbishop (whom he knew before for a nimble disputant) to be as well versed in books as business, that he had been ferreted by him from one hole to another, till there was none left to afford him any further shelter, that he was now resolved to be orthodox, and declare himself a true son of the Church of England, both for doctrine and discipline. That to this end he had obtained leave to call himself his Grace's chaplain, that naming him in his public prayers for his lord and patron, the greater notice might be taken of the alteration. Thus was Hales gained unto the Church, and gained a good preferment in it; promoted not long after by the Archbishop's commendation to a prebend at Windfor, and to hold the same by special dispensation with his place in Eton.' Mr Des Maizeaux, thinking this too severe upon our author's memory, hath spent more than thirty pages (45), in labouring to invalidate it, which surely was altogether needless upon the plan of his piece, since Mr Hales's letter to the Archbishop, compared with the subsequent conduct of each, and the well known temper and principles of Dr Heylin, furnish the best key for interpreting his narrative. We shall only observe in regard to Mr Hales's saying, *he was resolved to be orthodox, and to declare himself a true son of the Church of England*: that in such a speech, according to the known language of those times, the word orthodox was not opposed to the heretic, as Mr Des Maizeaux apprehended, but the puritan (46), and is explained in the following words, a true son of the Church, &c. which set forth a zealous and steady advocate thereof, the word *true* being opposed to *false*, in the sense only of lukewarm. But such mistakes are pardonable in a foreigner, not acquainted with the critical history of our language.

[*N*] *He accepted the Canonship of Windfor unwillingly.* We owe this particular to the General Dictionary (47), where it is related as follows. 'As to Mr Hales's being discontented (48), he was so far from it, that he would willingly have waved the Prebend of Windfor when it was sent to him, knowing nothing of it by Archbishop Laud; and he would have refused it, but that it was presented to him at a public dinner among many friends, who persuaded him to the contrary. Archbishop Laud did also send for him, and told him he might have what preferment he pleased, and he answered, *If it please your Grace, I have what I desire*.' Mr Des Maizeaux (p. 18) tells us, that our author assisted the Archbishop in preparing the edition of his book against Fisher the Jesuit, which was printed this year, but no authority is produced to vouch the truth of this fact, only we are referred to compare A. C's objections in that work, with some pieces of Mr Hales.

(43) He was chaplain to the Archbishop.

(44) The doctor calls Mr Hales his dear friend in the *Quinquarticular History*, Part I. chap. v. § 7 and 10.

(45) Viz. from p. 27 to p. 35 in note [G] against Dr Heylin the principal, and from 35 to 58 against his followers. I. Dr Sam Parker, in his *Reproof to the Rehearsal* transposed, Lond. 1673. 8vo. II. Tho. Long, in a piece mentioned already in remark [K]. III. Mr Wood, in the first edition of his *Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 124. IV. Dr Walker, in Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c. Lond. 1714. fol. Part II. p. 95. V. Mr Echard, in his *History of England*, Lond. 1718. fol. Vol. II. p. 140.

(46) And he might have observed that this speech of our author's was so understood by Mr Wood, *Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.*

(47) Vol. VII. p. 236, note [B].

(48) Mr Wood is hereby corrected, who in the article of our author, col. 202. relates this supposed discontent as one cause of Mr Hales's writing his *Tract of Schism*.

[O] *He*

(41) No preacher makes frequenter or better use of the Fathers than our author does in his sermons, and generally with that judgment and impartiality for which he was distinguished. Yet in one of these he carries their authority so high, as to subscribe to the truth of the miracle of the thundring legion. A degree of credulity which would not be thought very judicious at this time of day. Sermon on Duels in *Golden Remains*, p. 80, 81.

(42) In *Cyprianus Anglicus*, ad anno 1638.



(o) See Wood where last cited, and Des Maizeaux, and Gen. Dict. in our author's article.

(p) Probably at Hannah Dickenson's House. See our author's Will in remark [R].

(q) Gen. Dict. ib.

\* The Engagement was entered in 1648 or 1649. It was an oath to be faithful to the Commonwealth of England as then established, without a King or House of Lords.

(r) He refused 100 pounds a year with his diet and servant, and a couple of horses, which was offered him by that gentleman. Ath. Ox. ubi supra.

(s) He seems to have resided at Dickenson's house that year again.

(t) The lady's name was Salter (sister as Mr Wood imagined to Dr Duppa Bishop of Sarum).

(49) Ibid. col. 200.

(50) Account of Mr Hales's Life and Writings, ubi supra, p. 61, 62. note [K].

(51) Ibid. in the text.

(52) See a copy of the Will in Rem. [R].

(53) Gen. Dict. Vol. VII. as last cited.

(54) Vol. II. p. 226, 2d edit.

(55) She was not then married to Powney, but Dickenson's widow, as appears by the Will in the following remark. She married Simon Powney afterwards. Wood in our author's article.

to favour the then prevailing party (o). About the time of the Archbishop's death, he retired from his lodgings in the college into a private chamber at Eton (p), where he remained for a quarter of a year unknown to any, and spent in that time only sixpence a week, living only upon bread and beer; and as he had formerly fasted from Tuesday night to Thursday night, so in that time of his retirement he abstained from his bread and water; and when he heard that the Archbishop was murdered, he wished that his own head had been taken off instead of his Grace's (q). He continued in his fellowship at Eton though refusing the Covenant, nor complying in any thing with the times; but was ejected upon his refusal to take the Engagement\*, and Mr Penwarden put into his room, to whom he gave a remarkable proof of the steadiness of his principles with regard to the public [O]; and to a gentleman of the Sedley family in Kent he gave another no less remarkable proof of the steadiness of his temper with regard to a private and studious life (r). In this resolution he retired to the house of a gentlewoman near Eton about a year after his ejection (s), accepting of a small salary with his diet to instruct her son (t); here he officiated as chaplain, performing the service according to the liturgy of the Church of England; and Dr Henry King the suffering Bishop of Chichester being at the same house (u) with several of his relations, they formed a kind of college there (w). But this retirement, which must in his present circumstances needs have been very agreeable to him, he was not suffered to enjoy long (x); for upon a declaration by the State, prohibiting all persons to harbour Malignants, i. e. Royalists, he left that family [P], notwithstanding the lady assured him that she would readily undergo all the danger which might ensue by entertaining him. His last retirement was to a lodging in Eton, at the house of a person (y) whose husband had been his servant. Here he was entertained with great care and respect, but being now destitute of every other means of supporting himself, he sold a great part of his valuable library to a Bookseller in London (z) for 700 pounds (aa). However though his fortune was much broken by his sufferings, yet the current story of his being reduced to extreme necessity appears by his Will not to be well grounded [Q]. He was not long sick, about a fortnight, and

The salary was 50 pounds a year. Her son is called in our author's Will William Salter of Rich-Kings, Esq;

[O] He gave a proof of his steady loyalty.] Some time after Mr Penwarden was put into his fellowship, he voluntarily offered to resign the place to Mr Hales, who refused it, declaring that the Parliament having put him out, he was resolved never to be put in again by them. Mr Des Maizeaux, who thought this account of Wood (49) too loosely worded, has explained it by supposing the refusal was grounded upon the consideration, that he could not be re-admitted without complying with such things as he did not think lawful or proper for him to submit to (50). That gentleman also further observes (51), that when the rebels had usurped the supreme authority, Mr Hales's loyalty to the King, and his zeal for the Church of England, made him part cheerfully with his fellowship and canonry. For this he quotes Mr Wood in the first edition of his Ath. Oxon. but the word *cheerfully* is not in the second edition of that work, and though the circumstance may perhaps not be improbable with respect to the canonry, yet as to his fellowship it is hardly consistent, with his own words in his will, where he calls that ejection *an unjust and causeless extrusion* (52). But Mr Des Maizeaux knew nothing of our author's will, and supposed likewise that he lost his canonry and fellowship at the same time. The former of these was kept void till the Restoration, when it was filled, says Wood, by Anthony Hawles, D. D. sometime of Queen's-college in Oxford.

[P] He left that family upon a declaration against harbouring Malignants.] It is said that the same order which carried Mr Farindon from his preaching in London, removed Mr Hales from Lady Salter's, he affirming that he would be gone, lest he should mischief his friends (53). This, if true, will serve to explain the account given of Mr Farindon, by the author of the Athen. Oxon. who tells us (54), that this friend of Mr Hales having been made Vicar of Bray in 1634, and soon after divinity reader in the King's chapel at Windsor, was turned out of the first place after the breaking out of the civil wars, and at length out of all. That thus reduced, he was invited by Sir John Robinson kinsman to Archbishop Laud, and some parishioners of St Mary Magdalen Milk street London, to be pastor there. That in 1647, he published some of the sermons he had delivered to them, and that he died in his house at Milk street, September 1658.

[Q] The story of his being reduced, appears by his will not to be well grounded.] The story is this, that Mr Farindon coming one day to see Mr Hales a few months before his death, found him in his mean lodgings at Mrs Powney's house (55), but in a temper gravely cheerful, and well becoming an excellent

Christian in such circumstances, after a slight and very homely dinner, and some discourse concerning the times, Mr Hales desired Mr Farindon to walk out with him into the church-yard, where this great man's necessities pressed him to tell his friend that he had been forced to sell his whole library, save a few books which he had given away, and six or eight little books of devotion which lay in his chamber, and that for money he had no more than what he then shewed him, which was about seven or eight shillings, besides, said he, I doubt, I am indebted for my lodging. Mr Farindon it seems did not imagine that it had been so very mean with him, and was much surprized to hear it; and withal said, I have at present money to command, and to-morrow will pay you fifty pounds in part of the many sums I and my poor wife have received of you in our great necessities; and will pay you more suddenly as you shall want it. To which he answered, No, you don't owe me a penny; or if you do, I here forgive you, for you shall never pay me a penny; I know you and your's will have occasion for much more than what you have lately gotten. But if you know any other friend that hath too full a purse, and will spare some of it to me, I will not refuse that; to which he added, when I die (which I hope is not far off, for I am weary of this uncharitable world) I desire you to see me buried in that place of the church-yard, pointing to the place. But why not in the church, says Mr Farindon, with the Provost [Sir H. Savile], Sir Henry Wotton, and the rest of your friends and predecessors? because, says he, I am neither the founder of it, nor have I been a benefactor to it, nor shall I ever now be able to be so; I am satisfied. Dr Walker, who tells this story, acquaints us likewise how he came by it. This discourse, says he in a marginal note, between Mr Farindon and Mr Hales, I had out of a loose sheet which was one of Mr Farindon's papers retrieved by Mr Fulman of C. C. C. in order to have written the life of Mr Hales. It was communicated to me by the late Mr Archdeacon Davies of Saperton in Gloucestershire, among several other notices relating to my undertaking. Wood. Ath. Vol. II. p. 625 (56). In short the story is so circumstantially told, and so well attested, that it could not have been discredited by any evidence less than that of Mr Hales's will. Something of the story seems to have come to the ears of Andrew Marvel, which drew from him the following remark, *That it is not one of the least ignominies of that age, that so eminent a person should have been by the iniquity of the times reduced to those necessities under which he lived* (57).

(o) The B. H. o. see the last of Mr Hales's collection. Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII. p. 236.

(q) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. p. 94.

(r) This is collected from his last Will, where he says he had been at Hannah Dickenson's house a long time before his extrusion from his college.

(s) Hannah Dickenson. Mr Wood says she had formerly at her marriage received of Mr Hales's bounty. See his Will.

(z) His name was Cornelius Bee. Idem ibid. but Wood is mistaken in supposing it was his whole library. See his Will.

(aa) Dr Walker, ubi supra, tells us, he shared this money with several deprived ministers, scholars, and others; and the same is also intimated by Dr Pearson in his preface to Golden Remains.

(56) Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. p. 94.

(57) The Rehearsal transcribed, p. 175, 2d edit. 1672. 8vo.



(bb) Gen. Dict. Vol. VIII. p. 236. where it is observed that Mr Montague was then talking with him, and leaving him only for half an hour found him dead on his return.

(cc) Who was bred at Eton, and was a great admirer of our author. The inscription, which is not ill done, may be seen in Wood ubi supra, col. 202, 203. only observing that the last word instead of *choro* should be *consortio*. Le Neve's Monumenta Anglicana, &c. p. 44. Lond. 1718. 8vo.

and then not very ill; but discoursed with all his friends as freely as in his health 'till within half an hour before his death (bb), which happened on the 19th of May 1656, being aged 72 years; he dyed in his last mentioned lodging, and the day after was buried according to his own desire [R] in Eton-college church-yard, where a monument was erected over his grave by Mr Peter Curwen (cc). As to our author's person, he had the marks of great ingenuity in his countenance, which was sanguine, cheerful, and full of air; his stature little, his body well proportioned, and his motion quick and sprightly (dd). He never married, and probably never had any inclination that way [S]. As to the rest, all writers agree in giving the character of one of the greatest as well as the best men of that or any other age (ee). And Bishop Pearson in particular gives the following elogium (ff) of him, wherein he declares, he shall speak no more than his own long experience, intimate acquaintance, and high veneration grounded upon both, shall freely and sincerely prompt him to. 'Mr Hales, says he, was a man I think of as great a sharpness, quickness, and subtilty of wit, as ever this or perhaps any nation bred: his industry did strive if it were possible to equal the largeness of his capacity, whereby he became as great a master of polite, various, and universal learning [T], as ever yet conversed with books. Proportionate to his reading was his meditation, which furnished him with a judgment beyond the vulgar reach of man, built upon unordinary notions, raised out of strange observations and comprehensive thoughts within himself. So that he really was a most prodigious example of an acute and piercing wit, of a vast and illimited knowledge, of a severe and profound judgment. Although this may seem, as in itself it truly is, a grand Elogium;

(dd) Ath. Ox. ubi supra.

(ee) In this character not only the advocates of his principles, who might be suspected of partiality, but the opposers of them, concur. Ibid.

(ff) In his Preface to the Golden Remains.

[R] He was buried in the church-yard according to his own request.] It was declared in his will, of which the following is a copy:

*In Dei nomine Amen Maji decimo nono. A. D. 1656.*

'My soul having been long since bequeathed unto the mercies of God in Jesus Christ my only Saviour; and my body naturally bequeathing itself to dust and ashes, out of which it was taken. I John Hales of Eton in the county of Bucks, Clerk, by this my last will and testament, do dispose of the small remainder of my poor broken estate, in manner and form following.

First, I give to my sister Cicely Combes, five pounds. More I give to my Sister Bridget Gulliford, five pounds. More, I give to the poor of the town of Eton, to be distributed at the discretion of my executrix hereafter named, five pounds. More, I give to six persons, to be appointed by my said executrix to carry my body to the grave, three pounds, to be distributed among them by even portions. More, I give to Mr Tho Mansfield of Windsor, Grocer, five pounds. More, I give to Mrs Mary Collins, wife to Mr John Collins of Eton, five pounds, to this end and purpose, that she would be pleased to provide her a ring in what manner she listeth, to remain with her in memory of a poor deceased friend. All which monies here bequested, do at this present rest intrusted in the hands of my singular good friends Mr William Smith and Mr Thomas Montague.

Moreover all my Greek and Latin books (except St Jerom's works, which I give to Mr Thomas Montague) I give to my most deservedly beloved friend William Salter of Rich. Kings, Esq; to whom I further give five pounds, to this end, that he would provide him a fair seal-ring of gold engraven with his arms and batchments doubled and mantled, to preserve the memory of a poor deceased friend. All my English books, together with the remainder of all monies, goods, and utensils whatsoever, I give and bequeath to Mrs Hannah Dickinson of Eton, widow and relict of John Dickinson lately deceased. In whose house (for her's indeed it is, and not mine, as being bought with her money, howsoever for some reasons I have suffered the public voice to entitle me to it) in whose house, I say, I have for a long time (especially since my unjust and causeless extrusion from my college) been with great care and good respect entertained. And her the said Hannah, I do by these presents constitute and ordain my sole executrix. And unto this my last will I make overseers my very good friends Mr Thomas Montague and Mr William Smith of Eaton, and to each of them I give five pounds, humbly requesting them to be assistance to my said executrix with their best advice to help, if so be she chance to find any trouble.

Now because monies are many times not at command, but may require some time to take them up, I ordain, that in six months after my departure, she see all these my bequests and legacies orderly and faithfully discharged.

As for my funeral, I ordain, that at the time of the next even-song after my departure (if conveniently it may be) in the church-yard of the town of Eton, (if I

chance there to die) as near as may be to the body of my little godson Jack Dickenson the elder; and this to be done in a plain and simple manner, without any sermon, or ringing the bell, or calling the people together; without any unseasonable commensation or computation, or other solemnity on such occasions usual.

And I strictly command my executrix, that neither of her own head, neither at the importunity or authority of any other, neither upon any other pretence whatsoever, to take upon her to dispense with this point of my will; for as in my life I have done the Church no service, so will I not, that in my death the Church do me any honour.

The will was proved before Richard Allestree, D. D. Prevost of Eton, Ordinary of that exempt jurisdiction, on the 29th of March 1656.

[S] He had no inclination to marry.] He intimates this dislike to matrimony in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton from Dort (58), where speaking of the deliberations in that synod about ordering the manner of catechizing, he relates the practice of the several Protestant Churches, and concludes with the following remark. But doubtless the most effectual way of all the rest to bring young persons to learn their catechisme, was that which was related by one of the Helvetian Deputies. For, he told us, that in his country the manner was, that all young persons, that meant to marry, were to repair, both he and she, unto their minister, a little before they meant to marry, and by him to be examined how well they had conned their catechism. If they had not done it perfectly to his mind, he had power to defer their marriage, till they had better learnt their lessons. I was much addicted, continues he, to this course, when I heard it; and I thought, that doubtless it was a speedy way to make all young persons, excepting myself and two or three more, that mean not overhastily to marry, to be skilful in their catechism.

[T] He was a great master of polite learning.] Mr Wood informs us that he used to divert himself with writing verses, and his talent that way appears from Sir John Suckling's session of poets (59). And as he was an excellent critic, his company was much desired by the greatest wits of that time, Lord Falkland, Sir Will. Davenant, Ben. Johnson, &c. and there is a letter in verse among Sir John Suckling's works (60), which appears to be wrote from London, to our author at Eton or Windsor, inviting him, as the oracle of his friends, to come to town and enjoy their company. Mr Wood also tells us, that when the King and Court resided at Windsor, he was much frequented by noblemen and courtiers, who were extremely delighted in his company, not for his profound learning, but for his polite discourses, stories and poetry. In conversation he had one felicity which could not fail of making him their darling, that with all his knowledge, he was so modest, as to be patiently contented to hear the disputes of persons at table, and those of small abilities, without interposing or speaking a word till desired (61).

(58) Golden Remains, 2d part, p. 11.

(59) In those lines which begin thus, Hales sat by himself, &c. Fragmenta aurea, &c. by Sir John Suckling, p. 14, 3d edit. 1658. 8vo. See also Rowe's Life of Shakespear.

(60) Ibid. p. 40, 41.

(61) Ath Ox. Vol. II. col. 200.

[U] He



Elogium; yet I cannot esteem him less in any thing which belongs to a good man, than in those intellectual perfections: and had he never understood a letter, he had other ornaments sufficient to endear him. For he was of a nature (as we ordinarily speak) so kind, so sweet, so courting all mankind; of an affability so prompt, so ready to receive all conditions of men, that I conceive it near as easie a task for any one to become so knowing as so obliging. As a Christian, none more ever acquainted with the nature of the Gospel, because none more studious of the knowledge of it, or more curious in the search, which being strengthened by those great advantages beforementioned, could not prove otherwise than highly effectual. He took indeed to himself a liberty of judging, not of others, but for himself; and if ever any man might be allowed in these matters to judge, it was he, who had so long, so much, so advantageously considered; and which is more, never could be said to have had the least worldly design in any of his determinations. He was not only most truly and strictly just in his secular transactions [U], most exemplary meek and humble, notwithstanding his perfections, but beyond all example charitable, giving unto all, preserving nothing but his books to continue his learning and himself: which when he had before digested he was forced at last to feed upon, at the same time the happiest and most unfortunate *bellua* of books, the grand example of learning, and of the envy and contempt which followeth it.\* None of his pieces, except that upon Schism and one or two sermons (g g), were published in his lifetime. We shall give the contents below of his posthumous works [W].

(g g) P. 464 the full story of a remarkable case, &c. [U], Mr. Wood observes, that the book had also been printed, from which it was purchased, and Mr. Wood, in the first ed. col. 124, of his Arch. Oz. says that the sermon of Duels was also printed. But it is not mentioned in the second edition of that work.

[U] *He was strictly just.* Mr Wood observes the same, and in confirmation of it gives the following remarkable instance, That while he was Burser of his college, when he had taken any bad money, he laid it aside, and put good of his own in the room of it to pay others. Infomuch that sometimes he hath thrown into the river 20l. or 30l. at a time, all which he hath stood to at his own loss, rather than others of the society should suffer any (62).

[W] *The contents of his posthumous works.* The first collection of these, intitled *Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr John Hales of Eton-college*, which was published in 1659. 4to. contains (1.) Nine Sermons. (2.) Mr Hales's and Mr Balcanqual's letters, thirty of the former and fifteen of the latter, sent from Dort to Sir Dudley Carlton. To the whole is prefixed, besides a letter of Mr Ant. Farindon intimating the genuineness of these papers, a preface by Dr (afterwards Bishop) Pearson, containing a character of the author; to which is subjoined an advertisement, signifying that the editor had some more of Mr Hales's sermons and tractates in his hands, and inviting others who had any to communicate them to the Printer, F. Garthwait, upon promise, and any other engagement, that he will take care to see them printed, and set forth, by themselves. In 1673 came out the second edition in 4to. with this title, *Golden Remains, &c. with additions from the author's own copy, viz. Sermons and Miscellanies. Also Letters and Expresses concerning the Synod of Dort (not before printed) from an authentick hand.* The additions are first five Sermons subjoined to the former. These are followed by the *Miscellanies*, which are (1.) Mr Hales's *Confession of the Trinity*. The following remark in the General Dictionary (63) seems to relate to this paper. 'Mr Montague (64) says that he [Mr Hales] gave an explication of his belief concerning the Trinity to Mr Salter (65), according to the doctrine of the Church of England.' Upon what occasion is not there mentioned; perhaps it might be drawn up for the satisfaction of his friends, on account of those suspicions already mentioned of his orthodoxy in that article. (2) *How we come to know the Scriptures to be the word of God.* Here he insists only upon the external evidence waving the internal, as unfit to yield argument by way of dispute, to stop the captious curiosities of wits disposed to wrangle. (3.) *Concerning the Lawfulness of Marriages betwixt first cousins and cousin Germans*, in a letter dated Sept. 8, 1630. It seems to be wrote at the request of some friend who was a Civilian, he gives his opinion for the lawfulness of such marriages. (4.) *The Method of reading History.* At the end there is laid down an excellent method for common-placing in that study. (5.) *A Letter to an honourable Person concerning the Weapon-salve*, dated from Eton college 23 Novemb. 1630. The subject is the then new devised cure of wounds, by applying the salve to the weapon that did the mischief. As this cure was supposed to be wrought by some particular concentricks or epicycles of sympathies and antipathies of emanations or emanations of spirits, our author takes occasion from thence to banter with his usual pleasantry the visionary conceits of the Rosicrucians. Lastly, in this edition to the former letters concerning the Synod

of Dort, are subjoined six more to the Archbishop of Canterbury, one from Sir Dudley Carlton and five from the English deputies, and a letter of the first of these, the Bishop of Landaff, to Sir Dudley. It has been conjectured, that these additions were only such papers as are said to be in the hands of the former editor, and an advertisement, &c. to Robert Pawlet, for whom this edition was printed, appears here again after Dr Pearson's preface of the same purport with the former, inviting others to communicate. But the same year four other sermons of our author were printed by themselves, and by the same Printer Tho Newcomb, but for another Bookseller R. Marriot (66), with this title, *Sermons preached at Eton by John Hales, late Fellow of that college. The second edition, 1673. 4to* (67). In 1688 the third edition of the *Remains* was published, from the second, without these four sermons. In 1677 there appeared another collection in 8vo. intitled, *Several Tracts by the ever memorable Mr John Hales of Eton-college*, with the author's picture before it. There is no preface nor advertisement, but it is handsomely and carefully printed, and contains, (1.) *A Tract concerning the Sin against the Holy Ghost.* He confines the commission of this blasphemy to those who were eye-witnesses of Christ's miracles. In which opinion he is followed by Dr Tillotson, if I misremember not, in a sermon upon that subject. (2.) *A Tract concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* To which should be added, and the question, *Whether the Church may err in Fundamentals.* Among the abuses of this Sacrament, he reckons that of making it an arbitrator of civil businesses, &c. — 'We teach, continues he, that it confirms our faith in Christ, whereas indeed the receiving of it is a sign of faith confirmed, and men come to it, to testify that they do believe, not to procure that they may believe. For if a man doubt of the truth of Christianity, think you that his scruples would be removed upon receiving of the Sacrament: I would it were so, we should not have so many doubting Christians, who yet receive the Sacrament oft enough.' Surely the argument here is a little loosely worded, for as the doubter is deemed an *incompetens persona*, unqualified for this Sacrament, and therefore cautioned not to receive (68). The process from confirming our faith to the procuring it, seems in reality (to use a school phrase well known to our author) to be a meer *Ignoratio Elenchi*. Is it not most manifest, that the word confirming is applicable neither to the unbeliever nor the doubter, but understood of a wavering unsteady or ineffective faith. He proceeds in the same uncautious stile to censure the practice of the Church in the *Communion to the Sick*, intimating it to be used as a *viaticum morientium* (69). He concludes this tract with excusing himself (by reason of the narrow bounds of a letter) for not producing the proofs of his doctrine. But these may be supplied from a late treatise upon that subject (70). In the second part, falling upon fundamentals, he exposes with his usual gaiety as well as solidity, the merriment (as he calls it) newly started [by the Papists], of requiring a list of them. In this part it is observable that he expounds those words, *The gates of hell shall never prevail against it* [the Church], to a sense contrary to that which appears in his *Remains*, asserting

(66) If this be the same Richard Marriot mentioned in the Gen. Dict. in note 63, it will help us to the year about which Dr Ingelo's letter was written.

(67) These are bound up with a copy of the *Remains*, 2d edit. now lying before me. Mr Des Maizeaux says, the second edit. of the four sermons was printed the same year in 8vo. by T. Newcomb, Bookseller.

(68) See the Exhortation in the Communion Office.

(69) This passage was animadverted on by Dr Tho. Smith in his account of the Greek Church, p. 169. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

(70) See a Discourse upon the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Lond. 1736. 8vo. by Bishop Hoadly, who therein follows the sentiments of our author.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Vol. VIII. ubi supra, from a letter of Dr Nath. Ingelo to Richard Marriot, dated Oct. 29, without mentioning the year.

(64) One of the trustees to his Will.

(65) Probably the same already mentioned of Rich-Kings, Esq;



asserting here that they contain no promise of persevering in the truth to the Visible Church; as in a passage of one of his sermons inserted in remark [G] is intimated they do, but an assurance of final victory in the resurrection against death and [Adms] hell to the Invisible Church, i. e. to such as do persevere in the truth. (3.) The third tract is *A Paraphrase on St Matthew's Gospel*, chap. xii. Here he likewise expounds the Sin against the Holy Ghost to the same sense as in the first tract. (4.) *A Tract concerning the Power of the Keys and auricular Confession*, dated from his study the 8th day of March, 1637. In this piece he indulges the freedom and pleasantry of his wit more than any where else. (5.) Is the *Tract concerning Schism and Schismatics*, where is briefly discovered the original causes of all Schism, never before printed by the original copy. These last words are added to shew, that all the former editions are spurious, as well that already mentioned of 1642, as the subsequent ones (71). They are indeed so very incorrect, and maimed and mangled, that the sense of the author is often either perverted or rendered unintelligible. We shall give one instance of the former, which at the same time will be of use in illustrating that passage of our author's letter to Archbishop Laud, where he intimates that he had not forgotten to pay all good respect to antiquity in this tract. Having noted the Schism occasioned by the disputes about the time of keeping Easter, he makes the following remark upon it. 'By the way, says he, by this you may see

the danger of our appeal to antiquity for resolution in controverted points of faith, and how small relief we are to expect from thence. For if the discretion of the chiefest guides and directors in the Church did in a point so trivial, so inconsiderable, so mainly fail them, as not to see the truth, wherein it is the greatest marvel how they could avoid the sight of it; can we, without the imputation of extream grossness and folly, think so poor-spirited persons competent judges of the questions now on foot betwixt the Churches. Pardon me, I know not what temptation drew that note from me.' Here the importance of the word *not* in the conclusion is notorious: and Mr Des Maizeaux (72) has marked a strong ridicule, which one of the censurers of this tract suffered himself to be led into, by following a spurious edition of it, in this conclusion, where that important negative is unluckily omitted. (6.) After the Tract of Schism follows *Miscellanies*, under these heads, (1) *How to know the Church*. (2) *To the Description of the Church*. (3) *How Christ is the Head of the Church*. (4) *Of Peter's Ministerial Headship in the Church*. (5) *Answer to the Bishop of Rome's Practice of Supremacy*. Besides these two volumes of Mr Hales's Posthumous Works, there has since appeared two of his letters, one from Archbishop Laud, printed in 1716, mentioned in remark [L], and the other to Mr Oughtred the famous Mathematician, for which see his article. P

(71) Some one of these is generally inserted into the copies of his Golden Remains.

(72) Towards the end of his account of our author's Life, &c. The ridicule lies in the animadverter's archly serving his own purpose in several notable conjectures concerning that particular temptation supposed to be here hinted by Mr Hales.

HALL [JOSEPH], successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, in the last Century. The account given of this learned Prelate by Mr Bayle, in his Dictionary, being very imperfect, we shall endeavour, in this article, to supply his omissions.—He was born July 1, 1574, in Bristow-park, within the parish of Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire, of honest parentage. His father was an officer to Henry Earl of Huntingdon, then President of the North, and under him had the government of that market-town, wherein stands the chief seat of that Earldom. His mother Winifride, of the family of the Bambridges, was a woman of uncommon piety (a). Having from his infancy been devoted by his parents to the ministry, he was for that purpose educated in the public school of his native place: and, at the age of fifteen, was admitted into Emmanuel-college in Cambridge [A]; whereof he was chosen Scholar; and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1592 (b). About three years after, his scholarship being expiring, and the statutes of the college, which allow but one person of a county to be Fellow, cutting off all hopes of his settling there; he intended to remove into the island of Guernsey, where a place was offered him. But the Earl of Huntingdon having prevailed upon Mr Hall's countryman and tutor, Mr Gilby, to resign his fellowship [B], room was, by that means, made for Mr Hall, who was unanimously chosen Fellow. In 1596 he took the degree of Master of Arts: and thenceforth acquitted himself with good success in the public disputations, which he was often called to. He read also the Rhetoric Lecture in the Schools, for two years, with considerable applause. But, thinking it diverted him from his favourite study of Divinity, he gave it up to Dr Dod; and entering into Holy Orders, preached often, as occasion offered, both in country villages, and before the university (c). After having continued about six or seven years in the college (d), he was recommended, by the Master Dr Chaderton, to the Lord Chief Justice Popham, for the Mastership of Tiverton-

(a) Some Specialties in the Life of Jos. Hall, &c. written with his own hand. Prefixed to The Shaking of the Olive-tree, or his Remaining Works, Lond. 1660. 4to.

(b) Specialties, &c. p. 5. and from the University-Registers.

(c) Some Specialties, &c. p. 8—11. July 11, 1598, he was incorporated Master of Arts at Oxford. Wood Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 155.

(d) Specialties, p. 10.

[A] And at the age of fifteen was admitted into Emmanuel college in Cambridge.] He tells us, that, instead of being sent to the university, he was very near being placed for education under the care of one Mr Pelfet, who was lately come from Cambridge, to be the publick preacher of Leicester. But his elder brother having occasion to go to Cambridge, and waiting upon Mr Nath. Gilby, Fellow of Emmanuel-college; the latter, on hearing of the diversion of the father's purposes from the university, importunately dissuaded from that new course, professing to pity the loss of so good hopes. The elder brother, moved with those words, at his return home fell upon his knees to his father, and besought him to alter so prejudicial a resolution, and not suffer the young man's hopes to be drowned in a shallow country channel: but that he would revive his first purposes for Cambridge; adding in the zeal of his love, that if the chargeableness of that course were the hindrance, he would rather be pleased to sell some part of that land which in course of nature he was to inherit, than to abridge his brother of that happy means to perfect his education. A very uncommon instance of generosity!—But after our author had been two years at the university, he had like to have been called away from thence

in an untimely and disagreeable manner; of which he pleased to take the account in his own words. 'My two first years were necessarily chargeable, above the proportion of my father's power, whose not very large cistern was to feed many pipes besides mine; [for he had twelve children] his weariness of expense was wrought upon by the counsel of some unwise friends, who perswaded him to fasten me upon that school as master, whereof I was lately a scholar. Now was I fetched home with an heavy heart, and now this second time had mine hopes been nipt in the blossom, had not God raised me up an unhop'd benefactor, Mr Edmund Sleight of Darby, out of no other relation to me, save that he married my aunt, pitying my too apparent dejectedness, he voluntarily urged, and solicited my father for my return to the university, and offered freely to contribute the one half of my maintenance there, till I should attain to the degree of Master of Arts; which he no less really and lovingly performed (1).'

[B] But the Earl of Huntingdon having prevailed upon Mr Hall's countryman and tutor, Mr Gilby, to resign his fellowship.] By taking him for his domestic chaplain, and promising him preferment (2).

(1) Some Specialties, &c. as above, p. 4—8.

(2) See ibid. p. 9.

[C] With



Tiverton-school in Devonshire, then newly founded by Mr Blundel. He had accepted of it, and was but just come out from the Chief Justice's, when he met a messenger in the street, who delivered him a letter from the Lady Drury of Suffolk; offering him the Rectory of Halsted near St Edmund's-bury, and very earnestly desiring him to accept of it, which he did, and relinquished the school (e). Being thus settled in that sweet and civil country of Suffolk, as he expresses it (f), his first work was to rebuild his parsonage-house, which was extremely ruinous. Two years after, he married a daughter of Mr George Winniff of Bretenham, with whom he lived happily nine and forty years. In 1605 he accompanied Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spa, where he composed his second Century of Meditations (g). He had an opportunity, in this journey, to inform himself with his own eyes of the state and practices of the Romish Church; and, at Brussels entered into a conference with Coster the Jesuit. About a year and a half after, his patron Sir Robert Drury refusing to restore to the Living of Halsted about ten pounds a year, which he unjustly detained, our author went to London to solicit him upon that point. And being invited by the Earl of Essex's tutor to preach before Prince Henry at Richmond, who much admired his Meditations; the Prince so well liked the two sermons he preached before him, that he made him one of his chaplains (h). In the mean time, Sir Robert Drury, by his unjust detention abovenamed, refusing to make his living a competent maintenance; though our author alledged to him, among other arguments, that he was forced to write books in order to be able to buy some; he resolved therefore to embrace the first opportunity of removing from Halsted. While he was taken up with those anxious thoughts, Edward Lord Denny, afterwards Earl of Norwich, gave him the Donative of Waltham-Holy-Cross in Essex. And about the same time, which was in the year 1612, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity; having taken the degree of Bachelor in 1603 (i). Thus, as he says, he returned home, happy in a new master, and in a new patron, betwixt whom, he divided himself and his labours, with much comfort and no less acceptance (k). In the second year of his monthly attendance on the Prince, when he came for his dismissal, his Highness ordered him to stay longer; and, at last, when he allowed him to depart, offered him the honour of being continually resident at Court, with promise of suitable preferments. But being loth to forsake his noble patron, who had placed much of his heart upon him, he waved that offer, and remained two and twenty years at Waltham, where he preached a long time thrice a week, as he had done before at Halsted. In the mean time, he was made Prebendary of the collegiate church of Wolverhampton, and was the chief instrument in recovering a considerable estate, detained from that church by a fraudulent conveyance (l). In 1616, July 12, he attended the embassy of James Hay, Viscount Doncaster, into France: During his absence, the King conferred upon him the Deanery of Worcester, which he had promised him before his departure (m); and he was presented to the same December 9, 1616 (n). Before he could go to take possession of it, namely, on the 14th of March 1616-17 (o), he attended his Majesty into Scotland, as one of his chaplains. In 1618, he was sent to the Synod of Dort, with other of our English divines [C]; but by that time he had stayed two months there, the unquietness of the nights, in those garrison towns, working upon the tender disposition of his body, brought him to such weakness through want of rest, that he was obliged to return home. However, before his departure he preached a Latin sermon before the Synod; which, by their President and Assistants, took a solemn leave of him: and the Deputies of the States dismissed him with an honourable retribution, and sent after him a rich golden medal, having on it the portraiture of the Synod (p). He was not rigid in the five points controverted in that Synod, as appears by a treatise he writ soon after [D]. Having refused, in 1624, the bishopric of Gloucester, which was earnestly offered him (q); he accepted, in 1627, of that of Exeter [E], to which he was consecrated

December

[C] *With other of our English divines.* The rest of the English divines sent by K. James I. to the synod of Dort, were, Dr Geo. Carleton, then Bishop of Landaff, and afterwards of Chichester; Dr John Davenant, Regius Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, and Master of Queen's-college; Dr Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney-college; and Dr Thomas Goad, sent in Dr Hall's room (3).

[D] *As appears by a treatise he writ soon after.* It was printed amongst his remaining works (4), under this title; *Via media. The way of Peace in the five busy Articles commonly known by the name of Arminius; touching, 1. Predestination. 2. The extent of Christ's death. 3. Man's Free-will and corruption. 4. The manner of our conversion to God. 5. Perseverance.* Wherein is laid forth so fair an accommodation of the different opinions as may content both parts and procure happy accord. And he gives this account of it (5); upon occasion of Mr Montague's tart and vehement assertions, — I wrote a little project of Pacification, wherein I desired to rectify the judgment of men, concerning this misapprehended controversy; and because Bishop Overall went a midway betwixt the two opinions

which he held extream, and must needs therefore somewhat differ from the commonly-received tenet in these points, I gathered out of B. Overall on the one side, and out of our English divines at Dort on the other, such common propositions concerning these five busy articles, as wherein both of them are fully agreed; all which being put together, seemed unto me to make up so sufficient a body of accorded truth, that all other questions moved hereabouts, appeared merely superfluous, and every moderate Christian might find where to rest himself, without hazard of contradiction: these I made bold by the hands of Dr Young, the worthy Dean of Winchester, to present to his excellent Majesty.

[E] *He accepted, in 1627, of that of Exeter.* He met, at his first coming to that dignity, with much vexation and uneasiness, as he relates himself (6). I entered, says he, upon that place, not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some that sate at the stern of the Church, had me in great jealousy for too much favour of *Puritanisme*; I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials; my ways were curiously observed, and scanned. And some persons of note in the clergy — finding

(e) Ibid. p. 11  
—14.

(f) Ibid. p. 14

(g) Ibid. p. 14  
—20.

(h) Ibid. p. 14  
25.

(i) Ibid. p. 24  
25. and from the University-Registers.

(k) Some Specialties, &c. p. 25.

(l) Ibid. p. 16  
—31.

(m) Ibid. p. 31,  
32, 33. & Camdeni Annal. apparatus.

(n) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 659.

(o) Camden, ibid.

(p) Some Specialties, &c. p. 34, 35.

(q) Upon the death of Miles Smith.

3) See Fuller's Church-History, book x. p. 77, &c.

4) P. 351, &c.

5) Specialties, &c. p. 31.

(6) Specialties, p. 41.



(\*) J. Le Neve's  
Fasti, &c. p. 84.

(†) Specialties,  
&c. p. 41.

(‡) See his Specialties, p. 41.

(§) Le Neve, ut  
supra, p. 213.  
and Godwin de  
Præful. edit.  
W. Richardson,  
p. 444.

(||) See Rushworth, Vol. IV.  
p. 466. and all  
our English Hi-  
storians.

December 23 (r), holding with it in commendam the rectory of St Breck in Cornwall (s). Though he was reckoned a favourer of Puritanism (t), yet he writ, at the beginning of the troubles in this kingdom, with great strength and elegance in defence of Episcopacy [F]. The 15th of November 1641, he was translated to the see of Norwich, vacant by the death of Dr Richard Montague (u). But, on the 30th of December following, having joined with the Archbishop of York, and eleven other Bishops, in the Protestation [G] against the validity of all laws made during their forced absence from Parliament (w); he was voted among the rest to the Tower, and committed thither the 30th of January, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in a dark evening. Shortly after, they were impeached by the Commons of high-treason; and, when they should have made their defence, were told, that it being then late they should have another day: but that day never came. At length, about June 1642, he was released upon giving 5000 l. bail: whereupon he withdrew to Norwich (x). Here he was received with more respect than he could have expected in such times, and frequently preached to numerous audiences; enjoying peace 'till the beginning of April, 1643. But then the ordinance for sequestrating notorious delinquents estates being passed, wherein he was included by name (y); all his rents were stopped, when he was in hopes of receiving the foregoing half year, for the maintenance of his family. And, a very few days after, some of the sequestrators came to seize upon his

(x) See Bishop Hall's Hard Measure, at the end of his Specialties, p. 48—56.

(y) See Collection of Ordinances, &c. printed for Ed. Husband, Lond. 1646. fol. p. 13. and Scobell's Collection, p. 37.

me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscientiously forward, and painfull in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lectures in severall parts of my diocess, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpit, and directly at the Court; complaining of my too much indulgence to persons disaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billowes went so high, that I was three severall times upon my knee to his Majesty, to answer these great criminations, and what contestation I had with some great Lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report; only this, under how dark a cloud I was hereupon, I was so sensible, that I plainly told the Lord Archbishop of Canter. [Laud] that rather than I would be obnoxious to those slanderous tongues of his misinformers, I would cast up my Rochet; I knew I went right wayes, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicions.

[F] He writ, at the beginning of the troubles in this kingdom, with great strength and elegance in defence of Episcopacy. His severall pieces upon that subject, were, 1. 'Episcopacie by divine Right asserted.' Lond. 1640, 4to. This treatise was occasioned, by G. Gra-hame, Bishop of Orkney's, renouncing his episcopall function, openly, before the whole body of the assembly of the clergy at Edinburgh, and craving pardon for having accepted it, as if thereby he had committed some hainous offence (7). 2. He published, 'An humble Remonstrance to the high Court of Parliament, by a dutifull Sonne of the Church.' Lond. 1640, 4to. in behalf of the Liturgy and Episcopacy. To this, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spuristow jointly wrote an answer, under the name of *Smectymnvs*, being the initial letters of their names; and under the title of, *An Answer to a Book entituled, An humble Remonstrance. In which the originall of Liturgy, Episcopacy, is discussed; and Quæries propounded concerning both, &c.* Lond. 1641, 4to (8).

(7) See the Episcopale Dedicatorie.

(8) See above, Vol. II. p. 1102. under the article CALAMY [EDMUND].

Whereupon Bishop Hall, wrote, 3. 'A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false Exceptions of Smectymnvs. Wherein the right of Liturgie and Episcopacie is clearly vindicated from the vaine cavils, and challenges of the Answerers. Seconded (in way of appendance) with the judgement of the famous Divine of the Palatinate, Abrahamus Scultetus, late Professor of Divinitie in the Universitie of Heidelberg: concerning the divine Right of Episcopacie, and the No-right of Lay-eldership.' Lond. 1641. The same Smectymnvs replying, in *A vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, from the unjust Imputations of Frivolousnesse and Falsehood: Wherein the Cause of the Liturgy and Episcopacy is further debated.* Lond. 1641, 4to. Bishop Hall concluded the dispute with, 4. 'A Short Answer to the tedious Vindication of Smectymnvs. By the author of the humble Remonstrance.' Lond. 1641, 4to. These severall pieces of our learned author are written in a very handsome, lively, and witty manner; as his adversaries distinguish themselves by a peculiar fierceness of spirit, and much asperity in language (9). In short, they write with uncommon pertness and confidence, like persons

supported by the secular arm, and that could depend upon stronger and more irresistible arguments, than those upon paper.

[G] Having joined with the Archbishop of York, and eleven other Bishops in the Protestation, &c.] This Protestation is printed in Rushworth's (10) and Nalson's collections (11), and in the Lord Clarendon's (12) and Rapin's Histories (13), and other places; therefore need not be inserted here. But Bishop Hall having mentioned some curious particulars relating thereto, it will be proper to lay them before the reader. Upon our resolved forbearance, (says he) from Parliament, the Archbishop of York [Williams] sent for us to his lodging at Westminster, lays before us the perillous condition we were in, advises for remedy (except we meant utterly to abandon our right, and to desert our station in Parliament) to petition both his Majesty and the Parliament; that since we were legally called by his Majesties writ to give our attendance in Parliament, we might be secured in the performance of our duty and service against those dangers that threatned us; and withall to protest against any such acts as should be made during the time of our forced absence, for which he assured us there were many precedents in former Parliaments, and which if we did not, we should betray the trust committed to us by his Majestie, and shamefully betray and abdicate the due right both of ourselves and successours. To this purpose, in our presence he drew up the said petition and Protestation, avowing it to be legall, just, and agreeable to all former proceedings, and being fair written sent it to our severall lodgings for our hands, which we accordingly subscribed, intending yet to have had some further consultation concerning the delivering and whole carriage of it. But ere we could suppose it to be in any hand but his own, the first newes we heard, was, that there were messengers addressed to fetch us in to the Parliament upon an accusation of high treason. For, whereas this paper was to have been delivered, first to his Majesties Secretary; and after perusal by him to his Majestie, and after from his Majestie to the Parliament, and for that purpose to the Lord Keeper, the Lord Littleton, who was the Speaker of the House of Peers; all these professed not to have perused it at all, but the said Lord Keeper willing enough to take this advantage of ingratiating himself with the House of Commons and the faction, to which he knew himself sufficiently obnoxious, finding what use might be made of it by prejudicate minds, reads the same openly in the House of Lords: and when he found some of the faction apprehensive enough of misconstruction, aggravates the matter as highly offensive, and of dangerous consequence; and thereupon not without much heat and vehemence, and with an ill preface, it is sent down to the House of Commons, where it was entertained hainously, Glynne with a full mouth crying it up for no less than high-treason; and some comparing, yea preferring it to the Powder-Plot. Though, when it came to be debated, one of their oracles being demanded his judgment concerning the fact, professed to them, they might with as good reason accuse them of adultery (14).

(10) Vol. IV. p. 466.

(11) Vol. II. p. 794.

(12) Edit. 1731. Vol. II. 8vo. p. 351.

(13) Edit. 1733. fol. p. 404.

(14) Hard Measure, p. 48, 49, 51.



his palace, and all his estate both real and personal [H]. Thus deprived of all support, he applied to the committee at Norwich; which allowed him 400 l. a year, out of the bishoprick's revenues. And yet this took no effect; for, before he could gather one quarter, there came down an order from the superior committee for sequestrations at London, under the hand of Serjeant Wild the chairman, and procured by Miles Corber, forbidding any such allowance: and telling the Norwich-committee, that neither they, nor any other, had power to allow him any thing; but if his wife needed a maintenance, upon her application to the Committee of Lords and Commons, she should have a fifth part. Accordingly, upon her petition, though after long delays, it was granted her. But so confused and imperfect an account was brought in to the Sequestrators, by their Solicitor and Collector (who had both his temporal and spiritual revenues in their hands) that the Bishop could never come to know what a fifth part meant; and therefore, it seems, was obliged to take what they thought fit to give him (z). And, which was yet harder! whilst he received nothing, yet something was required of him. For they were not ashamed, after they had taken away and sold all his goods and personal estate, to come to him for assessments and monthly payments for that estate which they had seized, and took distresses from him, upon his most just denial. Nay, they vehemently required him to find the arms usually furnished by his predecessors, when they had left him nothing. And, upon many occasions, offered him insolent affronts and indignities (a) [I]. Still he remained in his palace, though with a poor retinue and maintenance: but at last he was forced to quit it at three weeks warning, (though his wife offered to pay rent for it out of her fifths) and might have lain in the street; such was the inexorableness of his merciless enemies! had not a neighbour in the Close voided his house, to make room for him and his family. This was his hard measure, as he writ it down May 29, 1647 (b). Shortly after, he retired to a little estate which he rented at Higham near Norwich; where, notwithstanding the narrowness of his circumstances, he distributed a weekly charity to a certain number of poor widows. In this retirement he ended his life September 8, 1656, in the 82d year of his age: and was buried in the church-yard of that parish, without any memorial (c). He is universally allowed to have been a man of incomparable piety, meekness, and modesty, having a thorough knowledge of the world, and of great wit and learning (d). As to his writings (besides those already mentioned in this article, and by Mr Bayle) a short account is given of them in the note [K].

(a) See his *Hard Measure*, p. 56—60.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 61, 62.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 64.

(c) Cf. W. Richardson, edit. *Godwini de Præful. ut supra*, p. 444. and W. Laker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, &c. p. 11. p. 56. In his Will he has this passage, 'I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints.'

(d) Walker. *ibid.* Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 397. *Vir rerum usu peritus, ingenio subtili & exercitatus, eruditione multiplici instructus, nec interim minor erat modestiæ & indolis mansuetissimæ laus.* W. Richardson, p. 444.

[H] *And all his estate both real and personal.* He gives the following account of the hard usage he met with upon that occasion. The Sequestrators sent certain men appointed by them, (whereof one had been burnt in the hand for the mark of his truth) to appraise all the goods that were in the house; which they accordingly executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my childrens pictures, out of their curious inventory. Yea they would have appraised our very wearing clothes, had not some of them declared their opinion to the contrary. These goods, both library and household stuff of all kinds, were appointed to be exposed to publick sale. But in the mean time Mrs Goodwin, a religious good gentlewoman, whom yet we had never known or seen, being moved with compassion, very kindly offered to lay down to the sequestrators that whole sum which the goods were valued at; and was pleased to leave them in our hands for our use, that we might be able to re-purchase them. As for the books, several stationers lookt on them, but were not forward to buy them; at last Mr Cook, a worthy divine of this diocese, gave bond to the sequestrators, to pay to them the whole sum whereat they were set, which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor pittance, that was allowed me for my maintenance (15).

[I] *And upon many occasions offered him insolent affronts and indignities* He gives himself two instances of it, the first, that one morning, before his servants were up, there came to his gates a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, and threatening if they were not admitted, to break open the gates. The pretence for their coming, was, to search for arms and ammunition. And though the Bishop told them, he had only two muskets; yet not resting upon his word, they searched round about the house, looked into the chests and trunks, and examined the vessels in the cellar. Finding no other warlike furniture, they took away one of the Bishop's two horses, though he told them his age would not allow him to travel on foot.—At another time, the mob beset his palace at a very unreasonable hour, for having ordained some persons in his own chapel, and had the insolence to demand his appearance before the Mayor (16).

[K] *As to his writings (besides those already mentioned in this article, and by Mr Bayle), &c.* They

make in all V. volumes in folio and 4to. The 1st. printed (or rather collected) together, in 1617, and again in 1624; contains, 1. Meditations and Vowes, divine and morall: three centuries. 2. Heaven upon earth; or, of true Peace and Tranquillity of mind. 3. The Art of divine Meditation; with a Meditation of Death. 4. Holy Observations. 5. Some of David's Psalmes, metaphrased, in verse. 6. Characters of Vertues and Vices, in two Books. 7. Solomon's divine Arts, of Ethicks, Politicks, Oeconomicks; with an open and plaine Paraphrase upon the Song of Songs. 8. Epistles, in six Decads. 9. Six Sermons. 10. A common Apologie of the Church of England, against the unjust challenges of the Brownists; [viz. Smith and Robinson] 11. A brief Summe of the Principles of Religion, by way of Catechisme. 12. Contemplations upon the principal Passages of the holy Storie, in eleven books: To which, in the edition of 1624, eight more books were added, making in all nineteen. In that edition also is inserted, 'The Honour of the married Clergy maintained, &c.' And three new sermons.—II. The second volume of his works, is 'A plaine and familiar Explication (by way of Paraphrase) of all the hard Texts of the whole Scripture of the Old and New Testament.' Lond. 1633, fol. in two columns.—III. The third volume, printed in 1634, contains, 'Meditations on the New Testament; 13 Sermons; Tracts against Popery; Meditations, &c.—The IVth volume, published in 1660, after his decease, in 4to, is intituled, 'The Shaking of the Olive-Tree.' The remaining works of that incomparable Prelate Joseph Hall, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Norwich. With some Specialties of divine Providence in his life. Together with his *Hard Measure*. Written by himself. This volume consists chiefly of sermons, letters, speeches in Parliament, &c. V. The last volume contains, 'Divers Treatises written upon several occasions. Now first collected into one volume, Lond. 1662, fol.—His moral works were reprinted at London in 1738, fol.—Besides all the above pieces, he published in 1597, 'Virgidemiarum. Satires in six books.' And calls himself, in the Prologue, the first Satyrist in the English language.

I first adventure, follow me who list,  
And be the second English Satyrist.

The

(15) *Ibid.* p. 57, 58.

(16) *Hard Measure*, p. 58, 61.



The three first books are called Toothless Satires, poetical, academical, moral. The three last biting Satires. They were re-printed at Oxford in 1753, 8vo.

In his manner of writing, he has imitated Seneca, more than any of our other English authors; for which reason he is styled the Christian Seneca (17). But we do not find that he published any book under that title, as Mr Bayle seems to think (18), deceived undoubtedly by the translators either of his Letters or Meditations; who so entitled them, on account of

their resemblance to Seneca's Morals. — N. B. The critical remark after note [C] in the General Dictionary, under this article, might have been spared; for instead of W. Di Révolté, it is in Mr Bayle's original French (19), *à W. D. Révolté, &c.* Which is a literal translation of Dr Hall's direction of his *Serious Dissuasive from Popery, To W. D. Révolté, &c.* namely from the Protestant Religion. So that there was no danger of any one's mistaking *Revolted* for an Italian surname.

(19) Ibid. note [C] edit. 1720.

(17) Sir Henry Wotton, in his letter to Dr Col. lins.

(18) At the end of the article H A L L [JOSSEPH].

(a) In our author's Eloge in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy at Paris, in 1742, his birth is placed Nov. 8, 1656.

(b) Manuscript Memoirs, communicated by our author's son-in-law Mr Price.

Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 981.

H A L L E Y [EDMUND], was born near London, October 29 (a), 1656, in the parish of St Leonard Shoreditch, at a place called Haggerston, which then consisted of little more besides a country house belonging to his father Edmund Halley, who was a Citizen and Soap-boiler in Winchester-street; and having acquired an opulent fortune in his business, resolved to give this son, his only child, and a youth of the most promising genius, an education suitable to it. In this view he put him at a proper age to St Paul's-school, under the care of that eminent master Dr Thomas Gale. Our author in a short time outstripped the rest of the boys, and became captain of the school at the age of fifteen (b). He not only excelled in every branch of classical learning, but was particularly taken notice of for the extraordinary advances he made at the same time in the Mathematicks. In so much, that he seems not only to have acquired almost a masterly skill in both plain and spherical Trigonometry, but to be well acquainted with the science of Navigation, and to have made a great progress in Astronomy before he was removed to Oxford [A]. Where he was entered a Commoner of Queen's-college in act-term 1673, being then in the 17th year of his age \*. At the university, having brought a curious apparatus of instruments (purchased by his father, who spared no expence to encourage his son's genius) (c), he continued eager in the pursuit of these studies, applying himself with surprizing dexterity and skill as well to practical as geometrical Astronomy, and the success of his industry was felt by the learned world in a short time. For with respect to the latter, at 19 years of age he published a *Direct and Geometrical Method of finding the Aphelia and Eccentricity of the Planets* (d), the want of which 'till that time had been an opprobrium to Kepler's hypothesis [B]. Nor did he less distinguish himself in the former part of Astronomy.

(c) MS. Memoirs, &c. Among these were his tube and sextant, the first 24 feet long, and the second 2 feet diameter; he carried them to St Helena, to Dantzick, to Paris, and Rome; and after his marriage set them up at Islington, whence they became the chief instrument of his fame; and it is no wonder that he was particularly fond of them.

(d) Printed in Phil. Transf. No. 128.

Besides

[A] *A great progress in Astronomy before he was removed to Oxford.* Mr Wood (1) tells us, our author had at this time perfectly learned the use of the celestial globe, and could make a compleat dial; and we are informed by Mr Halley himself, that he observed the change of the variation of the magnetic needle at London in 1672 (2), that is a year before he left school.

[B] *An opprobrium to Kepler's hypothesis.* Kepler having built his theory upon the sure foundation of facts, as they appeared in the astronomical tables of Tycho, thought that sufficient, leaving the geometrical proof of it to others. Mr Halley supplied this defect in a paper which was published in Phil. Transf. anno 1676, No. 128. with the following title, *Methodus directa & geometrica cujus ope investigantur Aphelia, Eccentricitates, Proportionesque Orbium Planetarum Primariorum, absque supposita æqualitate anguli motus ad alterum ellipseos focum, ab Astronomis hæcenus usurpata, i. e. A direct and geometrical method of investigating the Aphelia, Eccentricities, and Proportions, of the Orbits of the Primary Planets, without supposing the equality of the angle of motion: granting this equality, the proposition had been demonstrated by others, and particularly by Dr Seth Ward, in a piece intitled, *Astronomia geometrica, ubi methodus proponitur, qua planetarum primariorum astronomia, five elliptica, five circularis, possit geometricè absolvi* (3), Lond. 1656, 8vo. Before Kepler's time there had been supposed what the astronomers call a center of middle motion, that is a point from whence the motion of the earth would be always seen in a mean between it's quick and slow progress in the ecliptic. Copernicus and many others, who maintained that opinion, thought it absurd to suppose the earth carried in a circle (as they did) whose center was not the center of equal motion, seeing then the earth's motion must not only be in appearance but really unequal, and in some part of the periphery of it's orbit it would move faster, and in others slower, contrary to their established maxim of having all the motions perfectly uniform (4). But Kepler, when he had shewn from Tycho's observations, that Mars and the other planets were not carried round in circular but in elliptic orbits; and that the sun was in one of the foci of these ellipses; and that the planets in moving round him did so regulate their motions, that a line or ray drawn from the sun to the planet, did sweep an elliptic area or space always proportionable to the time*

the planet moved, he thought it but reasonable to suppose the earth in turning round the sun should observe the same law, and be carried likewise in an elliptic orbit. This theory answers exactly to all appearances in the phenomena, but it follows from it, that there are no centers of equal or middle motion, from which the planets can be seen to describe angles proportional to the times. And therefore many astronomers still adhering to the opinion that there were centers of equal motion, rejected Kepler's rule of the planetary motions, though they retained the elliptic form of their orbits, and because in the axis of an ellipse, there are two points equally distant from the center which are called the foci, in one of which they with Kepler placed the sun, the other, which is distant from the sun the double of the eccentricity, they imagined to be the center of equal motion, and round it they supposed the planets to describe angles proportionable to the times; which indeed in ellipses that are not very eccentric, such as are described by most of the primary planets, is nearly true, as Kepler also acknowledged. This they liked the better, because in the theory of Kepler, there was no direct or geometrical method to find out the true anomaly from the mean \*, which was easily done by their own theory; and this indeed was evidently the reason, why Bishop Ward contented himself with shewing a geometrical method of describing the planetary orbits upon that theory, though he knew it was not strictly true. So much of this subject, though a little dry, was thought clearly necessary to give the reader a right apprehension of the importance of author's problem (5), in confirming the true system of the world, which though first discovered by Kepler, yet received it's first geometrical foundation from Mr Halley. And I cannot forbear remarking, that the first draught by which the demonstration of the system was completely perfected, and shewn from the laws of gravity necessarily to obtain in nature, happened to be executed by Mr Newton this same year 1676 (6). Mr Wood observes that our author's name will be for ever famous by the solution of this problem, and the writer of his elogé (7) at Paris, declares it to be 'A work, which might justly excite the envy of the most skilful astronomers of that time, and which put an end to a celebrated dispute that had long subsisted among them upon that subject †. Des Cartes, continues this writer, began his geometry with a problem, that had stopped the progress of the ancients, and the first

\* That is a problem of another nature, and much more intricate than this of our author. See the article KEIL [JOHN].

(5) Viz. In respect to Astronomy. What it's merit is in regard to Geometry, he has signified himself in the conclusion of his paper. *Ostendi quomodo ex tribus locis heliocentricis planetæ, & distantis a sole observatis, describi possit orbita ipsius planetæ, quod non nisi quinque talibus observationibus hæcenus effectum videtur.*

(6) See his article.

(7) Mr Mairan.

† We have already mentioned that dispute in note (3).

(1) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 981.

(2) Phil. Transf. No. 195. where it is inserted into his table of those variations.

(3) Mr Halley in drawing up his title had apparently his eye upon this of Seth Ward's treatise, as he also put an end to the dispute between that author and Bullialdus; upon which see Gregory's Astronomy, book iii. where is inserted this problem of Mr Halley, prop. 3.

(4) To suppose these motions otherwise was thought incongruous to the nature of those intelligences, which, according to the philosophical Creed of the Ancients, presided over the planets, and directed their motions; and Epycles were therefore invented to save the apparent irregularities. Eras. Oswaldi in Purbachii theorematum Commentaria, p. 3. Basil. 1556. folio.



(e) No. 128. Besides an eclipse of the moon, June 27, 1675, observed at his father's house in Winchester-street (e), several observations made by him concerning a spot in the sun, seen at Oxford in July and August 1676, were published, with others by Mr Flamsteed upon the same subject, in the Philosophical Transactions (f). By these the motion of the sun round it's own axis, a phænomenon 'till then not well ascertained (g), was fully and finally determined. The same year he likewise observed there, August 21, an occultation of Mars by the moon (h), which he made use of afterwards, with others, in settling the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope against the objections of the French Astronomers (i). During his stay at Oxford he also accurately observed the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, whereby he made several corrections in the best astronomical tables then extant of those planets (k). About this time also, before his voyage to St Helena, he had discovered the method now well known of constructing eclipses of the sun, by which means the calculation of parallaxes in those phænomena was superseded\*. Neither yet was his industry confined within these limits. All the time from his first admission he had been careful to make the proper observations for ascertaining the true places of the fixed stars, and thereby correcting the errors of Tycho Brahe. His original view therein was to carry on the design of that first restorer of Astronomy, by completing the catalogue of those stars from his own observations; but upon further enquiry, finding this province taken up by Mr Hevelius and Mr Flamsteed, he dropped that pursuit, and immediately formed a resolution of perfecting the whole scheme of the heavens, by the addition of the stars which lie so near the south pole [C], that they could not be observed by those Astronomers, as never rising above the horizon either at Dantzick or Greenwich. Fired with the prospect of making so distinguished an improvement in his favourite science, he left the university before he had been there long enough to take any degree, and returning to his father, applied for his consent to so remote a voyage, as was necessary for carrying his project into execution. Here he met with all the encouragement which so hopeful a son could either expect or wish from the affection of an indulgent parent (l). Whereupon he addressed himself to Sir Joseph Williamson (m) then Secretary of State, and to Sir Jonas Moor Surveyor of the Ordnance, both of them great promoters of these studies, and the latter an able Mathematician. These gentlemen highly applauding his purpose, mentioned it to King Charles the Second. His Majesty was much pleased therewith, and without any delay gave him a letter of commendation to the East-India-Company (n), who thereupon promised to supply him with all the accommodations and conveniencies that lay in their power, and to carry him to St Helena (o), which he pitched upon as a very proper situation (p) for his design. Accordingly he lost no time, but embarked for that island in November 1676, and arriving there safely in three months, he stuck close to his telescope, 'till he had entirely finished the task he had set himself, and completed his catalogue. This done he returned to England in November 1678. While he continued at St Helena, he made several other curious physical remarks (q) and astronomical observations, which were of use to him in promoting those branches of literature, as shall be mentioned in their proper places. During

(e) MS. Memoirs.

(o) Then in the possession of that Company by a grant from the Crown.

(p) It lies in the latitude of 15° 55' south.

(q) Among others he found himself obliged to shorten his pen-dulum to make it keep the same time as in England. This being told several years after by Mr Hook to Sir Isaac Newton, he declared it was the first notice he had of such an experiment, and he made use of it to confirm his opinion of the oblate spheroidal figure of the earth. See a letter of Sir Isaac to our author in General Dictionary, Vol. VII. p. 800. in notes, b.

(m) The founder of the Mathematical school at Rochester. See more of this affair in rem. [C].

\* first path struck out by Mr Halley, conducted him at once to the most remote and abstruse parts of astronomy. A comparison betwixt Des Cartes, and Dr Halley, might be the natural result of that remarkable affinity of genius, which appears in the works of these two great masters of philosophy; a genius scarcely less distinguished by the bold flights of it's imaginative faculties in starting hypotheses, that it is by the sagacity and solidity of it's reasoning powers in making useful improvements, and alike happy also in setting forth it's productions in the most engaging dress. That particular instance of this affinity, here remarked by Mr Mairan, is indisputably well chosen for the purpose of an eulogy; but if we should allow the politeness of the Frenchman's compliment therein to the latter, it ought not, because it cannot fairly, be denied, that the compliment is carried much higher on the side of the former, it is carried even beyond the truth. A censure which perhaps will not be thought too severe, when we see it supported by Mr Halley himself (8), who gives it for one reason of his taking pains to correct and publish the preface of Pappus Alexandrinus to the seventh book of his mathematical collections, that it might appear thereby how unjustly Des Cartes had accused the Ancients of ignorance, in boasting himself to have been the first mortal who was able to construct a locus to four right lines, which had been attempted by Euclid; since Apollonius had plainly enough shewn, that he had done it in the place where he says it is impossible to give that construction complete, without those propositions found by himself, and inserted in the third book of his Conicks; which, continues Mr Halley, is the same thing as to say, that by the help of those propositions, it would have been easy and obvious for Euclid to have constructed the locus; and truly whoever compares that operose solution, perplexed with a monstrous

algebraical calculus, given by Des Cartes in the beginning of his geometry, with that wonderful concinnity in which the whole business is completed geometrically, and without any calculus at all, in the 17th, 18th, and 19th lemmata to the first book of the Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy, by the help of two propositions in the third book of the said Conics, will never doubt, but Apollonius had performed more in this matter than Des Cartes thought he had. To this it may be added, that as to the problem de sectione determinata, a full solution of which was given by Apollonius, the whole difficulty of describing the locus lies in finding the fifth point. But from five given points, Pappus shews how to describe the elliptic locus, lib. 8. prop. 13, 14, and by the same method, mutatis mutandis, without any greater difficulty is the locus hyperbolicus described through the same points.

[C] To complete the catalogue of the fixed stars, adding those near the south pole.] There were two accounts of these southern stars than extant; one, wherein they were named by the Portuguese, and corrected by Peter Theodore, was inserted in Kepler's catalogue of the fixed stars; the other was that upon Bleau's celestial globe laid down, as is generally reported, from the observations of one Frederic Houtman, a Dutchman (9). But both these were very imperfect and inaccurate, and this part of the celestial globe very ill described, being done chiefly from the rude observations of mariners, who had other thoughts in their view, than that of improving astronomy. Consequently Mr Halley's catalogue of these stars was an entirely new acquisition to the learned world, in what may not unaptly be called *Cælum Australe eo usque incognitum*; and thence he acquired an indisputable claim to the title which was not long after given him by Mr Flamsteed (10) of our Southern Tycho.

(9) Greg. Astron. book ii. p. 229.

(10) In his preface to the Doctrine of the Sphere, in Sir Jonas Moor's System of the Mathematics, Lond. 1681. 4to.



ring the navigation, in his passage, he had frequently experienced a great inconvenience in an instrument well known to the seamen by the name of Davis's Quadrant, which then had only a shadow-vane to the lesser arch. Wherefore immediately after his landing he added a glass to that vane [D], and then hastened to prepare the best testimonial, he could give of his gratitude to his royal benefactor. Having delineated a planisphere, wherein with the nicest accuracy he laid down the exact places of all the stars near the south pole, from his own observations, he presented it with a short description to his Majesty, who was greatly satisfied therewith [E], and gave him at his own request a letter of *mandamus* to the university of Oxford for the degree of Master of Arts [F]. This letter was dated November 18, and the same month he was also chosen Fellow of the Royal Society; and he gave an ample confirmation of his just claim to those honours in the three pieces mentioned below (G), which were published by him the following year†. These works were

† According to the Bookseller's stile, but in the same year 1678 in the common computation.

(11) Ubi supra. [D] He added a glass to that vane.] Mr Wood (11), to whom we owe this particular, observes very justly, that this was a very considerable improvement in that useful instrument. As the spot of light exhibited by the glass can be clearly seen at such times when the shadow is so faint, that its edge cannot be sufficiently discerned. Mr Halley's reflecting quadrant is still a farther improvement in this article (12), and the friendly intercourse which was observed between them, makes it more than probable that the invention was not perfected without the assistance of Dr Halley.

(12) See a description with a draught of it by the inventor, in Phil. Trans. No. 376.

[E] His Majesty was greatly satisfied with it.] This planisphere discovered a remarkable instance of our author's address. Among these stars there appeared the Constellation of the Royal Oak, with this description. *Robur Carolinum in perpetuum sub illius latebris servati Caroli secundi Magnæ Britannię Regis memoriam, in cælum merito translatus.* Thus as the writer of his elege observes (13), Mr Halley recorded his gratitude in those skies, which the patronage and liberality of that prince enabled him to survey.

(13) Ubi supra.

[F] A mandamus for the degree of Master of Arts.] The recommendatory words of this letter were; That His Majesty has received a good account of his learning as to the mathematicks and astronomy, whereof he has gotten a good testimony by the observations he has made during his abode in the island of St Helena. The degree was conferred at Oxford the third of December following (14). Mr Wood hereupon remarks, that our author made no return by this voyage but that of praise (15); and indeed we do not find that he was presented either with a purse or a place on this occasion, but his heart was not set upon such rewards\*. He was abundantly satisfied with his degree, which considering that his admission in the university was little more than five years before, and that he had not taken his bachelor's degree, was no doubt a very distinguishing attestation of his extraordinary merit. Mr Wood also intimates, that this mandamus was particularly requested by Mr Halley (16), and if so, there is some room to imagine, that he had then the Savilian professorship in his wish at least, if not in his view at this time. We are told that Mr (afterwards Dr) Edw. Barnard, who then sat in the Astronomical chair, though highly delighted therewith for a while, yet soon grew less fond, and in a few years became so weary of it, that he was even desirous to resign either to Mr Flamsteed or Mr Halley, who he said had cultivated that science with prodigious application and success, and with the applause of all Europe (17). But whatever may be thought of this conjecture, 'tis evident our author had a filial affection for his *Alma mater*, returning to her arms presently after his landing from St Helena, and making the honours she could confer the chief view of his ambition. He was likewise particularly esteemed by the other Savilian Professor Dr Wallis, as appears from a letter he wrote while our author was at Dantzick, recommending him to Mr Hevelius, the first Astronomer of the age, not only on account of his merit in that science, but also for the hearty sincerity and ingenuity of his temper, the letter was in these terms.

(14) Wood's Fasts, Vol. II. col. 210.

(15) Ath. Ox. ibid. col. 982.

\* See his letter to Hevelius, wrote about this time from Oxford, in remark [H].

(16) His words are, that he procured letters from his Majesty, &c.

(17) See his Life by Dr Smith at the end of Bishop Huntingdon's Epistles, p. 45. Lond. 1704. 8vo.

Clarissimo et Spectatissimo Viro  
Domino Johanni Hevelio  
Consuli Dantiscano  
Johannes Wallis Geometriæ Professor  
Savilianus Oxoniæ. S.

Clarissime Vir,  
Destinaveram ad te literas per Dominum Hallejum  
nostrum ferendas; qui, ante sex menses credo, ad Te ap-

pulit, avidus tuorum apparatusum Spectator; suaque Tecum communicaturus observata. Sic autem accidit, ut Londino ille prius discesserit, quam ad Eum ferrentur meæ literæ, fuerimque ea spe destitutus. Non autem erat oblitus (spero) Te meo nomine quam humanissime & officiose salutare; hoc utique hinc discessurus in se suscepit. Quin gratus tibi fuerit accessus ejus non dubito; cum et Ipse Vir sit ingenuus, variasque, Tibi impertiendas, habuit Observationes stellarum Europæis inconspicuarum; soleasque Tu summa cum humanitate advenas accipere. Num adhuc in Angliam redieris, haud certus scio; Oxonii certe nondum eum vidisse contigit red. com. Fama interim hic accepimus Te alteram partem tuæ cælestis Machinæ absolvisse. Quos quidem gaudeo, atque ut curiosissimarum observationum thesaurum amplexabor, rei Astronomiæ magno emolumento futurum, &c. Vale. Scribebam Oxonii, 8, Julii, S. V. 1679\*.

[G] Three pieces mentioned below.] These are, (1) Catalogus stellarum Australium, five supplementum catalogi Tythonici exhibens longitudes & latitudines stellarum fixarum, quæ prope polum antarcticum sitæ in horizonte Urinaburgico Tythoni inconspicæ fuere, accurato calculo ex distantis supputatas, et ad annum 1677 completum correctas (18), cum ipsis observationibus in insula S. Helenæ cujus latitudo est 15°. 55'. austr. et longitudo 7° 00' ad occasum a Londino, summa cura et sextante satis magno†, de cælo de promptis. Opus ab Astronomicis hactenus desideratum. Accedit Appendicula de rebus quibusdam Astronomicis notatu non indignis. Authore Edmundo Halleio, e Coll. Regin Oxon. In the preface he notes, That from his said observations it is clear, that all the astronomical tables till then extant, were defective in calculating the motions of the celestial bodies, that Saturn moves much more slowly and Jupiter more swiftly than is reckoned upon; that hereupon he began to go about to correct them, but presently foresaw, that it could never be well done without a more correct catalogue of the fixed stars, the performance whereof was already undertaken by other hands, that he chose therefore to take upon himself the stating of the places of the fixed stars near the south pole, and out of our horizon, which no one that he knew had with proper instruments before undertaken. What Frederick Houtman's instruments were, by whose observations in Sumatra Bleau pretended to correct his celestial globe, our author declares he knew not, but saith, that by comparing that globe with this his present catalogue, it appears he understood little of astronomy. That considering this, and being also approved and encouraged by divers persons of much worth and honour, as the Lord Viscount Brounker, Sir Joseph Williamson†, and Sir Jonas Moor, and others, and even by the King also, he thereupon furnished himself with proper instruments for the purpose, which he particularly mentions and describes, that of these he made the most assiduous use he could in a place of so thick and cloudy a sky as he found that of S. Helena, contrary to the common report, that he had restored about 350 fixed stars which were omitted in Catalogo Tythonico, the places whereof, he presumes, he had truly assigned with respect to the places of some of the fixed stars in Tycho's catalogue. That the obliquity of the ecliptic is supposed to be 23°. 30'. which he observes is most certainly too much; yet because he designed not a correction of the whole sphere, and because it was not then known within half a minute how great the obliquity is, and that this his own catalogue may be easily reduced to any obliquity, he thought not fit to meddle with that. After the preface follows the observations themselves, wherein, to his own, he has added an ancient catalogue out of Clairus's

\* Excerpta ex literis illustrium & clarissimorum virorum ad nobilissimum ampliss. & consulti. Dn. Johannem Hevelium Conf. Gedanensem præscriptis, &c. Studio ac opera Johannis Erici Olhoffii, Secretarii, p. 189. Gedani, 1683. 4to.

(18) They were afterwards fitted to the year 1726, and inserted in Flamsteed's Historia Cælestis Britannicæ, Vol. III.

† See note (c) above in the text.

|| There is an account of this book in Phil. Trans. No. 141. for Sept. Oct. and Nov. 1678. 'Tis none of the least instances of our author's active industry that he published this book, procured a mandamus for his degree, went to Oxford and took it, resolved to go to Dantzic, and wrote this letter to Hevelius, and was chosen F. R. S. all within the compass of a month after his landing from St Helena.

† This gentleman had been a considerable benefactor to Queen's-college in Oxford, of which Mr Halley was at this time a member. Ded. of Phil. Trans. Vol. IX. for the year 1674. which year Sir Joseph took his degree of Doctor of Laws, being then Fellow of Queen's college, and lately made Secretary of State. Wood's Fasts, Vol. II. col. 197.



were scarcely out of the press, when he was pitched upon by the Royal-Society [H] to go to Dantzick, for the satisfaction of Mr Hevelius, with regard to the dispute betwixt him and Mr

† This conjecture was occasioned by his discovering, whilst at St Helena, a lucid spot in the Centaur. He prosecuted this subject afterwards in Phil. Trans. No. 346 and 347, having in 1714 discovered a 6th new star in the constellation of Hercules.

§ See remark [BB] and [CC].

(19) Dr David Gregory mentions it to the honour of his uncle Mr James Gregory, that he suspected this inequality to belong to the moon in his Optica Promota. Schol. to prop. 86. See Gregory's Astronomy, book iv. prop. 29.

\* See Nova Luna Theoria inter Horroxii opera posthuma, edit. 1673. in 2 vols 4to. and Princ. Math. lib. iii. p. 35. schol. 2d edit. 1713. 4to. compared with a passage upon this subject in a letter of Sir Isaac, dated Oct. 24, 1694. inserted in remark [EE]. The reader will observe that the moon's orbit is only elliptical in respect to the sun, and not a perfect ellipse, that planet moving round the earth's annual orbit absolutely in a line of the spiral kind, which is always concave toward the sun.

† He was first invited into it by a letter of Oldenburg, dated Lond. 18 Feb. 1663. and having accepted the offer in an answer dated Jan. 4, 1664, he was elected April 30 ensuing, and the diploma was sent to him with a letter from Oldenburg, dated May 11 following. Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, &c. p. 77, 78, 88, 89, 90. ubi supra.

† Annas Climactericus Jo. Hevelii, p. 14. Gedanum, 1685. folio.

Clairus's commentaries in *Sphæram Johannis de Sacro Bosco*, and that of *Bartschius e tabulis Rudolphinis Kepleri*; that by comparing them with these his observations it might evidently appear, how much the ancient globes do almost every where differ from the heavens. From these observations, as he proceeds, he proposeth some conjectures of the corruptibility, or at least the mutability of the fixed stars †. Next to these are tables of the right ascensions of the southern fixed stars and their distances from the pole, for the use of seamen. The *Appendicula* contains, (1.) *Mercurii transitus sub solis disco*, Octob. 28, An. 1677, cum tentamine pro *solis parallaxi*. Upon the subject of the sun's parallax, he remarks in the preface, that were the place of Mercury's node once found, the said parallax might be deduced from this his observation of Mercury §. (2.) *Modi quidam pene geometrici pro parallaxi Lunæ investiganda*. Of these ways there are proposed three, yet the best way of finding the lunar parallax would be, as he notes in his preface, by comparing the meridian altitude of the sun observed at St Helena and in Europe at the same time. (3.) *Quædam Lunaris Theoriæ emendationem spectantia*. Under this article our author shews that the elliptical figure of the moon's orbit, is more curve in her quadratures with the sun than it is in the syzgies. This had never been published by any one before. The History of the Academy of Sciences in France tells us indeed, under the year 1698, that the same thing had been observed in 1668 by Mr Picard. In this tract likewise Mr Halley first of any one, separated from the other inequalities in the moon's motion, that particular one which arises from her increased and diminished periodical time about the earth, by reason of the diminished or decreased distance of the earth from the sun, i. e. That which depends upon the earth's mean anomaly (19). All the annual equations or corrections for finding the moon's motion, were then neglected in the construction of tables except this; and though this was observed by Tycho, Kepler, and Horrox, yet they confounded it with the other. Sir Isaac Newton observes that Horrox was the first who advanced the theory of the moon's motion moving in an ellipse about the earth placed in the lower focus \*, and that our author improved the notion by putting the center of that ellipse in an epicycle, whose center is uniformly revolved about the earth, and from the motion in this epicycle arises that inequality in the progress and regress of the apogee, and in the quantity of the eccentricity. Our author having observed in the preface, that astronomy is most of all defective with regard to the theory of the moon, in order to incite the lovers of the science to supply that defect, remarks, that if ever the irregularities of the moon's motion were truly determined by celestial observations, and a true physical theory, and the places of the fixed stars rightly determined by the observations of Hevelius and Flamsteed, then a most exact method would be given to find the longitude. Agreeably to this remark we shall find him making the theory of that planet, the principal subject of his astronomical studies hereafter, during the whole course of his life.

[H] He was pitched upon by the Royal-Society to visit Mr Hevelius. That gentleman having employed himself in preparing a new catalogue of the fixed stars, observing that it would not be complete without the stars near the south pole, applied to the Royal-Society, of which he was a member †, wishing that some skilful person of their body might be prevailed upon to execute that part of his design ||. This motion being approved, and the observations completed, he wrote to Mr Flamsteed to procure them for him. That letter, as will appear presently, is dated some months before our author's arrival from St Helena, but the catalogue of those stars being printed soon after, a copy of it was sent to the Consul, with the following letter by Mr Halley.

Præclarissimo Amplissimoque Viro  
Johanni Hevelio Conf. Gedanensi  
Astronomorum facile Principi. S. P.

Nudius tertius est, Vir Clarissime, ex quo literas tuas  
13 Augusti datas mecum communicavit amicus meus Dominus Flamsteedius, ex quibus non ingratis Tibi futuras

observationes meas stellarum prope polum antarcticum lucentium intellexi, catalogum meum paucos ante dies editum ad Te mitto, quem, si concessa fuisset commoda aliqua transmittendi opportunitas, citius in manus dedissem vestras, lætatus admodum hac occasione tanti Viri amicitiam mihi conciliari posse. Honores a Te mihi designatos, labores meos quales quales tuorum monumentis adjungendo, gratissime habeo; vereor tamen, ne hæc cæpta mea juvenilia non accurata satis apud Judicem adeo oculatum videantur, nec digna, quæ exquisito illi catalogo, quem de Te expectat orbis literatus, connectantur. Observationibus vero inest sincera fides pro ratione instrumenti, ut & calculo iis superstructo, in quo suppositi plerumque latitudines duarum Tychonicarum cum distantia observatas, namque meridianas altitudines cælum plerumque nubilum nequaquam permittit observatas. In catalogo meo suppono obliquitatem Tychonicam 23°. 31'. 30". & præcessionem æquinoctiorum, sive longitudinem 1 Stellæ & 18'. 41'. quanta fuit in eunte anno 1678, utraque vero a Te paulo aliter statutas non dubito; quocirca calculi laborem repetere non gravarer, si modo correctiora haberem fixarum, quibus usus sum, loca de catalogo Tuo desumpta, ut potius Heveliani quam Tychonici Catalogi supplementum, opus meum inscriberem. Qualia sunt nostra observata, comparatione cum vestris facta in quibusdam stellis ab utroque nostrum observatis, facile constabit, nec magnas inveniri differentias ausim sperdere. Ipse vero de se loquatur Catalogus, quo Tui juris facto utere pro lubitu, ac si dignum recenseas, quem lucubrationibus vestris adjungas, me plurimis officiis vinculis obstrictum tenebis, Animumque Tui & Astronomiæ servidum majori ardore accendes; hoc etenim pacto inter volumina tua nunquam moritura nomen meum oblivionis fato ereptum apud posteros quantumvis seros legetur, nec majus hominibus (me saltem iudice) contingit bonum, quam grata per cuncta secula memoria de bene gestis in usus publicos vel literarum parta. Dominus Flamsteedius, qui jam ad Te scribit, observationes eclipsos Lunaris Octobris 3, a Nobis felicissime habitas transmittere promittit, itaque me ea de re excusatum habeo velim. Brevis, Deo volente, Civitatem vestram visurus iter suscipio, ut Virum apud Eruditos universos celeberrimum, quemque non sine æmulationis quadam specie veneror, oculis meis agnoscam, utque instrumenta Tua modumque observandi expertus intelligam, utque de ulteriori Astronomiæ profectu Te consulam. Juventuti vero nostræ, quæ vix hodie vigesimum secundum annum attingit, venia impetranda est, dum Reverentiam Vestram majoribus curis occupatam ineptiis meis laceffo. Vale, Vir Clarissime, meque omnibus observationibus ac obsequiis vinculis Tibi devinctum ne dedigne- ris redamare

Dabam Oxoniæ,  
Novemb. 11, ft. vet.  
1678.

EDMUNDUM HALLEIUM †.

† Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, p. 182, 183, 184, ubi supra.

It appears by this letter, that Mr Halley had resolved already upon making a visit to Dantzick; accordingly he took ship for that city in May the ensuing year, carrying with him from the Royal Society, the following letter to Hevelius.

Vir Clarissime,

Cum Vir admodum ingeniosus et eruditus Dominus Edmundus Halleus e societate nostra, insigni prorsus erga studium Astronomicum amore jam pridem incaluerit, eoque accensus longinquam navigationem in insulam Sanctæ Helenæ suscepit, ut stellarum Australium, quæ ob suam polo antarctico vicinitatem, hæcenus Astronomis nostris inobservatæ fuerunt, catalogum adornaret, Tychonico cœli Mantisso loco adjiciendum; (quod accurata observationum administratione egregie præstitit, earumque longitudes et latitudes in tabulis digessit) jam secundam peregrinationem Astronomiæ duntaxat causa instituat, utque Te Patrem & Principem Astronomorum hujus sæculi videre propius, et super his rebus consulere possit, Dantiscom excurrere cogitet; Voluit ideo Societas nostra Virum tam eximie de Re Astronomica meritum, suis ad Te literis cohonestare; Et si satis perspectum habeat, quam Tu propenso affectu in Eos sis, qui divinam hanc scientiam colunt atque amant intimius: præcipue in Talem Virum, qui quantus in his studiis futurus sit, jam edito in publicum specimine satis



Mr Hook, about the preference of plain or glass sights in astroscopical instruments. Mr Halley set out for that city on the 14th of May (r), 1679, and arriving there the 26th, immediately waited on the Consul, and after some conference, agreed to enter upon the business of his visit that same night [I]; on which, and every night afterwards (the sky permitting) the two Astronomers made their observations together 'till the 18th of July, when our author taking leave, gave his opinion of the surprizing accuracy of the Consul's observations, in a letter addressed to himself [K]. Returning home to his father, he

(r) MS. Memoirs.

'satis ostendit Scribendam Societatis jussu ac nomine.  
'Londini, Aprilis 3, ft. vet. Anno 1679.

'Tuæ Claritatis

'Cultor assiduus

'Gulielmus Croun, M. D.

'Societ. Reg. Soc. (21).'

(21) Ibid. p. 185. Dr Croun's letter was read the same day it was dated before the R. Society, and a copy of it is preserved in their letter-book, Vol. VIII. p. 73.

Let us now hear from the Consul's own mouth, how acceptable our author's coming was to him. After mentioning the day of his arrival, he proceeds in these terms. '*Cujus adventus mirifice mihi extitit gratus, non solum eam ob causam quod a præclarissimo Gulielmo Croun, M. D. Societ. Regiæ Socio, nomine totius Ill. Societatis perquam mihi esset commendatus, tanquam Vir de Re Astronomica eximie meritis, sed quod nunc tandem id obtinuissem, quod jampridem exoptassem, nempe talem invisisse rerum Astronomicarum bene gnarum, & probe exercitatum in observationibus, instrumento pinnacidiis telescopicis instructo expediendis, qui etiam secum ejus generis sextantem apportasset.*' He concludes the paragraph with testifying his satisfaction in having an eye-witness of the accuracy of his own observations made with plain sights\*. Mr Halley had likewise particularly recommended himself both in the preface to his catalogue of the southern stars, where he had mentioned the Consul's observations with respect, and in the letter which accompanied it, wherein he expresses his desire to make this visit in the view of his own improvement, as it would give him an opportunity of inspecting both into the manner of observing made use of by the first astronomer in Europe, and likewise into the curious contrivance of his instruments. Concluding with an insinuation, how honourable the employ would be to himself a youth, scarcely two and twenty years of age, while Mr Hevelius, as appears from his *Annus Climæricus* (22), was an observer of 49 years practice. How Mr Halley acquitted himself in this visit, will be seen in the remark [K]

\* Jo. Hevelii *Annus Climæricus*, ubi supra.

(22) In pref. p. 4. This was one reason of giving his book that title, 49 being, as he observes, a climærical number. Besides he reckons some other remarkable events which happened to him that year, as (1.) The finishing of the second part of his *Machina Cælestis*. (2.) The sending of Mr Halley by the R. Society. (3.) The loss of all his instruments, which, together with his observatory, were totally destroyed by a fire on the 26th of Sept. this same year, occasioned by the negligence or malice of a servant.

† The distance between these two stars had been long before particularly proposed by him, to try the accuracy of his observations and instruments. See his letter to Mr Oldenburg, dated June 13, 1660, printed in *Ann. Climæricus*, p. 41, 42.

[I] Entered upon the business that same night ] It is worth seeing how Mr Hevelius himself represents the matter. '*Itaque quamprimum hic appulisset (Halleyus) omni remota mora, me dic scilicet 26 Maii visitatum venit.—Ex primo autem colloquio inter nos inito satis superque perspiciebam ardorem illius ad res nostras cælestes, summumque Ejus desiderium Uraniam meam invisendi, organaque nostra contemplandi, manibusque suis tractandi; Idcirco protinus eo ipso die vespere, cælo etiam annuente, ad speculam meam illum deduxi. Simul ac advenisset, petiit ut baud gravarer sextante meo orichalcico distantiam, et quidem Reguli et Spicæ observare, quippe inquit se dubitare, me posse in minutis integris eandem ipsam quam forte olim dimensus fuerim, in sua præsentia determinare. Exoptassem quidem, fateor, Hospitem meum gratissimum Autumni vel Brumali tempore advenisse, quo noctes obscuriores ac plerumque desæciationes sunt, nec non Stellæ clarius multo in oculos incurrunt, quam hoc tempore æstivo, Sole jam in sexto gradu Geminorum existente, atque ad solstitium vergente, brevissimis illis noctibus, longissimo et intensissimo crepusculo; accedebat, quod Luna splendente eaque fere plena observationes suscipere deberem; adeo ut respectu mei vix commodum videretur observationum examina nudis oculis, pinnacidiisque instituire; verum dixisses Clarissimum Halleyum studio sine dubio hoc tempore advenisse, quo possit instrumenta mea eo rigidius accuratiusque examinare, viresque nostras explorare, atque sic postea rebus bene succedentibus concludere, si nobis liceret tempore æstivo lacidissimis noctibus tum Luna affulgente et plena aliqua dignum præstare, utique credendum, etiam obscurissimis serenissimisque noctibus, Luna silente nos perficere quicquam posse.*' He then proceeds to relate that the distance between these two stars Regulus and Spica †, was taken by three several observations by them both, and afterwards compared, at Mr Halley's request, with the

same distance as set down in the *Machina Cælestis*, Lib. IV. p. 171. from observations made by Mr Hevelius in 1653, 1661, 1665, and 1671. He concludes with testifying that the same distance was again observed on the 1st and 7th of June, for Mr Halley's further satisfaction, who was present when he made those last observations (23). The Consul also wrote a letter on Midsummer-day following, to Dr Grew, then Secretary to the R. S. wherein he expresses the greatest satisfaction in Mr Halley's presence (24).

(23) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

(24) Ibid. p. 99.

[K] He wrote a letter to Mr Hevelius.] This is the letter.

*Amplissimo spectatissimoque viro Johanni Hevelio, Consuli Gedanensi, Astronomo summo, S. P.*

'Neperrime intellexi ex Dn Olavio \*Dominat. vestram a me expectare, ut animi mei sensum de observationibus ac instrumentis vestris scripto exponerem, quod quidem lubentissime faciam, cum jam satis abunde mihi constet de eorum usu & certitudine. Fateor equidem me semper dubitasse, ex quo primum cepi scientiam Astronomicam excolere, ne forte collatio per nuda vestra pinnacidia facta, incerta sit aliquot minutis, atque non semel miratus sum, quæ ratio dissuaderet ab usu telescopiorum ad istud negotium; interea tamen non ausus eram quidquam fidei vestra in dubium vocare, atque mecum semper conservavi venerationem Astronomiæ vestrae integram. ut cuius patet ex præfatiuncula catalogi mei. Dum vero his dubiis perturbatus sim, venit ad nos fama, jam editum fuisse librum, observationes omnes vestras uno volumine complectentem, atque quidem tales quæ novum fixarum catalogum multo auctiorem & correctiorem concederent †. Ego lætatus admodum adeo magnifice auctam Urania supellestilem, partim gratulabundus, partim etiam suspitionibus meis subventurus huc me recepi. Quod vero tanto affectu, tanta benevolentia a dominatione vestra receptus sim; tanto candore & sinceritate totus apparatus Astronomicus mihi demonstratus sit, atque quod toties mihi concessum sit vestris adesse observationibus, non inter minimas felicitates pono, sed etiam abunde mihi gratulor de suscepto meo itinere. Taceo inventa ingeniosissima ista, quibus ingentia vestra organa nullo fere negotio quasi minimo digito dirigi possunt; quæ omnia in perpetuum Astronomorum commodum accuratissime, prout res fert, in priore parte machinæ vestrae cælestis describuntur\*. Me vero ultro testem offero, certitudinis vix credendæ instrumentorum, contra omnes qui in posterum \* observations vestras in dubium vocare possint, quippe qui hisce oculis vidi, non unam vel alteram, sed etiam plures observationes stellarum fixarum sextante magno orichalcico, a diversis etiam observatoribus, quandoque etiam a me ipso licet parum exercitato, peractas, ac amota regula repetitas, accuratissime atque fere incredibiliter inter te convenire, ac nunquam nisi temnenda minuti parte inter se discrepare; quod an majori gaudio an admiratione exceperim nescio. Namque ex intimo isto affectu, quo scientiam sideralem colo, nil gratius mihi obtingere potuit, quam quod certo constaret, tanto ac tam accurato penu locupletatam esse Astronomiam, nec quidquam magis mirum, quam quod adeo accuratus sit. Hinc possunt examinari tabulae jam constructæ, atque etiam novæ procudi, quas forsitan non adeo facile eludet cælum, dummodo sibi constans sit, (de quo dubitare cogit motus Saturni nondum numerorum legibus adstrictus) (25), neque ipse gravabor, volente DEO, operam dare isti negotio. Interea vero, Vir Honorande, favore vestro cobonestare atque animos addere ne desinas; nec pereat affectus vester benevolus erga me immerito conceptus. Dum ege precibus fufus DEUM Opt. Max suppliciter, rogo ne unquam deficiant animi corporisve vires, utque possis diu orbi literato prodesse, nec nisi serus ad cælum redeas. Sic votet nominis vestri cultor assiduus Edmundus Halleyus.' Dabam Gedanii Julii 12, 1679 (26). Our author perceiving it impossible to persuade an old practitioner into the use of any method except his own, very politely

\* The same who published Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, &c. and was Secretary to the Consul.

† Al. redderent. Excerpta ex literis, &c.

\* Al. impossibile, ibid.

(25) See note (k) above in text.

(26) *Annus Climæricus*, p. 101, 102. & Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium, &c. p. 137, 138.



he continued there 'till the latter end of the ensuing year 1680; when he set out upon what is usually called the Grand Tour. He was accompanied by the celebrated Mr Robert Nelson (s), so eminently distinguished for his piety. That gentleman had been his school-fellow (t), and always retained a just esteem of his merit. They crossed the water in December to Calais; and in the mid-way, from thence to Paris, Mr Halley had first of any one a sight of the remarkable comet, as it now appeared a second time that year, and thence gave as it were a new æra to the astronomical world. It was at this time in it's ascent or return from the sun, he had the November before seen it in it's descent, and he now hastened to compleat the gratification of his curiosity, in viewing this extraordinary, and at that time unaccountable (u), phænomenon, from the Royal Observatory of France [L]. That building had been finished not a great many years before (w), and our author's design in this part of his tour was to settle a friendly correspondence between the two royal Astronomers of Greenwich and Paris; and at the same to neglect no means, if any offered, of improving himself as he had done before with Mr Hevelius, so now with

(u) Sir Isaac Newton for some time concluded it to be a different comet from that which appeared in November, there being then no apprehension, that these, like other planets, revolved round the sun.

(w) M. Cassini first began to observe there in September 1677. Du Hamel's *Regime Scientiarum Academiae Hydrovia*, Paris. 1701. 2d edit. fol.

at parting made him as obliging a compliment as the nature of the case would in the most favourable sense admit. I offer myself, says he, [in the above words, marked \*] voluntarily a witness of the scarcely credible certainty of your instruments, against any one who shall hereafter call the truth of your observations into question; since I have seen with my own eyes not one or two, but several observations of the fixed stars made with your large brass sextant by different observers, and some of them by myself, which even when repeated did most accurately and almost incredibly agree, and never differed but in the trifling part of a minute. This letter (among others), together with the observations, was printed by M. Hevelius in 1685, and the book presented to the Royal Society. Wherein Mr Halley finding his compliments censured by some as too high strained, and observing the true state of the observations unfairly represented, and the two foot sextant which he took to Dantzic spoken of as a large instrument by M. Hevelius, thought it necessary to set the matter right, and at the same time not to be wanting in any part of the respect due to that Astronomer's acknowledged merit. A very candid account of the

*Annus Climactericus* (27) was given to the Royal Society by Dr Wallis, which having displeased Mr Flamsteed, the doctor in his own defence sent him a letter, where among other things he writes thus. 'As to Mr Halley, if you think (as you seem to intimate) that he hath been too lavish in his commendations, you must needs think Mr Hook hath been so in his reprehensions. Nor are the instruments and observations so contemptible even in your judgment, as he seems to represent them.—If Mr Halley think it convenient, as perhaps he may, to say any thing in defence or excuse of his own instruments and observations, he may do it without disparaging those of Hevelius, which he has already so much commended, and I think he may best do it by way of answer to Mr Molyneux's letter. And for that reason I think it must be advisable not to print that letter (though they of Ireland desire it) 'till that of Mr Halley be ready to print with it. He may there say, without offence, what rectification for parallaxism is to be allowed; what observations were taken in his absence, which therefore as he cannot attest so neither can he contradict, and I presume they are none of those at which Hevelius says he was present; and what quadrant, if any be, (for I do not perceive which you mean) is misnamed a sextant, with what else of like nature he thinks fit. And then I do not see, but that each may succeed in what way himself thinks best without offence to one another. For my own part, I am so little versed in observing either way, that I do not pretend to judge of the point in question, whether plain or telescopic sights be every way the best. But this I think is undeniably evinced, that Hevelius with his instruments can distinguish by plain sights, notwithstanding what hath been said to the contrary, to a small part of a minute.' This letter is dated Feb. 12, 1685, and upon the 20th another was written to Mr Flamsteed upon the same subject by Mr William Molyneux from Dublin, who also takes notice of that of our author, mentioned by Dr Wallis, as follows. 'I perceive the controversy between Hevelius and our English Astronomers, will never be ended whilst the old man lives, and indeed, if it be as you say, I think Hevelius much to blame, that he did not in the relation of the contest between Mr Halley's

and his instrument, fairly declare the matter of fact. For, as you rightly observe, he calls Mr Halley's quadrant a sextant, and speaks of it, though but two foot radius, as of a very large instrument ||, and this gave occasion to my error of thinking that instrument the same Mr Halley used at St Helena. — I understand Mr Halley is printing a letter against Hevelius's *Annus Climactericus*, but surely he cannot for shame contradict that large encomium he gives of Hevelius's instruments in his epistle in that book, neither can he possibly evade it, by giving that letter a different construction; for it is very literal, and plainly to be understood. So how he will come off I know not. As soon as Mr Halley's letter comes out, if it be portable in a letter, I wish you would wrap it up, and send it to me. But above all Hevelius is to blame, that he mentions not the allowance of any thing for correction in Mr Halley's instrument. Indeed I admire at his dissingenuity in this particular. But yet I say, let it be how it will, if Hevelius takes distances and altitudes to five seconds, it is as much as can be expected from man, and if I am not forgetful, when I was with you at the Observatory, you shewed me that Hevelius and you differed only in *contemnenda minuti parte* (28).'

We shall close this remark, with an extract of a letter from Dr John Fell, [in the *Excerpta* †, by mistake called *Jell*] Dean of Christ-Church and Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, to Hevelius, on receiving his *Cometographia*, presented to the University. After many other high compliments as usual on such occasions, the Dean concludes with a most extraordinary eulog upon his plain-sighted instruments, in the following words: 'A bonis illis viris, apud quos telescopio seu perspicillis uti, cæcutientis plane animi certissimum est indicium; quibus obstinatio pro fide, inveteratus error pro constantia habetur, & omnis in scientia profectus hæresis quædam audit, frustra expectaveris, ut studia hæc tua ullatenus placeant: veritatis interim & literarum cultoribus alia longe futura est sententia, cui ultro accedere, atque publico juxta et privato nomine calculum suum apponere, compendio gessit

|| The passage of the *Annus Climactericus*, here referred to is in p. 30, 31. where Mr Halley's sextant is called only a much larger instrument than a quadrant of a foot radius, then made use of by Hevelius in taking the meridian altitude of some fixed stars.

(28) See these two letters intire in the articles of Wallis and Molyneux in the General Dictionary.

† *Excerpta ex literis ad Hevelium*, &c. ubi supra, p. 123, 124. where p. 152 is a letter of De Chales, author of the *Cursus Mathematicus*, dated Paris, 14 Nov. 1675. ingenuously informing the Consul on the other hand, that his admirer Bullialdus was there called a heretic in Astronomy for his warm adherence to plain-sights.

'Vir Illustrissime  
Oxonii, 12 Nov. Anno 1668. Dignitatis meritique Vestri  
Æstimator Addictissimus,  
'J. F.'

[L] In viewing that phænomenon from the Royal Observatory of France.] One part of our author's view in visiting Mr Cassini, was to inform himself more particularly in that astronomer's observations upon this comet at it's appearance in November before. For this purpose he carried with him, both his own upon it, and those made then by Mr Flamsteed, who likewise afterwards sent him others made during his stay at Paris †. He found the astronomical apparatus here much inferior to that of Greenwich. The radius of the instrument for taking distances, being not half so large, and yet more difficult to manage. However our author assisted Signor Cassini in making several observations upon that comet, which were of great service to Sir Isaac Newton (29) in settling the path of it, and thereby laying the foundation of a new astronomy with regard to those celestial bodies.

† MS. Memoirs,

(29) See his article.



so great a master as Signor Cassini. From Paris our author went with his fellow-traveller by the way of Lyons to Italy, where he spent a great part of the year 1681\*. But his affairs then calling him home, he left Mr Nelson at Rome, and returning by land, he made some stay a second time at Paris, being received with the greatest respect by the most eminent personages there. He had not been long in England, when he changed his condition, and in 1682 married Mary daughter of Mr Tooke, Auditor of the Exchequer, a young lady equally amiable for the gracefulness of her person and the beauties of her mind, in whose society he lived happy for fifty-five years. Upon his marriage, he took a house at Islington near London, where he immediately set up his tube and sextant, the attendance on these being his darling employment (x). The following year, 1683, our author published his Theory of the variation of the magnetical compass [M], wherein he supposes that the whole globe of the earth is one great magnet, having four magnetical poles or points of attraction †, near each pole of the equator two, and that in those parts of the world which lie near adjacent to any of these magnetical poles, the needle is governed thereby, the nearest pole being always predominant over the most remote (y). By reason of the well known difficulty of the subject, this hypothesis in it's first dress was well received both at home and abroad: however, upon a review, being found by himself liable to some unanswerable objections, he offered several years after an amendment of his theory, not without venturing to advance a new and bold conjecture concerning the fabrick of the internal

(x) MS. Memoirs.

† The force of the earth upon the magnet is not properly attractive but directive.

(y) Phil. Transf. No. 148.

\* There is an account by him of some very considerable observations made at Ballafore in India, serving to find the longitude of that place, &c. in Hook's Philosophical Collections, No. 5. p. 124. anno 1681.

(30) In the articles GUNTER and GELLIBRAND.

(31) These directions extended also to the inclinations of the inclinatory or dipping needle, of which see more in the article WHISTON [WILLIAM].

(32) That is a change in the meridians, and consequently in the obliquity of the Ecliptic. See the next remark.

[M] *The theory of the magnetical compass.* The indispensable necessity there is for every seaman to be thoroughly acquainted with this excellent theory, having made it vulgarly known, the inserting it here might well be thought tedious, and the history of the variation from it's first discovery hath been already touched upon (30). We shall therefore employ the present remark, agreeably to one principal design of this work, in exhibiting a view of our author's situation, with respect to the enquiry in general, and intimate what were the particular motives which first turned his industry this way. To come at this, when Mr Halley's profound veneration for the Royal Society is considered, there needs no other clue, than the several papers of that society which were published from time to time, to excite and encourage the undertaking. Thus in 1666, presently after the resolution was taken to print their most useful papers under the title of Philosophical Transactions, there appeared No. 24, wherein the first piece contained directions to all masters of ships, pilots, and others, to be diligent in observing the variation of the needle, shewing them several ways of doing it accurately both by sea and land, from the instructions of Sir Rob. Moray and Mr Hook, wherein also the great usefulness of making exact observations of this kind is taken notice of (31). Two years afterwards, in 1668, No. 40 presented the variations of the magnetick needle, predicted for 50 years at London, by Mr Henry Bond, an eminent teacher of the mathematicks in London, with a table shewing the particular variation for each year, and so to be continued to the world's end, deduced from former observations of his own and others. In 1670, No. 58, there was inserted a paper intitled, An Observation of Mr Adrian Azout, a French Philosopher, made in Rome (where he now is) about the beginning of the year 1670, concerning the declination of the magnet: out of an Italian printed paper, extracted by the publisher of the Transactions. This extract, whereby it appears that Mr Azout had not been able to ascertain the variation exactly, for want of proper meridians, concludes in these terms. 'It were well to observe, whether the declination which hath been almost through all Europe eastward, be now every where westward, as also in America, where the declination was almost every where westward, be increased in proportion, and so of other parts of the world. Noting withall the year, (which is not at all minded by some who relate the observations without assigning the year) in regard it will be very useful to know the present declination, that it might be put into journals for navigation, and for the use of magnetic quadrants.' In pursuance of this, orders were hereupon given by the R. S. that precise meridians be made in several places of England, for observing the present declination of the needle from time to time here in London, and in other parts of the kingdom; and that those meridians that were made very exactly some time ago, be examined by a careful describing of new ones, to see whether they still hold true in regard of the suspected alteration in nature (32). As to the manner of observing the variation, the curious are here referred to No. 24, already mentioned. Lastly, to name no more, in 1683, No. 143, came out, *Epistola Invi-*

*toria ad observationes magneticæ variationis communis studio junctisque laboribus instituendas.* Dat. Altorfi Noricorum pridie Festi Paschalis 1682 Dr Sturmius, Math. Prof. at Altorf, the author of this epistle, having mentioned the several steps by which the doctrine of the magnet had been advanced to it's then present state, from the first discovery of it's verticity to the poles, by our countryman Roger Bacon, to that of the variation of the declination taken notice of within a few years before by Hevelius, Auzout, Petit, Volkanner, and others, concludes from these last, that the variations are regularly made. Whereupon he here invites the ingenious in all countries to give their joint assistance to bring the point to a certainty, from whence, says he, we may reasonably expect among other particulars, great improvements in these two, navigation and geometry.' By these means it came to pass that many magnetical experiments were made, and the variations diligently observed by the navigators: and it was by the help of these, together with several of his own made in his voyage to and from St Helena, that our author formed his theory. We have already mentioned Mr Bond's attempt of the like kind in 1668; and after him Mr Hook also in 1673, proposed to the Royal Society, another not much different, that the magnet hath it's peculiar poles distant 10 degrees from the poles of the earth, about which they move, so as to make a revolution in 370 years, whence, says he, the variation hath altered of late 10 or 11 minutes every year, and will probably continue to do so for some time, till it begins to grow slower and slower, and will at length be stationary, and retrograde, and in all probability may return (33). But it is observable, that both these attempts laboured under the same defect, the want of observations sufficient to ground a reasonable hypothesis upon; and it is perhaps none of the least commendations of Mr Halley's judgment, that prompt and eager as he was by nature to advance forward, we here find him waiting however till such a number of facts could be obtained, as might provide a sure foundation for the support of a probable theory; and that the facts might be better ascertained, he made an improvement in the azimuth compass, to take the needle's declination more accurately than before (34). The success was answerable; and the theory as it stands in it's last improvement, received so perfect a completion from the Spanish journals mentioned in the text, that one cannot help wishing our author's life had been extended a few years longer, that so he, who always made a disinterested honest fame the grand motive of his industry, and who particularly consulted the honour of his own country in every undertaking, might have seen those journals, and what Admiral Anson says upon that occasion, that 'he esteems the observations therein, none of the least advantages of his voyage, that they were, though in vain often publickly called for by Dr Halley, and to his immortal reputation, confirm as far as they extend his wonderful hypothesis, very nearly corresponding in their quantities of the variation to the predictions he published above fifty years since; long before he was acquainted with any one observation made in those seas\*.'

(33) Life of Dr Hook by R. Walter, p. 19.

(34) MS. Memoirs, ubi supra.

\* Anson's Voyage by Walter, in the introduction.

[N] He



internal parts of the earth; the probability of which, though little respected for a great number of years, seems to be favoured by some late observations made on another occasion both by the French and English in different parts of the world [N]. Whatever may prove

[N] He ventured to advance a bold hypothesis, &c. which has been favoured by several late observations.]

His opinion is, that within the outward surface of the earth, as a shell, there is contained a nucleus or inner globe, with a fluid medium between, which, having the same common center and axis of diurnal rotation, turns about with our earth each 24 hours; only this outer sphere, having it's turbinating motion a small matter either swifter or slower than the internal ball, and a very minute difference in length of time by many repetitions becoming sensible, the internal parts will by degrees recede from the external, and not keeping pace with one another, will appear gradually to move either eastwards or westwards, by the difference of their motions. Supposing therefore the external shell and internal nucleus to be both magnets, having their poles at different distances from the poles of diurnal rotation, he gives a reasonable account of the four magnetical poles, which he presumes are demonstrated by the phenomena, as he does likewise of the needle's variations; to do which, so as to satisfy the whole state of the fact comprehending the latest observations, had been till then unattempted. This hypothesis, like some others flamed by him, has been generally thought too whimsical to merit any serious attention. But before passing sentence, let us look at those of his predecessors on the same mysterious work of nature, and then perhaps we may be a little reconciled to it. The conjectures of Kircher, Gilbert, Des Cartes, are taken notice of by our author, and severally shewn in this paper, to be inconsistent with the fact of the change in the variation. After those, Mr Gellibrand referred to in the preceding remark note (30), having in 1635, proposed an ingenious explication of Dr Gilbert's hypothesis †, supposing the variation to be constant, stops there, as in the generally received opinion, without venturing any further. Nay, in contemplating the change of the variation (then indeed scarcely well ascertained) he stands perfectly wonder struck, as at some præternatural event hardly possible to happen according to the ordinary course of nature's workings, and in that situation of mind, he refers to a report of Galileo, concerning a change in the position of the earth's axis, said then to be lately discovered by a gentleman of the Marflian family in Italy. This though only a hearsay story, delivered in general terms, without any circumstances, is thought worth notice, as promising to throw some light into a subject, which mocked the efforts of the best philosophical wits at that time; all whose conjectures about the cause of this wonderful phenomenon being, as Mr Gellibrand insinuates, nothing better than so many fanciful conceits; such for instance as that, which he gives for a sample of the rest, of ascribing it (as he hints) according to the philosophy then in vogue, to a sympathy between the poles of the magnet and those of some of the planets, whereby the motion of the former holds a correspondence with the latter. The change in the position of the earth's axis mentioned by Galileo, had been advanced before by *Dominicus Maria*, of Ferrara, master to Copernicus, who collecting it by comparing the latitude of some places in Ptolemy's geography, with his own observations, seems therein to have found the cause of the needle's variation, but it is rejected by Dr Gilbert (35), on account of the uncorrectness of Ptolemy, who, as he remarks, took frequently his latitudes from Hipparchus, without observing himself. Yet this change called a libration in the earth's axis, was also assigned for the like change in the variation of the needle, by Hevelius in 1642 †. The truth is, the question concerning the former change, though bandied in discourse, was never till of late properly searched into. Dr Halley, whose eyes were every where, communicated some papers upon the subject to the Royal Society †, and recommended a method of determining it effectually, by procuring some good observations of the altitude of the pole at Aracca in Syria, that altitude having been taken, as he found, very accurately by Albatagni above 800 years before \*. In 1670, the change in the variation of the needle being found to amount to 10° or more, Mr Azout, already mentioned, observes, that such a difference cannot be attributed to the change of the pole of the earth, as some, says he, esteemed perhaps before they knew it was

so great; wherefore rejecting this as well as other causes that had been started as altogether insufficient, he declares it to be very difficult to hit upon the true cause, but is inclined to believe, that it may depend upon the flux of a certain matter passing through the earth and the exterior part streight along the axis. In support of this opinion he alledges, that the change in the variation may be said to proceed from the changes made in the fluid flux, which, supposing the inequalities in the earth, and the alterations both artificial and natural † continually made therein, cannot but in progress of time change it's situation; he proceeds to illustrate this by an example taken from rivers, which although they be running streight, cannot remain long without winding and changing their course, if it happen that the ground over which that streight course tends, be unequal or of a different nature; so it is probable, that the changes in the earth may in time occasion some bending in the current of the magnetic matter, and make it change it's bed and channel: whence it comes to pass, that the needle changes it's direction, according as the current changes which directs it: and if you well consider the variety of motions and directions seen in rivers with their cause, possibly a reason may be rendered of the many differences observed in the declination of the needle, e. g. why in some parts the needle varies much in a little time, why in others it is always turning without any station, as some say they have observed it; why the greater alterations are met with in going in and out of islands, and many other things, which for brevity sake, continues he, we pass by, as we also omit to deduce from it divers particulars relating to navigation; he then proceeds to observe, that if what is thus suggested should prove the true cause of the declination, then there would be no hopes of finding a regular hypothesis, since it would depend upon causes that have no regularity at all in them, as most of the motions in nature are. Mr Azout concludes these conjectures with the following remark: That if there be a proportion between the force of the said current and the earth, that may be able by changing it's bed to remove this from it's proper site, which would produce an alteration in the height of the pole as some think they have observed, if that may not be ascribed to a defect in the observations, of which we may be rendered certain, when more exact ones shall have been made: and so, whereas others would impute the various declinations of the magnet to the change of the pole; on the contrary, the change of the pole should be imputed to the declination of the magnet \*. In 1673, Mr Bond undertook to shew the cause of the variation of the magnetical needle or compass, by the motion of two magnetical poles, as also how these poles are found, and what their distance is from the poles of the earth, what their annual motion is, and whence it proceeds. This famous teacher of navigation gave out also that he was able to find the longitude of any place in the world, by the help of a table which he had calculated to every five minutes, of the inclination of the inclinatory or dipping needle; both these proposals were published at once in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 95, in the view of procuring a proper recompence for the discovery of them. But not meeting with encouragement then, we find a paper of the like import in No. 130. of the same Transactions, for the year 1676, where Mr Bond declares that his discovery was the result of no less than thirty-eight years study. However, the true reason of his disappointment, no doubt, was a defect in that most essential point, the true state of the fact, that is, a sufficient number of observations accurately taken. This Mr Halley could not but see, and therefore we find he did not advance his hypothesis till the true state of the fact was a good deal better ascertained, but still it was very far from being fully known. He observes that the exact determination of several particulars in the magnetic system, was reserved for remote posterity: all, continues he, that we can hope to do, is, to leave behind us observations that may be confided in, and to propose an hypothesis, which after-ages may examine, amend, or refute. In the mean time he offers several arguments in favour of it. One of these is drawn from a proposition of Sir Isaac Newton, concerning the force of the moon in producing the tides, where the moon is shewn

† The first by excavations and such like works, the other by corrosions of earth and water, &c. and by the generation of metals and stones, besides various other changes we cannot think of, by reason of the little knowledge we have of the internal parts of the earth.

\* Phil. Trans. No. 58.

† His proposal is to apply a needle to a terrella, first entire, and then excupled in some places like the face of the earth. See his Discourse mathematical of the Variation, &c. Lond. 1635. 4to. p. 7. Something of the same kind was offered for a solution of the change in the Variation by Mr De la Hire, but being tried with a terrella of the R. S. did not succeed. Phil. Trans. No. 188. for the year 1637. It has been found since, that no good magnet has more than two poles. Phil. Trans. No. 450.

(15) De Magnetice, lib. 6. cap. 2. Lond. 1600. fol.

† See Phil. Trans. No. 64.

† See particularly No. 190. for November 1687, where he observes that this was an old enquiry then lately revived by Dr Hook, in his essays upon the great mutations and catastrophes which in all appearance have happened to the surface of the earth.

\* Ibid. No. 118.



prove at last to be the fate of a theory which presumes to dive into the dark womb of our common parent, yet the phenomena of the variation of the needle upon which it is raised, being so many certain and undisputed facts, our author spared no pains to possess himself of all the observations relating to it; he could possibly come at. To this end he procured an application to be made to King William the Third (z), who appointed him Commander of the *Paramour Pink*, August 19, 1698, with express orders to seek by observations the discovery of the rule of the variation (aa). He set out on this attempt the 24th of November following, and proceeded so far as to cross the Line; but his men growing sickly and untractable, and his first Lieutenant mutinying, he returned home in the end of June 1699; and having got his Lieutenant tried and cashiered, he took his departure a second time in September following, having the same ship accompanied now with another of lesser bulk, of which he also had the command. Thus equipped, he traversed the vast Atlantic Ocean from one hemisphere to the other, as far as the ice would permit him to go; and in his way back touched at St Helena, the coast of Brazil, cape Verd, Barbadoes, Madeiras, the Canaries, the coast of Barbary, and many other latitudes, arriving in England September 1700 [O]. Having thus furnished himself with a competent number of observations, he published a *General Chart (bb)*, shewing at one view the Variation of the Compass in all those seas where the English Navigators were acquainted. Hereby he first of any one laid a sure foundation for the discovery of the law or rule whereby the said variation changes all over the world. The phenomena so far all answered perfectly to his theory. They were verified afterwards by the concurrent observations reported by the French pilots (cc); and as the same law has been since confirmed by a series of others for the space of more than 150 years, found in the Spanish Journals, taken by (the then Commodore now) Lord Anson (dd), in his passage through the ocean which divides Asia and America, and which was, as Captain Halley observes, the great desideratum 'till then wanting to compleat the truth of the theory, this invention must be esteemed one of the most useful benefactions that mankind ever received from a fellow-creature. Having thrown what related to the subject of the magnetical variation into one view, we shall now return to the series of our author's life, in which for a long course of time there scarce passed a year, wherein he did not either devise some useful invention, or make some new discovery and improvement in one or other of the arts and sciences. The method of finding the longitude

(z) See note (z).

(aa) The rest of his commission runs thus; to call at his Majesty's settlements in America, and make such further observations as are necessary for the better laying down the longitude and latitude of those places, and to attempt the discovery of what land lies to the south of the western ocean.

(bb) It was published in 1701, and fitted for the preceding year, which closed the XVIIth century.

(cc) Phil. Trans. No. 341.

(dd) See the Chart in his Voyage by Walter, Lond. 1748. 4to.

shewn to be denser than the earth in the proportion of 9 to 5. If so, says Mr Halley, why may we not reasonably suppose the moon, being a small body and a secondary planet, to be solid earth, water, stone, and this globe to consist of the same materials, only four-ninths thereof to be cavity within and between the internal spheres, which I would render not improbable. But in this argument our author very appositely overlooked another proposition in the same book, where Sir Isaac, in determining the figure of the earth, founds his calculus upon the supposition of an uniform density, which was never called into question by those who dispute the figure he assigned to the earth (36). However this last dispute has occasioned several experiments to be made, as well by the vibrations of pendulums, as by measuring a degree of the earth in different parts of its surface. And by these experiments, the earth is found indeed to be an oblate spheroid, as Sir Isaac had concluded from his theory; but at the same time they give reason to think, that the variation of the density of its internal parts is considerable; and to enable us to form some judgment of this, Mr Maclaurin has enquired mathematically, what proportion of the semidiameter of the equator and of the semi axis, as also of the gravitation at the pole to the gravitation at the equator would arise, not only when the density is supposed to increase or decrease gradually towards the center, but even when the earth is supposed to be hollow with a nucleus included, according to the ingenious hypothesis (so he styles it) advanced by Dr Halley. By this enquiry he found that the hypothesis of a greater density towards the center, may account for a greater increase of gravitation from the equator to the poles, than that of an uniform density, but not for a greater increase of the degrees of the meridian; and the hypothesis of a less density towards the center, may account for a greater increase of the degrees of the meridian, but not for a greater increase of the gravitation; supposing always (according to Sir Isaac Newton) the columns of the earth to extend from the poles, and the equator to the center, and there to sustain each other. This was likewise the result of his computations, when he supposed the density to increase or decrease continually from the surface of a spheroid to the center, so as to be uniform in the different parts of any one similar and concentric elliptical superficies, and in several other cases. And here, continues he, there seems to be some foundation for proposing it as a query, whether the in-

ternal constitution of the parts of the earth abovementioned, that was proposed by Dr Halley, for resolving some of the phenomena of the magnetic needle, will not be found to account in a probable manner for the increase of gravitation, and at the same time of the degrees of the meridian from the equator to the poles, as it has been determined by the best observations hitherto (37). We must not conclude this remark without taking notice, that Kepler in his physical astronomy accounting for the elliptical orbits of the planets, supposes each of them to consist of an exterior crust, whose axis keeps a given position, namely that about which the planet is turned in its diurnal motion, and a globe within, separate and divided from this crust, and no ways yielding to its diurnal motion, whose axis and right lines parallel thereto, may sustain the places of the libratory fibres, according to the direction of which to the sun, its attractive power acts upon the planet with greater or lesser force, and therefore while these libratory fibres keep the position necessary for that effect (by means of which the planets move not in circular, but in elliptical orbits) the exterior crust revolves by a diurnal motion peculiar to itself (38). That our author was no stranger to this hypothesis, of the cause of the elliptical orbits of the planets, will scarcely be questioned, and we leave it to others to judge, whether he might not probably enough thence take the first hint of his own, concerning the variation of the needle; however that be, 'tis well known he was very fond of it (39), and several years afterwards applied it to account for the *aurora borealis*, by supposing the subtle luminous vapour contained between the *shell and the nucleus*, to issue at the poles of the earth, and produce all the appearances of that phenomenon (40).

[O] He arrived in England in 1700.] In speaking of this voyage, he has been heard to say more than once, that tho' he crossed the Line 4 times, and went directly as many times into the coldest climates of the South, yet he had the good fortune not to lose a single man of his company by sickness, which, no doubt, must be owing in a great measure to the extraordinary care he took of them, and to that humanity, which was a distinguishing part of his character. However this happiness was dashed with the misfortune of losing a favourite boy, who by some unlucky accident was thrown over board and drowned, and the captain was so deeply affected with the loss, that during his whole life afterwards he never mentioned it without tears (41).

(37) Maclaurin's method of Fluxions, Vol. II. art. 665, 666, 667. Edinb. 1742. in 2 vols 4to.

(38) An account of Kepler's hypothesis may be seen in Gregory's Astronomy, book i. prop. 78. edit. 1726. 8vo.

(39) In his picture, now in the possession of Mr Price, he is represented by his own direction holding in his hand a scroll, wherein it is supposed to be written.

(40) Phil. Trans. No. 363. for Novemb. 1719.

(41) MS. Memoirs.

[P] H.

(36) See Mr Maupertuis's tract of the figure of the earth, book iii. cap 6. § 6. Also Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, for the year 1735. and Phil. Trans. No. 432.



longitude at sea by the motion of the moon was an early thought of our author \* ; and he had no sooner erected his telescope at Ilington, but he resolved to put it into execution [P]. He entered upon it early in the year 1683, and held on observing for the course of sixteen months without any assistance, and yet without any interruption ; so that within that time he had gotten near 200 several days observations, most of which he collated with the best theory of the moon then extant ; and having placed the errors in an abacus, he perceived the irregularities to be so regular within the revolution of the Sarotic period (ee) [Q], that he could even predict the errors of the tables with a certainty not much inferior to the observations themselves. But his sanguine views were now suddenly cut short by unforeseen domestic occasions (ff), which obliged him to postpone all other considerations to the necessary defence of his patrimony [R]. It was not long before he commenced an acquaintance, though without any such view, which proved of service to him in that respect, for having in January 1684 turned his thoughts upon the subject of Kepler's sesquialterate proportion, he concluded from it that the centripetal force must decrease in proportion to the squares of the distances reciprocally ; but finding himself unable to make it out in any geometrical way [S], he first applied to Mr Hook and Sir Christo-

\* See remark [G] at the end.

(ee) He calls it sometimes the Plinian period, from the mention made of it in that author's Natural History, lib. ii. cap. 13.

(ff) See the Appendix to the second edition of Street's Caroline Tables, published by Mr Halley in 1710. 4to.

pher

[P] He resolved to put it into execution. This was no trifling event or common enterprize. It was necessary for the purpose, that the true theory of the moon should be ascertained to a degree of exactness at that time unhopd for ; since it was not only an intricate, but also a tedious subject, requiring to compleat it a continued series of observations for a long period of time, which had never been attempted by any of his predecessors in astronomy. But all these difficulties and discouragements did not deter Mr Halley from undertaking the arduous task. 'Tis true, Hevelius and Flamsteed had both of them this point among other desiderata in their view, but their observations to that end were very sparse, being taken as their other designs gave them leisure. We shall know what to think of the latter, when we see what our author says of them hereafter ; and as to the former, though from the time of publishing his *Selenographia* in 1647, he had raised some expectations of applying himself particularly to this undertaking, yet nothing hitherto had come from him answerable to those expectations, and his great age now cut off all hopes for the future. In a word, to say the truth, this theory had been always before our author's attempt esteemed above the compass of one man's daring, and we find the same intimated by Dr Seth Ward, Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, in a place (42), where he particularly compliments Hevelius upon the subject, as follows. ' Quis tanto labore atque constantia opibus aut honoribus inhiavit unquam ? quanto Tu Lunæ phaenomenis multorum annorum spatio investigasti ? Eo certe fine, ut opprobrium illud astronomicum tollas, ut proximam terris Sydus accurate factis observationibus, in hypothesin certam atque naturæ rerum congruentem redigere homines possint. Atque hæc quidem res tam demum peragetur, cum librationis lunaris legibus perspectis, centricæ variatione intellecta, in usum ducendæ erunt accuratissimæ observationes, quas præstitisti. Incumbis itaque non immerito in hanc rem, Vir Clarissime, ut ex epistola ad J. B. Ricciolum (quàm ad me transmitters dignatus es) satis innotescit. Atque habes in hoc negotio ex gente nostra nostraque academia comites præstantissimos, adeo ut communi studio et labore perfectam iri Selenographiam speremus, atque ad usum omnes astronomicos accomodatam.' Dr Ward in proceeding declares, that himself was with-held, by this expectation of seeing the Selenography perfected, from meddling with the motions of the moon and her theory, and then concludes in these terms, which strongly intimate the great difficulty of compassing that most desirable work. ' Utunque Tu certe laude dignus es immortalis, quod hominibus ostenderis quid sit agendum, et quali molimine res attentanda sit, ut ad Syderis istius desideratissimam scientiam perveniatur \*.'

(42) The dedication of his *Astronomia Geometrica* to the Consul. Oxon. 1655. 4to.

\* Vid. epist. Wallisi, inter excerpta ex literis ad Hevel. ubi supra, p. 16.

(43) See more of this in rem. [00] and [X X].

[Q] The Sarotic period. This period, which as is well known, consists of 223 lunations, or 18 years, wherein all the correspondent new and full moons are supposed to return, having been long neglected by the Astronomers, was restored to it's ancient reputation by our author, who made it the ground-work of all his enquiries towards settling that part of the lunar theory. He happened from this year 1683, to survive three of these periods, and made tables of the eclipses that recurred between 1701 and 1718, from the best observations both of his own and others, by the help of which he was able to predict an eclipse to half an hour without any trouble (43).

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[R] He was interrupted in this favourite pursuit by unforeseen domestic occasions. This unexpected stroke seems to have fallen upon him at the death of his father, who although possessed of an estate of a thousand pounds a year in houses before the fire of London, yet as he was a great sufferer by that fire, so entering into an imprudent second marriage, he became unable to renew the leases of his houses, when the old ones expired, whence it came to pass, that his fortune mouldring away by degrees, sunk at last into a low ebb (44). The difficulties into which his son and heir must necessarily be brought on that occasion, may well be thought sufficient to produce the change in his studies mentioned in the text. It may be further observed, that his family increasing apace from this time, he never had leisure sufficient to prosecute steadily, nor even without great interruptions, this his favourite plan for compleating the moon's theory, till he was settled in the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. However, the attendance he gave at this time to that theory, diligent as it was, did not hinder him from considering other subjects as occasion offered ; for instance, besides the observations concerning the longitude of Ballasore, mentioned above, he published, (1.) A correction of Mr Huygens's numbers in regard to the theory of the Satellite of Saturn, in Phil. Transf. No. 145, for March 1683. (2.) Dr Thomas Smith having in 1683, sent to the Royal Society an extract from the manuscript of Mr John Greaves, in the Savilian library at Oxford, containing astronomical and geographical observations made by him in Egypt \*. This paper was read before that society, December 19, 1683, and referred to the consideration of Mr Halley, who made his report on the 9th of January following, and collected from it the latitude of Constantinople to be  $41^{\circ} 7' \frac{1}{2} N.$  and that of Alexandria to be  $31^{\circ} 4' N.$  These two remarks are evidently made by our author in the view of settling the great difficulty concerning the obliquity of the ecliptic ; accordingly we find him taking notice elsewhere on that occasion, that this latitude of Alexandria, taken with a sufficient instrument by Mr Greaves, was but 6'. more than that given by Ptolemy and Eratosthenes †. Mr Halley was also very desirous to have good observations of the eclipses of the moon at Alexandria, as well as those at Bagdat and Aleppo, in order to ascertain an opinion first started by him, that the moon accelerates her mean motion about the earth, which was countenanced and accounted for also by Sir Isaac Newton ‡. (3.) Our author's theory of the tides at the bar of Tonquin § in China, was published in Phil. Transf. No. 162, for Aug. 1684. The tides in that port are so extraordinary, so seemingly irregular, and so different from all others, that nobody before him had attempted to give any solution of them. Indeed to account for this phaenomenon by the action of the moon, he confesseth was then a task too hard for his undertaking. Whence it is more surprizing to see, how easily that task was not long afterwards performed by Sir Isaac Newton in the third book of his *Principia*. Lastly, it seems to be about this time that our author had a dispute with De L'Isle, and the French Geographers, about the longitude of the Cape of Good-Hope, an account of which he afterwards published in Phil. Transf. No. 189 §.

[S] Not being able to make it out geometrically. Mr Halley's argument was in general the same of that of Sir Isaac Newton, and in substance this, That all force re-

(44) MS. Memoirs.

\* Vitæ quorundam eruditiss. & illustr. Virorum, a T. Smith, in præfatione, p. 122. & x.

§ Letters of the R. S. Vol. 1X. p. 8, & seq.

† Phil. Transf. No. 190. prop. iii.

‡ Phil. Transf. No. 204. & Princip. Math. &c. lib. iii. prop. 42. 2d edition.

§ The account of these tides had been lately brought to England by one of the factors of our East-India Company.

§ He prosecuted this point further in No. 361. for the year 1718. where, he says, it was then about 35 years since he had this dispute with the French.



(gg) Sir Isaac not finding readily his paper then, sent the calculation shortly according to his promise to London by Mr Paget, Mathematical Master of Christ's Hospital, and upon the perusal of it Mr Halley made a second journey to Cambridge. See Sir Isaac Newton's article.

(45) See in Phil. Transf. No. 179. for Jan. and Feb. 1686. a paper intitled, *A Discourse concerning Gravity and it's Properties*, written, as our author declares, preparatory to Sir Isaac's *Principia*, which was then almost ready for the press.

(46) In the article of Sir Isaac Newton.

(47) He means upon the subject of his Theory of Light and Colours.

pher Wren, and meeting with no assistance from either of them, he went to Cambridge in August to Mr Newton, who supplied him fully with what he had so ardently sought (gg). Seeing this, Mr Halley, always indefatigable in the service of Astronomy, pursued the matter further. Having now found an immense treasure of that learning, he could not rest 'till he had prevailed upon the owner to enrich the public therewith, and to this interview the world is in some measure indebted for the *Principia Mathematica Philosophiæ Naturalis* [T]. Before the conclusion of the following year 1685, Dr William Musgrave Secretary to the Royal-Society declining to act (bb), our author was appointed Assistant-Secretary;

(bb) The place is reckoned common. col. a year; Dr Musgrave was then Secretary to the Philosophical Society at Oxford, and Fellow of New-college. Phil. Transf. No. 158.

specting the sun as it's center, and depending upon matter, must needs exert itself more vigorously in a small sphere, and weaker in a greater, in proportion as it is contracted or expanded; and if so, seeing that surfaces of spheres as are the squares of the radii, this power at several distances will be as the squares of those distances reciprocally, and then it's whole action upon each spherical surface, be it great or small, will be always equal; so that by this rule, the whole planetary system would be supported (45). This was right enough, and sufficient also for the purpose, had he been able to carry the calculation through all the phenomena as he designed and attempted; but these in the pursuit presently became so variously complicated, though from the uniform action of the single power of gravitation, that he presently found himself obliged to desist.

[T] *The world is indebted to Mr Halley for Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, &c.* The following extracts from a letter of Sir Isaac upon this occasion to our author, and his answer thereto, contain several particulars relating to this matter, which though published in the General Dictionary (46), the reader may fairly expect to find here. The first is dated from Cambridge June 20, 1686, in the conclusion whereof, Sir Isaac, mentioning a proof that had been sent by Mr Halley, and his approbation of it, proceeds to inform him particularly of his design, viz. That the whole was to consist of three books, the second of which was finished the preceding summer, being short, and only wanted transcribing, and drawing the cuts fairly. That some propositions, he had thought on since, might as well be omitted. That the third book wanted the theory of comets. That the autumn before he had spent two months in calculations to no purpose, for want of a good method, which made him afterwards return to the first book, and enlarge it with divers propositions, some relating to comets, others to other things found out the preceding winter. That he now designed to suppress the third. *Philosophy*, continues he, *is such an impertinently litigious lady, that a man had as good be engaged in law suits, as have to do with her. I found it so formerly (47), and now I am no sooner come near her again, but she gives me warning. The two first books, without the third, will not so well bear the title of Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica, and therefore I had altered it to this, De Motu Corporum Libri duo. But upon second thoughts I retain the former title. 'Twill help the sale of the book, which I ought not to diminish now 'tis your's. The articles are with the largest to be called by that name. If you please you may change the word to Sections, though it be not material. In the first page I struck out the words, uti posthac docetur, as referring to the third book. Which is all at present from your affectionate friend and humble servant,*

IS. NEWTON.

To this our author returned the following answer from London, June 29, 1686.

Sir,

I am heartily sorry that in this matter, wherein all mankind ought to acknowledge their obligations to you, you should meet with any thing that should give you disquiet, or that any disgust should make you think of desisting in your pretensions to a lady, whose favours you have so much reason to boast of. 'Tis not she, but your rivals envying your happiness, that endeavour to disturb your quiet enjoyment; which when you consider, I hope you will see cause to alter your resolution of suppressing your *third book*. There being nothing which you can have compiled therein, which the learned world will not be concerned to have concealed. Those gentlemen of the society to whom I have communicated it, are very much troubled

at it, and that this unlucky business should happen to give trouble, having a just sentiment of the author thereof. According to your desire in your former, I waited upon Sir Christopher Wren, to enquire of him, if he had the first notion of the reciprocal duplicate proportion from Mr Hooke. His answer was, that he himself very many years since, had had his thoughts upon making out the planets motions by a composition of a descent towards the sun and an impressed motion; but that at length he gave over, not finding the means of doing it. Since which time Mr Hooke had frequently told him, that he had done it, and attempted to make it out to him, but that he never was satisfied that his demonstrations were cogent. And this I know to be true, that in January 1683, I having from the consideration of the sesquialterate proportion of Kepler, concluded that the centripetal force decreased in the proportion of the squares of the distances reciprocally, came on Wednesday to town [from Islington] where I met with Sir Christopher Wren and Mr Hooke, and falling in discourse about it, Mr Hooke affirmed, that upon that principle all the laws of the celestial motions were to be demonstrated, and that he himself had done it. I declared the ill success of my attempts, and Sir Christopher to encourage the enquiry said, that he would give Mr Hooke or me two months time to bring him a convincing demonstration thereof, and besides the honour, he of us that did it, should have from him a present of a book of forty shillings. Mr Hooke then said he had it, but that he would conceal it for some time, that others trying and failing, might know how to value it, when he should make it public. However I remember that Sir Christopher was little satisfied that he could do it, and though Mr Hooke then promised to shew it him, I do not find that in that particular he has been so good as his word. The August following, when I did myself the honour to visit you, I then learned the good news, that you had brought this demonstration to perfection, and you were pleased to promise me a copy thereof, which I received with a great deal of satisfaction from Mr Paget [Mathematical Master of Christ's Hospital] and thereupon took another journey to Cambridge, on purpose to confer with you about it, since which time it has been entered upon the register books of the society. He goes on to vindicate Sir Isaac's right against the pretensions of Mr Hooke, and says, the Royal Society were all of opinion that Sir Isaac ought to be considered as the inventor. I am sure, concludes he, the Society have a very great satisfaction in the honour you do them, by the dedication of so worthy a treatise. Sir, I must now again beg you not to let your sentiments run so high as to deprive us of your third book, wherein the application of your mathematical doctrine to the theory of comets, and several curious experiments, which, as I guess by what you write, ought to compose it, will undoubtedly render it acceptable to those, who will call themselves Philosophers without mathematicks, which are much the greater number (48). Now you approve of the character and paper, I will push on the edition vigorously. I have some times had thoughts of having the cuts neatly done in wood, so as to stand in the page with the demonstrations, it will be more convenient and not much more charge. If it please you to have it so, I will try how well it can be done; otherwise I will have them in some-what a larger size than those you have sent up.

I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

E. HALLEY.

(48) Sir Isaac then intended to write it in a popular method. See his article.



(ii) Ibid. No. 179.

(kk) Ibid. No. 181.

(ll) Ibid. No. 133.

(mm) For 240° of longitude and 30° of latitude; they are represented in the same chart with the variations of the compass. The north part of the Pacific Ocean, being known only to the Spaniards, is not included therein.

(49) See his Treatise of the genuine use and effects of the gun, printed that year in 4to.

(50) Phil. Transf. No. 216.

(51) In a piece intitled, *A Proposal for increasing the strength of the Navy, by changing all the guns, from the 18 pounders downwards, into others of equal weight, but of a greater bore*, Lond. 1742. 4to.

Secretary; in which post the first paper that he published contained a tract of his own upon the subject of gunnery (ii), wherein he gave an improvement in that useful art [U]. This paper was presently followed by another (kk), wherein our author first of any one discovered that easy method (since so well known) of measuring the elevation of very high mountains, steeples, and other eminences, by the barometer [W]. The same year saw a third tract by the same canal (ll), containing both the history and physical cause of the trade winds and monsoons [X], he likewise published a chart representing their direction, wherever they are found to blow, through all parts of the globe known to the English mariners (mm). Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* being finished the same year 1686, Mr Halley (who had the whole care of the impression) (nn), by the direction of the Royal-Society presented it to his Majesty King James II. with a proper discourse of his own [Y]. He also wrote an elegant copy of verses in Latin, which are prefixed to that

(nn) See the preface by Sir Isaac, who on this occasion calls our author *Virum in omni genere doctum et eruditissimum*.

(52) In the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, Vol. I.

(53) See Phil. Transf. No. 269.

(54) In No. 197, 229, &c. seen in one view in the Abridgment, Vol. II. p. 33, &c.

[U] *An improvement in the art of gunnery.* This improvement consists in the solution of a problem concerning the best elevation of a mortar: it had exercised the wits of some of the first rate genii of those times. The problem was this, *To hit an object above or below the horizontal line, with the greatest certainty and least impelling force.* This problem, though of the greatest use in gunnery, was left untouched by Torricelli the first writer upon the subject. It had indeed been solved by Mr Anderson in 1674 (49), but his solution required so large a calculus, that it put our author upon the search if it might not be done more easily, and the result was, that in 1678, he found out the rule, and thence the geometrical construction, delivered in this piece. 'Tis true, a large treatise was afterwards published, intitled, *L'Art de jeter les Bombes*, by Mons. Blondel, wherein he gave a solution of this problem by Messieurs Buet, Romer, and De la Hire, but none of them being the same with our author's, or in his opinion more easy, and most of them more operose, and besides his rule finding the tangent which generally determines the angle better than it's sign, he says, 'He thought himself obliged to print it, for the use of all such as desire to be informed in the mathematical part of the art of gunnery.' In 1696, resuming this subject (50), he considered how to improve the practical part thereof, and found out a more compendious method for practice than before; whereby it became as easy to shoot with a mortar at any object on demand, as if it were on the level, there being no need in this new invention of any computation, but only simply laying the gun, so as to pass in the middle line between the zenith and the object, giving it it's due charge. He intimates a method of laying a mortar in the required elevation (which may be of use in the want of instruments) by a piece of looking glass plate applied parallel to the muzzle, on which the engineer looking along a thread with a plummet, raises or depresses the piece, till the object appears on the same part of the speculum where the plummet falls; but he observes, that this method depends upon the muzzle of the mortar being turned truly square to the bore of the piece, and both that and the looking-glass must be a true plane, which they are not exact enough for this practice. However, as the thing is done very easily with instruments, all that remains is by good and valid experiments to be assured of the force of gun-powder, how to make and conserve it equal, and to know the effect thereof in each piece, that is, how far differing charges will cast the same shot out of it; this he thinks may most conveniently be engraved on the outside thereof, and were this matter well ascertained, it might be worth while to make all mortars of the like diameter, as near as may be alike in length of chase, weight, chamber, and all other circumstances. This subject of gunnery has been lately re-considered by Mr Benjamin Robins, F. R. S. (51), and several improvements made therein, especially in the article of the charges proper for each piece here recommended for further examination by our author.

[W] *A method of measuring the height of eminences by the barometer.* This is done by observing the proportionable ascent of the mercury. To this he added, an attempt to discover the true reason of the rising and falling of the mercury upon change of the weather. His hypothesis is founded upon the principal observations that had been then made upon this instrument; whence he concludes, that the rise and fall of the mercury is chiefly owing to the variable winds which are found in the temperate zones, and whose great inconsistency here in England, says he, is most notorious.

From this single principle, joined to the uncertain exhalation and precipitation of the vapours lodged in the air, which too in a great measure depends upon the former, he solves all the phenomena of that weather gage (52). When Mr Halley went to St Helena, he carried one of these instruments, having a thermometer (as it has been since denominated) joined to it, and fitted for the sea use by Mr Hook, along with him (53); and having found it very serviceable in that voyage, by giving early notice of all the bad weather he had, this engaged his attention the more to it; accordingly we find several papers in the Philosophical Transactions, containing an account of the improvements which he made therein (54); for instance, in No. 197, he first gave the hint and proposed the making thermometers of quicksilver, or the mercurial thermometer, which being brought into use long afterwards by Mr Farenheit, hath since gone by his name, Ph. Tr. No. 381. He also proposed an improvement in Patrick's barometer for taking the height of places, ibid. No. 366. In the preface to which (as his manner was) he gives an historical account of all the improvements made in this instrument from Torricelli the first inventor, down to that time. We shall only add, that Mr Cotes of Cambridge, in his hydrostatical, &c. lectures, constantly read Dr Halley's account of the rise and fall of the mercury, &c. as what he perfectly approved, and it is inserted in the appendix to Mr Cotes's Hydrostatical and Pneumatical Lectures published by Dr Smith, the second edition, 1747.

[X] *The physical cause of the trade winds and monsoons.* Upon this subject our author observes, that as wind is nothing else but a stream or current of air, so where such a current is fixed and permanent in it's course as in the trade winds, it must necessarily proceed from a permanent unintermitting cause. This he takes to be no other than the action of the sun-beams upon the air and water as it passes every day over the oceans, which he finds to answer all the phenomena of the general trade winds; and he observes, that if the whole surface of the globe was sea, these would undoubtedly blow all round the world as they are found, to do in the Atlantic and Ethiopic oceans; but seeing that so great continents do interpose and break the continuity of the oceans, regard must be had to the nature of the soil, and the position of the high mountains, and these he supposes the two principal causes of the several variations of the winds from the former general rule. This he shews with respect to the Atlantic and Ethiopic sea, as well as in the great South-Sea or Pacific Ocean. Two of the three branches into which he divides the universal ocean; but in the third branch, or Indian sea, he allows there are some difficulties not well to be accounted for, as first, why the change of the monsoons from the north-west to the south-east (as the sun is on the north or south side of the equator) should be any more in this ocean than in the same latitudes in the Ethiopic, where there is nothing more certain than a south-east wind all the year. He thinks it also very hard to conceive, why the limits of the trade winds should be fixed about the 30th degree of latitude all round the globe, and that they should so seldom transgress or fall short of those bounds, as likewise that in the Indian sea, only the northern part should be subject to the changeable monsoons, and in the southern there be a constant south-east. Which particulars he recommends to future enquirers (55).

[Y] *Presented the Principia to King James, II. with a discourse of his own.* In this discourse, which he first read before the Royal Society, having given a general account of the astronomical part of that book, where

(55) The writer in *Eloge* observes, that this Essay is the result of numberless observations and extensive reading, as well as his Theory of the Variations, with which it should always be joined.



(2) Phil. Transf.  
No. 189.

(pp) Ibid. No.  
192.

that book. This year likewise our author undertook to explain the cause of a natural phænomenon, which had 'till then baffled the researches of the ablest Geographers. The Mediterranean sea is observed not to swell in the least, notwithstanding there is no visible discharge of the prodigious quantity of water, which runs into it from nine large rivers, besides several small ones, and from the constant setting in of the current at the mouth of the Straights (oo). His solution of this difficulty gave so much satisfaction to the Society, that he received their orders to prosecute these enquiries. He did so (pp) with the most surprising diligence and sagacity [Z]. But that employ was not enough to fill up the sphere of

† See remark  
[EE].

where in the easiest language he shews the most striking excellence of the great author's genius therein, to consist in being able to deduce the vast system of the world from the common principles of projectiles. He afterwards enters into a more particular explication of the theory of the tides contained in it. This was a subject upon which his own thoughts had been turned pretty much about this time †, and he introduces it with a polite address to His Majesty, to whom, as having (when D. of York) been High-Admiral, that subject, he observes, could not be uninteresting. This paper was not published in the Philosophical Transactions, 'till many years afterwards, of which there is given the following account. 'It may perhaps seem strange, that this paper being no other than a partial account of a book long since published, and whereof a fuller extract was given in No. 187, of these Transactions, should again appear here; but the desire of several honourable persons, which could not be withstood, hath obliged us to insert it here, for the sake of such, who being less knowing in mathematical matters, and therefore not daring to adventure on the author himself, are notwithstanding very curious to be informed of the causes of things, particularly of so general and extraordinary phænomena, as are those of the tides. Now this paper having been drawn up for the late K. James's use (in whose reign the book was published) and having given good satisfaction to those that got copies of it, it is hoped, the Savans of the higher form, will indulge us this liberty we take, to gratify their inferiors in point of science, and not be offended that we here insist more largely on Mr Newton's theory of the tides, which, how plain and easy soever, we find is very little understood by the common reader (56). With regard to the fifty Latin verses prefixed, Mr Mairan, who scruples not for this single essay to dignify our author with the title of Poet, gives the following account of his poetical inspiration. That while Mr Halley was employed in preparing Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia* for the press, he found it impossible to be the instrument of exhibiting so many objects of astonishment and admiration, and to see them constantly passing in review before him, without catching the fire of sublime enthusiasm, which broke out in fifty Latin verses, in a description of the wonders which he saw, 'Tycho Brahe, continues this writer, was inspired with a like poetical impulse at the sight of the instrument with which Copernicus made his observations; and changed the face of the heavens. Tycho's verses were engraven on the instrument which inspired them, those of Mr Halley prefixed to that immortal work which is their subject, being themselves worthy to share it's immortality.' These lines are too well known to be inserted here, and the English reader may find the translation of them in his own language in verse, in *Martin's General Monthly Magazine. Mathematical, &c.* No. 1, for Jan. 1755. But the occasion suggests a curiosity of the like kind, with which we shall here oblige the reader. Mr Halley's verses (as well as his discourse) were no doubt presented along with the *Principia* to K. James II. and the following Latin verses written by his grandfather King James, I. were prefixed to Tycho's works, in 1610.

*Jacobi Scotorum Regis, \**

*De*

*Generosi viri Tychonis Brahe Dani*

*Astronomicis operibus,*

*Eulogium.*

*Æthereis bis quinque globis, quæ machina mundi  
Vertitur, ut celsæ est crustatus fornice Olympus  
Ignibus, et pictus fulgentibus undique lychni :*

*Pellucet vitreis domibus vastisque planetæ  
Orbis, ut geminant cursus vi et sponte rotati ;  
Ut miti aut torvo adpectu longe ante futura  
Præmonstrant, regnisque Tonans quæ fata volutet  
His tellure cupis, quæ vis, quis motus, et ordo,  
Cernere, sublimem deducuntque æthera terræ ;  
Tychonis pandunt operæ, lege, disce, videbis  
Mira, domi mundum, invenies, cælumque libello.*

*Aliud.*

*Quam temere est ausus Phaëton, vel præstat Apollo,  
Qui regit ignivomos æthere anhelus equos,  
Plus Tycho ; cuncta astra regis ; tibi cedit Apollo,  
Chorus et Uranie es hospes, alumnus, amor.*

Mr Halley's verses are evidently formed upon the same plan with the first copy of these royal ones, and as he frequently turned over the works of Tycho, he must often have seen them ; whether he took thence the hint of his own plan or no, let the reader judge. But thus much we will venture to say, that whoever reads those of Mr Halley with a just degree of admiration, will certainly read these of His Majesty, not without an equally just degree of amazement.

[Z] He prosecuted it with surprising diligence and sagacity. Having shewn, by the most accurate experiments, how that great increase of water was actually carried off in vapours raised by the action of the sun and wind upon it's surface ; he proceeded with the like success to point out the true method used by nature, to return the said vapours into the sea. This circulation he supposes to be carried on by the winds driving these vapours to the mountains, where being collected they form springs, which uniting become rivulets or brooks, and many of these again meeting in the vallies, grow into large rivers, emptying themselves at last into the sea. Thus demonstrating in the most beautiful manner, the way in which the equilibrium of receipt and expence is continually preserved in the universal ocean. Our author's account of the origin of springs, is too well known to allow our enlarging upon the subject †. And such as (if there be any who) are not acquainted with it, will not take it amiss to be referred to the original in the Philosophical Transactions, where they will be no less pleased with the easiness of the solution, than with the beauty of the description. But we must not omit to take notice, that he assures us, this theory of springs is not a bare hypothesis, but founded on experience ; which, says he, 'it was my luck to gain in my abode at St Helena, where in the night-time on the tops of the hills about eight hundred yards above the sea (57), there was so strange a condensation, or rather precipitation, of the vapours, that it was a great impediment to my celestial observations. For in the clear sky the dew would fall so fast, as to cover each half quarter of an hour, my glasses with little drops, so that I was necessitated to wipe them so often : and my paper on which I wrote my observations, would immediately be so wet with dew, that it would not bear ink. By which it may be supposed, how fast the water gathers in the ridges of the highest mountains †. In pursuing the subject of the rise of vapours, he observes that vapours, raised by the sun in still weather, hang on the surface of the water cloathing it like a fleece ; whence he takes occasion to give an account of that odd phænomenon of seeing the cattle in the Isle of Dogs from Greenwich at high water, when none of them are to be seen at low water. 'For, says he, the vaporious effluvia of the water, having a greater degree of refraction than common air, may suffice to bring down the beams to the eye, which, when the water is retired and the vapours subsided with it, pass above ; and consequently the objects seen at one time, may be conceived to disappear at the other (58).'

‡ It was borrowed, though without naming him, by *Carolo Fontana*, an Italian, in a treatise intitled *Utilissimo Trattato del Acque corrente*, Capitulo, V. Romæ 1695, fol.

(57) This measure was probably assigned by the rule he afterwards gave for such things by the barometer, and was therefore known to him at St Helena.

† He also observed, that though the sheep on this island are very fertile, so as commonly to have each two or three lambs yearly, yet they are very short-lived, dying of the [dropical] rot, which he took to be the effect of the great moisture on the hills. Husbandry and Trade improved, &c. by John Houghton, F. R. S. Paper xxxiv. Vol. I. in 4 vols 8vo. 2d edit. 1727.

(58) Phil. Transf. No. 212. This paper is intitled the Evaporation of Water in a close room at Giesham.

[AA] The

\* This Eloge was composed in 1593, when his Majesty granted a patent to Tycho's heirs for the sole printing his works in Scotland for 30 years.



of his activity. This industrious bee at the same time ranged into the fields of Speculative Geometry, where observing some imperfections in the methods laid down by others (qq), for constructing solid problems or equations of the third and fourth powers; for the better affecting the purpose, he furnished new rules, which were both more easy and more elegant than any of the former. Nor did this satisfy him, 'till he had proceeded to shew a new way of finding the number of roots in such equations, as also the limits of them, and this too by the help of that particular curve line, the rectification of which being the first performance in that way, was first compleated by our countryman Mr Neil, and thence called the *Neilian Parabola* (rr) [AA]. The year after, being that of the Revolution, Mr Halley published the following sheet in 8vo. *Ephemeris ad annum a Nativitate Domini 1688, & ad Longitudinem Urbis Londinensis ex novis hypothesibus exactissime supputata, & Reg. Soc. dicata* [BB]. Our author still continued to give his labours to the world by the canal of the Philosophical

(qq) These were Harriot, Des Cartes, Schouten, and Baker, names of eminent note in the mathematical republic.

(rr) Phil. Transf. No. 188 and 190.

[AA] *The Neilian Parabola.* It was in the same Transaction || also that he first started the hint of ascribing Noah's flood to the shock of a comet. Having read to the Society an account, which he had lately received of some observations made at Nuremberg, shewing that the latitude of that place had continued without any sensible alteration, for two hundred years then last past, he makes the following remark upon it. That from these observations it would follow, that if the inundations, which have actually happened, were produced by any regular motion of the poles of the earth, it would require a prodigious number of ages to effect those changes; neither could such inundations be fatal to the inhabitants, who might foresee them, and provide for their safety. 'But, continues he, the holy scripture and pagan tradition do unanimously agree, that the last great deluge was brought to pass in a few days without any previous notice; so that the account we have thereof, could not by this hypothesis be made out, without the supposition of a great and sudden alteration in the poles of the earth's diurnal revolution; for which, whether we should have recourse to the intelligent power, that first impressed this whirling motion on the ball, or leave it to be performed naturally by the casual shock of some transient body, such as a comet, or the like, whereby the former axis might be lost, and a new revolution produced, differing both in time and position from the old, I will not undertake to dispute.' However, he observes, 'that such a supposition would always include a change in the length of the year, and the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, for which, says he, we have no sort of authority.' Hence it appears, that at this time he did not incline to the opinion which assigned the shock of a comet for the cause of the Deluge, as not being agreeable to the account given thereof in the scripture. But having considered the subject further, he read another paper before the Society in December 1691.† wherein favouring that opinion as neither impossible nor entirely improbable, he endeavours to reconcile it with the scripture in the following manner. 'The account, says he, we have of the universal deluge, is no where so express as in the holy scriptures, and the exact circumstances as to point of time shew, that some records had been kept thereof, more particularly than is wont in those things derived from remote tradition, wherein the historical minutiae are lost by length of time.' He proceeds to observe, that the scripture account seems much too imperfect to be the result of a full revelation from the author of this dreadful execution upon mankind, who would have spoke more amply as to the manner thereof, had he thought fit to lay open the secrets of nature to the succeeding race of men; 'and I doubt not, continues he, but to all, that consider the 17th chapter of Genesis impartially, it will pass for the remains of a much fuller account of the Flood left by the patriarchs to their posterity, and derived from the revelation to Noah and his sons.' To this cause he ascribes the difficulties that are found in several particulars of that account; as in the construction of the ark, the reception, and agreement of the animals therein, and the preservation of it during that wind, in so immense and boundless an ocean, which was sent to drive the waters away; 'but it must also be allowed, says he, that length of time may have added, as well as taken away, many notable circumstances, as in most other cases of the story of remote times and actions.' And hence he infers, that the Deluge might be occasioned by the near approach of a comet to the earth, notwithstanding the silence of scripture in that particular. Upon the whole it is observable (which too is one principal reason of inserting

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the present remark) that our author here all along very frankly intimates his opinion, that Moses had the account he gives of the Deluge merely from tradition alone, however it might be matter of revelation to Noah and his sons.

[BB] *He published an Ephemeris for the year 1688.* This is inserted upon the authority of Mr Wood\*. It is certain that our author, as Secretary to the Royal Society, was at this time the publisher of the Philosophical Transactions. The first of these Ephemerides came out in the year 1685 for 1686, of which there is an account in those papers (59), to the following effect. 'That there being then great want of proper Ephemerides of any tolerable exactness, those which had been done before having been complained of by Mr Flamsteed in his tables of the Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites ‡; therefore several gentlemen well skilled in these things had engaged in this undertaking, and had executed the present Ephemeris from tables of their own, which answer with great preciseness to the celestial motions, except in the moon, whose motion, by reason of her manifold inequalities, not being yet reduced to the nicety of the planets, it was thought needless to do more, than to reduce her tychonic places in argol to our meridian, and compute the true altitudes. The account concludes with declaring, that the several persons concerned proposed a continuation of these Ephemerides for some years to come.' From this account it seems very probable that Mr Halley was one, if not the chief of these persons. The design was carried on to the year of the Revolution, and then seems to have been dropt, but for what reason does not, as I know of, any where appear; perhaps the public commotions at that juncture might be the occasion †: of which, if the following story which passed current several years afterwards concerning his behaviour then, has any foundation, Mr Halley was far from being an unmoved spectator. The story is this, That the grateful sense of the favours he had received from the two preceding princes, lying always near his heart, he continued to express it with his usual warmth and openness after the Revolution: That after some time the matter reaching the ears of King William, His Majesty upon the first news was a little alarmed, and thought the behaviour of a person of so great reputation, and so conspicuous in the learned world, as Mr Halley then was, should not be neglected; but upon a nearer enquiry, being truly informed that the warmth of our author's zeal for the ejected prince, was the pure effect of his gratitude, and without any mixture of particular dislike to his successor, and especially observing he was continually employed at his telescope, determined not to disturb his speculations; being satisfied from his character, that his close attachment to these, would effectually prevent him from pushing his affection any further at most than drinking a health. The credit of this story is left to the reader, but whatever be its fate, it will be proper and agreeable to the general plan of these memoirs, to observe that a few years after, viz. in 1691, there was published a discourse of his tending to prove at what time and place Julius Cæsar made his first descent upon Britain (60). In this discourse (whatever occasioned him to turn his thoughts upon the subject) besides an accurate skill in the Greek language, he has given an admirable instance of his expertness in applying astronomy to determine critical disputes upon points of history. The difficulty was this, Cæsar had not been exact in relating the time or place of his landing. Dr Halley therefore having determined the former to an hour by calculating an eclipse of the moon, proceeds to inquire into the place; whereupon he observes, that though Dion Cassius in relating that expedition

\* In Ath. Ox. under our author's article.

(59) No. 179.

‡ Mr Flamsteed's tables of the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites for 1684 are in No. 154. for Dec. 1683, and those for 1685 in No. 165. This design was carried on by our author for the year 1688. and published in No. 191. for Dec. 1687. wherein he compliments Mr Flamsteed for teaching their use in Geography.

† 'Tis certain the Phil. Transf. were not printed during that hurry, which also seems to be the reason for publishing the Ephemeris for 1688. singly.

(60) In Phil. Transf. No. 193.



(51) Ibid. No. 193.

(52) Ibid. No. 348.

Philosophical Transactions, of which for many years his pieces were the chief ornament and support [CC]. In 1691 he published there a paper, entitled, *De Visibili Conjunctione inferiorum Planetarum cum Sole Dissertatio* (55). The tables in this dissertation are observed to exhibit the periodical conjunctions of Mercury and Venus with the Sun to a surprising degree of exactness [DD]; and he afterwards shewed one extraordinary use to be made of those relating to the conjunctions of the latter (56), towards discovering the true distance of the sun from the earth [EE]. This year Dr Edward Bernard resigning the

(61) The word in dispute is *εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*. Dion Cass. Hist. lib. 9. which Mr Halley renders *ad vadum maris*.

(62) In his Commentaries, lib. iv.

(63) No. 194.

makes use of an expression, which had been generally construed to import, that Cæsar on his landing first engaged the Britons in a fenny country; yet the words (61) of that historian, as he shews from Suidas, Polybius, and others, may fairly be understood to mean no more than that this conquerer engaged the Britons at the water's edge; whence it follows, that he might, consistently enough with that description of Dion, actually make his first descent in a firm champaign country as the Downs is, where this first landing seems to be determined, as our author shews, by Cæsar's own account of the matter (62). Mr Halley likewise printed in the same Transactions (63) a few years afterwards, another peice of criticism upon Harduin's Pliny (then lately printed). The title is, *Emendationes et Notæ in tria loca vitiose edita in textu vulgato Naturalis Historiæ, C. Plinii*. These emendations are another proof (no ways inferior to the former) of his critical acumen, as will be found upon the perusal, to which, for fear of being too tedious, we must refer, in order to make room for the two following specimens of the like kind. Some English merchants who had visited the ruins of Palmyra in 1678, communicating their observations to Mr Halley, he thereupon in Philosophical Transactions, No. 218, published a short history of that ancient city, together with several ingenious remarks on the inscriptions found there. And the same ruins having been lately reviewed with great accuracy by several gentlemen of learning, a further account was published of them in a piece intitled, *The Ruins of Palmyra*, Lond. 1753, fol. in the preface whereof by Mr Robert Wood, the ingenuity of our author's remarks, though short, has received a fresh encomium. (2.) The other piece intimated above is, *Ptolemy's catalogue of the fixed Stars*, inserted in the second volume of *Geographiæ veteris Scriptores Græci minores*, published in 2 vol. 8vo. Ox. 1712, by Dr Hudson, who gives the following reason || for subjoining it to that work, *quod vero bisce omnibus subungere placuerit Ptolomæi catalogum fixarum stellarum, alicui forsan mirum videatur, cum sit argumenti plane dissimilis, minime tamen dubito, quin hoc mihi ignoscat, qui noscit, quot ab illis sideribus maculas absterfit, quantamque eis lucem affudit, Cl. Halleus, eandem scilicet, qua Ptolomæo illa contemplante, enituerant, cum in libris tam manuscriptis quam editis ob voces perturbatas, numerosque confusos, illa cæli lumina crassiss obvoluta fuissent tenebris*. To these must be added also another critical piece upon Mr Dodwell's book *De Cyclis*, in a letter of our author to Mr Brooksbey, and subjoined by him to his life of Dodwell, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

[CC] His papers were for several years the ornament of the Philosophical Transactions. Their various merit is thrown into one view by the writer of his eloge, who, having mentioned his history of the trade winds and monsoons, proceeds in these terms. 'This was immediately followed by his, estimation of the quantity of aqueous vapours which the sun raises from the sea; the circulation of vapours; the origin of fountains; questions on the nature of light and transparent bodies; a determination of the degrees of mortality, in order to adjust the valuation of annuities on lives, and many other works, in almost all the sciences, astronomy, geometry, and algebra, optics and dioptrics, balistic and artillery, speculative and experimental philosophy, natural history, antiquities, philology, and criticism; being about twenty-five or thirty dissertations, which he produced during the nine or ten years of his residence at London; and all abounding with ideas new, singular, and useful ||.'

[DD] Exact tables of the conjunctions of Mercury and Venus with the Sun. Dr Smith, Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge, speaking of this discourse (64) in the year 1738, observes, 'That it contains a most accurate theory for finding the visible conjunctions of Mercury and Venus, with a specimen thereof in tables, comprehending all the times of

their appearance in the sun's disk for two centuries, beginning from the time of the invention of telescopes (65). Which tables, continues he, agree with the latest and best observations to a wonderful degree of exactness; so that for the future, astronomers may trust these tables to a few minutes, as the author has justly observed, and not wait with the uncertainty of hours, nay days, as had been lately done.' In 1725 our author published some corrections of the tables of Mercury, in Phil. Transf. No. 386.

[EE] A method of discovering the distance of the earth from the sun, more nearly than is yet done. We have observed above, that our author's papers were the chief ornament and support of the Philosophical Transactions for some time. The truth of this appears conspicuously, not only when we consider the great number and variety of the subjects, but also that peculiar recommendation which they carry with them to the public, from his entertaining manner of handling them. To pass over at present, how much the strength of his reasoning is enforced with a spirited and mettled diction. There is one thing in almost all his pieces, which never fails to leave the reader's mind after he has perused them, in that state of full complacency and satisfaction, which is the test of good writing. I mean those short but accurate historical accounts of the subjects that are improved by him. We have an instance of this in the problem now before us, of determining the distance of the sun from the earth. 'There is no problem, says he, more difficult than this, nor more unsettled by the best astronomers hitherto. Ptolemy and his followers, as also Copernicus and Tycho, make the sun's distance to be only 1200 semidiameters of the earth, Kepler raises it near 3500 of these semidiameters. Ricciolus doubles the distance of Kepler, which Hevelius only enlarges by an half. All these computations were founded upon the supposed magnitude of the inferior planets, which by the radiancy of their reflected light, were taken to be much larger than the truth. These errors received their first correction by viewing those planets within the disk of the sun. For when thus stripped of their borrowed splendor, their semidiameters were found to be much less than was before thought. Thus Venus subtends not above a quarter of a minute. Mercury, at it's mean distance, is seen under an angle of ten seconds. Saturn, under the same angle, and Jupiter, the greatest of all the planets in one, not above a third of a minute. Hence some modern astronomers arguing from analogy, have thought the semidiameter of the earth also, when seen from the sun, to subtend an angle at the intermediate magnitude of 15'' equal to Venus, and therefore concluded the sun's distance from the earth, at near 14000 of her semidiameters. But by this supposition, at the same time that the earth, a superior planet, is asserted to be no bigger than Venus an inferior one, yet the moon, a secondary planet, is advanced to be no less than Mercury a primary one, which would break the order and harmony wherein the planetary system seems to be established. Let then, continues he, the semidiameter of the earth seen from the sun, or, which is the same thing, let the horizontal parallax be 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ '' (whence the moon will be less than Mercury, and the earth bigger than Venus) and then the earth will come out 16500 semidiameters distant from the sun.' But Dr Pound and his nephew Dr Bradley (the present Astronomer Royal) by many repeated trials made with the nicest instruments, found this parallax not to be more than 12'', nor less than 9'' (66). Whence our author sets it at a medium to be 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ ''.

Yet this parallax might have been brought to a much greater degree of exactness, had the several conjunctions which have happened of Venus with the sun been carefully observed by former astronomers. But our countryman Mr Horrox, was the first mortal who saw this phenomenon in the year 1639, and Dr Halley has shewn in the piece now under consideration, that the

(65) Before that invention, these transits, as well as the spots in the sun, being imperceptible by the naked eye, could at most be only a subject for conjecture by the Ancients; and so had never fallen under philosophical speculations.

|| In præfat. ad finem.

|| See a translation into English of this Eloge, printed in the Gentleman's Magazine for Oct. and Nov. 1747. N. B. When our author left Ilington, he removed to a house in Golden-Lion-court Aldersgate-street, London.

(64) In his Optics, Vol. II. p. 230. Lond. 1738. 2 vols 4to.

(66) See Phil. Transf. No. 363, 366. Dr Halley was present at some of these observations, and likewise observed the same himself.

same



the Savilian Professorship of Astronomy at Oxford, Mr Halley applied for that place, but was disappointed [FF] Not long after this mortification, our author produced a small tract

same appearance will happen again in 1761. When on May 26th, near 6 in the morning at London, Venus will appear in the sun's disk not above 4" south of it's center, the transit will continue almost eight hours, from two in the morning till almost ten, and therefore the ingress into the sun's disk cannot indeed be seen in England, but it may nevertheless be observed in other parts of the world; and he assures us from his own observations of Mercury at St Helena (67), that the beginning and end of the transit of this planet over the sun's, may be observed to the exactness of 1" of time. 'I had the good luck, says he, to see Mercury as he was entering the sun's limb, and made a black notch in it, and was certain of the instant of this total ingress by a fine thread of the sun's light, which immediately broke out from the sun on the anterior contact of the two limbs, and struck my eye instantly; and at the beginning of the egress of Mercury, the like thread of light was broken, and vanished instantly at the other anterior contact.' If the like observations be duly made upon the ensuing transit of Venus, with a good clock and telescope in several distant countries, he shews in what manner we may thence determine the sun's parallax and distance from the earth to the exactness of a 500th part of the whole. Whereas by the best observations made till the time when this discourse was written (in 1717), we were not absolutely certain of these quantities to less than about a 7th part of them. He concludes with exhorting, in the most pathetic terms, all astronomers who shall be then alive, to be prepared for that important observation, and to exert their utmost sagacity and skill in remarking every circumstance of a phenomenon so rare and so decisive. Hence the writer of his elege remarks, that tho' 'he indulged no flattering hope of being himself a witness to this appearance, yet he was not on that account less solicitous about the event, or negligent of any thing which might contribute to it's success. All philosophy, continues that writer, which weakens our desire of being useful to posterity, and takes from us the pleasure we possess in a probable prospect of obtaining that end, saps the foundation of true heroism, and ought to be rejected with abhorrence and indignation.'

[FF] He was disappointed of the Savilian Professorship.] Concerning this matter we have the following story by Mr Whiston\*, who tells us from Dr Bentley, as he says, 'that our author being thought of for successor to the mathematical chair at Oxford, Bishop Stillingfleet was desired to recommend him at Court; but hearing that he was a sceptic and a banterer of religion, the Bishop scrupled to be concerned, till his chaplain Mr Bentley should talk with him about it, which he did; but Mr Halley was so sincere in his infidelity, that he would not so much as pretend to believe the Christian religion, though he thereby was likely to loose a professorship, which he did accordingly, and it was then given to Dr Gregory.' Whatever truth there may be in this story, for the right understanding of which, Mr Whiston's religious principles sometimes bantered † by his friend, will perhaps be thought a proper key; 'tis certain that in this affair our author found an enemy in Mr Flamsteed. From the time of Mr Halley's acting as Secretary to the Royal Society, there had been a misunderstanding between these two celebrated astronomers, which seems to have taken it's rise from a jealousy in Mr Flamsteed, of his suffering some disparagement in the esteem of Sir Isaac Newton, from our author's growing friendship with that great man. To evince the truth of this assertion, it will be necessary to observe, that Mr Flamsteed, beginning with the year 1683 ‡, continued for some years following to publish a tide table of the high water at London-bridge, which he had been at some pains to make very accurate; to this was subjoined the following rule for applying them to serve for any other ports in his Majesty's dominions or neighbouring countries, viz. To subtract or add so much time to the high water noted in it, as the high water observed in such places shall be found to precede or follow the time of the high water the same day herein noted; 'for, continues he, by such accounts as I have received and met with of the tides in remote places, I find there is every where about England, the same difference betwixt the spring and nepe tides that is here observed in the river of

Thames,' and according to this rule he added tables for the said reduction in several ports, among which, that of Dublin was included †. These tables being seen by Sir Isaac Newton, when he was engaged in drawing up his theory of the tides, he thought proper to apply to Mr Flamsteed on that occasion, and in a letter dated Sept. 19, 1685, writes to him as follows. 'I perceive by your tide tables you have been curious upon that subject, which makes me hope, that you can tell me, how much the perpendicular rise and fall of the spring tides about the solstices is greater than the like rise or fall of the neap or quarter tides at the same time of the year, and also how much the one is greater than the other at the equinoxes.' Whatever was Mr Flamsteed's answer, 'tis certain that on this subject of the tides, Sir Isaac particularly consulted Mr Halley, who had long made that phenomenon one part of his studies, and we find him prosecuting the enquiry with his usual diligence and sagacity, and thence discovering a mistake in the rule which had been given by Mr Flamsteed for applying his tables to other ports, besides that of London, and especially to the port of Dublin. Our author having applied to Mr Will. Molyneux, for an account of the course of the tides in this last mentioned port, and received the same, published it in the Phil. Trans. ‡ with the following remark. 'This observation makes the tides upon the quarter moons come in later in respect of the moon's southing, than upon the new and full moons by half an hour, whereas in the Thames as high as London, the quarter moons make high water above an hour and a quarter sooner in that respect, than the new and full, as may be seen by the accurate tide tables of Mr Flamsteed. But it is from hence found that the said tables are not applicable to the sea ports, where there is not the same reason for the anticipation of the nepe tides upon the quarter moons. The cause of this phenomenon seems to be, that the impulse of the sun on the quarter moons is not so vigorous as in the new and full, nor the motion of the waters so quick, as is found by daily experience; whence it comes to pass, that in the open seas, and in ports upon the sea-coast, as Dublin, the high-water time falls out later than when the motion is more rapid in the new and full \* : But on the contrary in rivers at any considerable distance from the sea, the resistance of the weight of the fresh water, which is kept suspended during the time of the flood, is longer overcome by the more potent impetus in the new and full, than by weaker in the quadratures, and from hence this difference should be more and more considerable as the port is farther removed from the sea.' Before this paper was published, Mr Flamsteed having got an intimation that our author had procured some account of the tides at Dublin from Mr Molyneux, grew a little jealous as it seems of that friend, and expressed his uneasiness in a letter to him; in answer to which Mr Molyneux writes from Dublin, Nov. 13, 1686, as follows, 'The only information I wrote to Mr Halley about our tides, was what I wrote to you about three years ago, in mine of Aug. 11, 1683. I can assure you there was nothing more, so that you need not mistrust my kindness in that point. He proposed the same queries to me, that then you proposed, and I answered him in the same way, only indeed he added, on the coast of Ireland, whereabouts do the two floods meet. To this I then answered him not, because I had not yet got information, but since that I am informed, that it is between Carlingford, in Ireland, and Solway Frith in Scotland.' Some time before this letter could arrive at Greenwich, out came Mr Halley's account, &c. with the remarks just mentioned, containing the slur upon Mr Flamsteed's tide tables. Whereupon the Royal Astronomer broke all measures with his competitor, and even endeavoured to draw Mr Molyneux into his quarrel, as appears from another letter dated Feb. 1, 1686-7, wherein that gentleman writes thus: 'I much admire at H—'s dealing with you, and I thank you for the advice you give me of being cautious what I communicate. But I think my circumstances are such, that it lies not in his way to do me or my reputation any harm. For as to this late business about the tides, I know not what to say to say to it. I have never seen the

† Ibid. 155. for 1684. The rule was not inserted in the first for 1683, for want of sufficient information from the several ports.

† No. 184. for Oct. 1686.

\* In a letter to Flamsteed, dated May 17, 1687. Mr Molyneux writes, from the information of one Glover, a good seaman and Mathematician, that there is little or no difference at Dublin in the times of flowing and ebbing at the syzige and quarters.

(67) On the third of November, 1677.

§ This was the fourth time that phenomenon had been seen since the invention of the telescope. Mr Shakerley went on purpose to Surat to see the second in 1661, which happened when it was night in Europe.

\* In the memoirs of his own life, Vol. I. p. 108. edit. 1753.

† See idem ibid. p. 207, 208. where Mr Whiston relates, that on his refusal of a glass of wine from him on a Friday, this friend said he was afraid he [Whiston] had a Pope in his belly. However, Mr Halley's friendship to the man of learning and integrity was not thereby abated, as will appear from several instances both in the present memoir, and in that of Mr Whiston. See Mr Whiston's Memoirs, ubi supra, p. 205 and p. 259. and his Astronomy in the preface.

‡ Phil. Trans. No. 143. for Jan. 1682-3.



(u u) Ibid. No.  
196.

tract (uu), which from the nature as well as extensive usefulness of it, is perhaps more known, especially at home, than any thing that ever came from his pen; I mean his  
Tables

the Transaction wherein it is inserted. I am a stranger to what he says of it; and being so, I think it were improper for me to take any notice of it by my Brother to the Society. What you say concerning it in your's of January 17th, is very reasonable, and Mr Halley seems to be in the wrong, but I cannot properly take notice of your information to justify myself to the Royal Society, for that were to bring you upon the stage in my cause, which trouble I know you do not desire, neither would I willingly give it you. Indeed Mr Halley himself wrote to me the 27th of last November, in which letter he has this passage. *I thank you for the communication of the manner of the tides at Dublin. I make this remark thereon, that the neap-tides with you are half an hour later in respect of the moon's southing, than the spring tides upon the new and full moons. Whereas at London, upon the quarter moons, it is high water near upon an hour and a half sooner than upon the new and full moons in respect to the moon's southing. It were worth considering what should be the reason thereof. My conjecture is, that the impulse whereby the water is driven forward in the flood, is stronger in the new and full; and so in the open sea, or in a bay as with you, the high water happens sooner, by reason the water is heaped up with a greater velocity. But in a river, the weaker tides upon the quadratures are soonest checked by the weight of the fresh, which it stops, which the greater force of the spring tides is able to repel much longer. Thus far Mr Halley.* An answer to this being sent presently by Mr Flamsteed, who it seems had undertaken his friend's cause without his privacy. Mr Molyneux made this return thereto. Dublin, March 24, 1686-7. My honoured friend, 'I return you my hearty thanks for your endeavours to vindicate my credit against the false deduction, which you say (as it was managed by the publisher of the Transactions) is like to reflect on me. I am sufficiently persuaded by your last of February 12, of the gross errors therein; and I wonder how it slipped from Mr Halley. But though I acknowledge myself indebted to you for your care of my repute, and the kindness and love you have shewed me therein; yet I must confess, I myself am not concerned about it; for I place so little stress upon conjectural assigning of causes, that I heed not whether they be true or false, mathematical or not; so that I can easily forgive Mr Halley, and shall never quarrel with any man about a notion. I lately received a letter from Mr Halley, wherein he expresses his concern at the breach between you, and seems very desirous of an accommodation. I am so certain of your good nature and christian piety, that I need only mention this to move you thereto. And therefore pray let all misunderstanding be cleared between you, and renew your former friendship. If you please you may take notice of my mediation in the case, for in his letter he desires to know of me, wherein I think you so highly injured as to deserve these severe resentments. And in my return to him, I confess, I was rather for making peace than renewing the contest; and therefore desired all may be passed over. He also desired from me a little paper I wrote, de *apparente magnitudine solis humilis & sublimis*; but since I sent it to him, I have wished I had sent it first to you; but I know you may have it from him to read it, if you will take that trouble.' Notwithstanding this mediation came from so good a friend, yet being attended with a suggestion in our author's favour, it was not accepted by Mr Flamsteed, who retained his old grudge much longer, as we find by a letter to him from Sir Isaac Newton, dated October 24, 1694, where he expresses himself in these terms.— 'A day or two before I left London, I dined with Mr Halley, and had much discourse with him about the moon. I told him of the parallaxing equation amounting to about 8' or 9', or at most 10', and of another equation, which is greatest in the octants of the moon's apogee, and might there amount to about 6' or 7', though I had not yet computed any thing about it. He replied, that he believed there might be also an equation depending upon the moon's nodes. To which I answered, that there was such an equation, but so little as to be almost inconsiderable. But what kind of equation this was, I did not tell him; and

I believe he does not yet know it, because it is too little to be easily found out by observations, or by any other way than the theory of gravity. He told me some years ago his correction of the moon's eccentricity, and repeated it, when I was with him last at London, and this made me free in communicating my things with him. By your observations, I find it to be a very good correction. I reckoned it a secret which he had intrusted with me, and therefore never spake of it till now. Upon my saying that I hoped to mend the moon's theory by some observations you had communicated to me, and that those observations made the parallaxic equation in the quadratures between 8' and 10', he was desirous to view them; but I told him, he must not take it ill if I refused him that, because I stood engaged to communicate them to no-body without your consent. I am very glad, that there is like to be a new correspondence between you, and hope it will end in friendship.' Such were Sir Isaac's wishes, but instead of reconciliation, the breach between them grew still wider, as is evident from the following extracts of a letter, and the remarks upon it, written in 1698, in the first of which Dr Wallis, then engaged in printing the third volume of his mathematical works, and having received some astronomical observations to be inserted in that work from Mr Flamsteed, returned this answer. Oxford, December 28, 1698. 'Sir, I received on Monday last, December 26th, your letter of December 24th, and the packet of papers directed to me, of which I shall take care; and at the same time I received another letter from one in London, which desires me not to print any paragraph in your letter, which speaks of your giving to Mr Newton observations of the moon. He is a friend to both of you, but he does not give me his reasons why. I thought fit to acquaint you with it, and desire your advice upon it.' Mr Flamsteed wrote the following notes on this letter. 'You say Dr Gregory is a friend to both of us. I much doubt it, had he been a friend of mine, he would have sent me word that paragraph would displease Mr Newton. A letter would have come hither, and an answer have gone back in almost as little time as one goes from London to Oxford. It is much to be suspected, he is only Mr Newton's friend for Mr Montague's sake, since his countrymen gave out formerly, that he had found abundant errors in his *Principia*. Now that Mr Newton gave them to him, (to deal plainly with you) his friends resort to Hindmarsh's shop in Cornhill, and who they are, you may easily be informed even at Oxford.

That I was at London the Friday they arrived, and the following. That I wrote to Mr Newton on Monday, and sent him an account of what Dr Gregory wrote to Dr Wallis, as also the paragraph of my letter which Dr Gregory would suppress. That receiving no answer by Thursday morning, I then wrote to him again for one. That since he takes no notice of my letter; I conclude, I need not take notice of Dr Gregory's nor you neither, and therefore think you need not alter the paragraph at all. Dr Gregory is a friend of Mr Halley, though he was his competitor. But I perceive by this transaction, he is no friend of mine, though I shewed him more friendship than he could reasonably expect on that occasion, and Mr Halley as much enmity. But he thinks Mr Halley has an interest in Mr Newton, and therefore is become his friend, and takes the same courses Halley did to ingratiate with him, whose favour may be of use to him with Mr Montague (68)'. Thus the Royal Astronomer, we see, carried his enmity against Mr Halley at this time so high, as to extend it to such as lived in friendship with him, and amongst these, the occasion leading him to it, his last is particularly exercised upon Dr David Gregory. That occasion was Mr Flamsteed's letter concerning the parallax of the polar star, which being published at the end of Dr Wallis's works as mentioned above, Dr Gregory took pains to consider it, and in his *Astronomia Physica* (69), &c. published in 1702. exposed the defects and inconclusiveness of Mr Flamsteed's observations for proving that parallax. In these last letters we see another cause besides that of the tides of Mr Flamsteed's disgust

(68) The several letters whence these extracts are taken, are printed at length in the General Dictionary, under the articles M O L Y N E U X, W A L L I S, and N E W T O N.

(69) Prop. 55, book iii.



(w w) It was first published at the request of Mr Will. Molyneux, in an appendix to his Treatise of Dioptrics. It is well explained and illustrated in a supplement to Dr Gregory's Element's of Catoptrics and Dioptrics, by Dr Brown. Something also of the like kind done by Mr Cotes is printed in the notes to Vol. II. of Dr Smith's Optics.

*Tables shewing the value of Annuities for Lives, calculated from the Bills of Mortality at Breslaw in Silesia* [G G]. This piece was published in 1692, and the same year came out his famous *Universal Theorem for finding the Foci of Optic Glasses*, produced as an instance of the great advantage of modern Algebra (w w). On the first of January this year he resigned his place of Assistant-Secretary to the Royal-Society (x x); however, there is scarce a single number in the Philosophical Transactions for the three following years [H H], without some remarkable paper of his published there, besides which he communicated

(x x) Wood, ubi supra. Mr Waller being appointed Secretary in the room of Dr Muirgrave.

disgust to his rival, viz. the theory of the moon. We have already mentioned Mr Halley's resolution to bring that theory to perfection, in the view particularly of finding the longitude at sea, and that he entered on it in the year 1683; and it is observable, that Mr Flamsteed publishing his catalogue of the eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites the same year, subjoined an information concerning it's use, wherein he makes the following declaration. 'I must confess, says he, it is some part of my design to make the more knowing seamen ashamed of that refuge of ignorance, their idle and impudent assertion, that the longitude is not to be found, by offering them an expedient, that will assuredly afford it, if their ignorance, sloth, covetousness, and ill nature, forbid them not to make use of what is proposed. Those of them, continues he, that pretend to greater talents or skill than others, will acknowledge that it might be found by observations of the moon, if we had tables, that would answer her motions exactly. But after two thousand years experience (for we have some observations of eclipses much ancients) we find the best tables extant erring sometimes in two minutes or more in her apparent place, which would cause a fault of half an hour or  $7^{\circ} \frac{1}{2}$  in the longitude, deduced by comparing her place in the heavens with that given by the tables: I undervalue not this method, for I have made it my business; and have succeeded in it, to get a large stock of good lunar observations, in order to the correction of her theory, and is a good ground-work for better tables, but the examination will be a work of long time, and if we should happily afterwards attain what we seek, yet the calculation will be so perplexed and tedious, that it will be found much more inconvenient and difficult, than that I propose by observing the eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites, which therefore at present I must prefer.' He adds the two following objections against the way of finding the longitude by the moon in respect to her eclipses; first, the difficulty there is to determine the true time of the moon's ingress into the shade; and secondly, that there are scarcely four eclipses of the moon visible in a year; and then concludes with a further recommendation of the method here proposed by the eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites, in that, as he asserts, a telescope of eight foot long, which would be sufficient for observing these eclipses, might be easily managed at sea\*. On the other hand, Mr Halley, though he approved and promoted the design of applying the tables of the eclipses of the Satellites, to the finding the longitude at land†, yet was far from agreeing with Mr Flamsteed, as to their use in that view at sea. Inasmuch, that three years after that proposal in the discourse which he read to King James II. when he presented His Majesty with Sir Isaac Newton's *Principia*, &c. speaking of the theory of the moon, he expresses himself thus: *Though by reason of the great complication of the problem, he* [Mr Newton] *has not yet been able to make it purely geometrical, 'tis to be hoped, that in some further essay he may surmount the difficulty, and having perfected the theory of the moon, the long desired discovery of the longitude (which at sea is only practicable this way) may at length be brought to light, to the great honour of your Majesty, and advantage of your subjects* ||.

[G G] His tables calculated from the bills of mortality at Breslaw. In these bills then lately communicated to the Royal Society, both the ages and sexes of all that died were monthly delivered, and compared with the number of the births for five years preceding the then present year 1692; and falling of course into the hands of Mr Halley, who was still Assistant-Secretary to the Society, they appeared to him, on examination, to be drawn up with all the impartiality and exactness that the purpose required; whereupon he applied himself to make a proper use of them, in adjusting thereby the valuation of annuities upon lives. He was industrious to calculate a table shewing

the value of these annuities for every fifth year of age, to that of seventy; 'leaving it to the ordinary arithmetician (these are his words) to compleat the calculation, whenever bills of mortality should be given for a suitable large number of years.' But experience and observation having shewn these to be sufficient, the subject has been prosecuted by others, and brought upon his grounds to a very useful degree of perfection (70). In 1736, there was published an essay to ascertain the value of leases and annuities for years and lives, by Weyman Lee, Esq; wherein the author attacked the justness of Mr Halley's rules. This brought out the following piece, *Observations on an Essay, &c. Wherein Dr Halley's method is particularly considered, and rules laid down for estimating the chances of the duration of lives, and the value of annuities for years and lives, in a letter to a friend*, by H. B. I. T. S. 1739, 8vo. Besides this principal use of these bills, there are two more subjoined by our author which ought not to be omitted, as they are conspicuous proofs of that religious and benevolent turn of mind with regard to his fellow creatures, which was so amiable a part of his character. First then he infers from these tables, 'how unjustly we repine at the shortness of our lives, and think ourselves wronged if we attain not old age. Whereas it appears hereby, that the one half of those that are born, are dead in seventeen years time. So that instead of murmuring at what we call untimely death, we ought with patience and unconcern to submit to that dissolution, which is the necessary condition of our perishable materials, and of our nice and frail structure and composition: and to account it as a blessing, that we have survived perhaps many years that period of life, whereat the one half of the race of mankind does not arrive. A second observation, continues he, I make from the same table is, that the growth and increase of mankind is not so much stunted by any thing in the nature of the species, as it is from the cautious difficulty most people make to adventure on the state of marriage, from the prospect of the trouble and charge of providing for a family; nor are the poorer sort herein to be blamed, since their difficulty of subsisting is occasioned by the unequal distribution of possessions, all being necessarily fed from the earth, of which so few are masters; so that besides themselves and families, they are yet to work for those who own the ground that feeds them. And of such does by very much the greater part of mankind consist, otherwise it is plain that there might well be four times as many births as we now find. For by computation from the table, I find that there are nearly 15000 persons above 16 and under 45 years of age, of which at least 7000 are women capable to bear children; of these, notwithstanding, there are but 1238 born yearly, which is but little more than a sixth part, so that about one in six of these women do breed yearly. Whereas were they all married, it would not appear strange or unlikely, that four of six should bring a child every year. The political consequences hereof I shall not insist upon; but the strength and glory of a King consisting in the multitude of his subjects, I shall only hint, that above all things celibacy should be discouraged, as by extraordinary taxing and military service, and those who have numerous families of children to be countenanced and encouraged by such laws, as the *jus trium liberorum* among the Romans; but especially by an effectual care to provide for the subsistence of the poor, by finding them employments whereby they may earn their bread without being chargeable to the public.'

[H H] The three following years.] The most considerable of these will be found occasionally inserted in the course of this memoir, except his new method of determining the exact time of the solstices\*. Wherein he proves, against the opinion of all former Astronomers both antient and modern, that it is easier to ascertain the sun's entrance into the tropical points, than it is to observe the

(70) See De Moivre's Annuities upon lives, the second edit. of which was published in 1743, and another piece soon after on the same subject by Mr Simpson.

\* Phil. Trans. No. 215.

\* Phil. Trans. No. 154. for Dec. 1683.

† See remark [B B] note (59).

|| Phil. Trans. No. 226.



(yy) See rema 1c  
[A A] above.

(zz) MS. Memoirs, ubi supra. N. B. This place was not improbably procured by Sir Isaac Newton's interest with Mr Montague, who was also President of the R. S. about this time. See the dedication of Vol. XIX. Phil. Transf. and remark [B F].

(aaa) Some of the hail-stones weighed 3 quarters of a pound. Phil. Transf. No. 229.

(bbb) Ibid. No. 240. he found the height of Snowdon to be 1240 yards perpendicular.

(ccc) Ibid. ib. He also gave in the form number an account of an extraordinary rainbow seen by him in Abchurch-lane in 1695.

(ddd) The writer of his E-logie takes notice, that his name in that voyage is marked on the last maps of Mr De Lisle, among those of the most eminent sailors, in the number of whom he may be reckoned in respect to meer practical navigation, and the working of a ship.

† In note, † to remark [Z].

nicated others that were not then printed. Among these was a piece in 1694, containing an *Hypothesis concerning the Physical Cause of the Universal Deluge, by the approach of a Comet involving the Earth in it's watery Atmosphere* (yy), which was first made use of afterwards by Mr Whiston in his *New Theory of the Earth*. When the government had resolved upon recoinning the silver species, there being for dispatch five mints erected on that occasion, Mr Halley was appointed Comptroller of the Office at Chester in 1696 (zz). This employ brought him to that city, where he resided for two years, that is, as long as the office was continued. In the mean time the attendance upon that business put no check to the vivacity of his active genius in following those pursuits to which his inclination led him. Accordingly we find him at this time sending to the Royal Society an account of an extraordinary storm of hail, which fell in Wales and at Chester on the 29th of April 1697 (aaa), and presently afterwards climbing to the top of Snowdon-hill, in order to improve the rule he had before recommended, for measuring great heights by the proportionable fall of the mercury in the barometer (bbb). He likewise made some uncommonly curious observations upon a surprizing rainbow seen by him at Chester on the 6th of August the following year 1698 (ccc) [11]. An account of this was published in the Philosophical Transactions for November, and it was in the third of the same month, as has been already mentioned, that he set sail in the *Paramour* Pink man of war, in order to observe the variation of the compass, &c (ddd) wherein we are informed, that his own private views were of much greater extent than the instructions of the Court. The Captain, for he had now acquired that stile and character, had been at home little more than half a year, when he went in the same ship, with another express commission from the King, to observe the course of the tides in every part of the British Channel at home, and take the longitude and latitude of the principal head lands, in order to lay down the coast truly (eee). These orders were executed (fff) with his usual expedition, and soon after his return he published, in 1702, a large map of the British Channel. The Emperor of Germany having come to a resolution to make a convenient and safe harbour for shipping in that part of his dominions which borders upon the Adriatic, Captain Halley was sent this year by Queen Anne to view the two ports on the Dalmatian coast lying to that sea. He embarked in the *Thames* on the 27th of November, went over to Holland, and passing thence through Germany to Vienna, and having conferred with Mr Stepney the English minister there, he proceeded to Istria, with a view of entering on the execution of the Emperor's design; but some opposition being then given to it by the Dutch, he returned to Vienna, where being introduced by Mr Stepney to Leopold, he gave him an account of two harbours on the Istrian coast. Whereupon his Imperial Majesty presented him with a rich diamond ring from his own finger, and gave him a letter of high commendation, written with his own hand, to Queen Anne. He was likewise received with great respect by the King of the Romans, by Prince Eugene, and the principal officers of that Court. Presently after his arrival in England he was dispatched again upon the same business. This time he passed through Osnaburg and Hanover, where he supplied with his present British Majesty then Electoral Prince, and his sister the Queen of Prussia. Arriving at Vienna, he was presented the same evening to the Emperor, who directly sent his chief engineer to attend him to Istria, where they repaired and added some new fortifications to that of Trieste, the port of Boccari being found by the Captain fit to receive all kind of shipping with safety (ggg). Having seen the work finished he returned to England, where he arrived just before the great storm which happened November 26, 1703; and Dr Wallis being deceased a few weeks before (bbb), our author was appointed Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford in his room, and had

(ccc) He had long before observed that little had been done towards establishing a true theory of those tides. See Phil. Transf. No. 162. As to the survey of the coast, Mr Whiston tells us, our author wanted proper instruments for that purpose. Whiston's Memoirs, Vol. I. p. 335. 2d ed. 1753.

(fff) Mr Milner observes, that they were executed with an accuracy which seldom accompanies dispatch. Dr Halley's Elogr, ubi supra.

(ggg) MS. Memoirs, ubi supra. The last cited author, who had his intelligence from Mr Folkes, late President of the R. S. seems to insinuate that this business was a cover to some private negotiation with which Mr Halley was charged.

(bbb) The doctor died Oct. 28, 1703. See his monument in St Mary's church at Oxford.

the true time of the equinoxes. He shews how to perform it by three subsequent observations, made near the tropics at proper intervals of time, which are capable of all the exactness requisite; and that without any consideration of the parallax of the sun, refraction of the atmosphere, the greatest obliquity of the ecliptic, or the latitude of the place. Besides what he published himself, our author was very ready to assist others in the pursuit of any laudable design. Of this, among others, there is the following instance; one Mr John Houghton, already mentioned †, F. R. S. projecting about the year 1682, to write a course of papers upon the subject of husbandry and trade, found it necessary for his purpose to get some knowledge of the quantity of land in England. Upon that occasion he took the freedom of applying to Mr Halley, whose communicative disposition was no less known, than his excellent talent at contriving expeditious methods for dispatch, when the case required it. Accordingly the following expedient was immediately put into practice by him. He procured the best map of England extant at that time, and having very carefully cut off the sea all round the coast, he then struck the largest circle that was possible upon it, and cutting it out, he took the weight of that in the nicest scales, as also of the rest of the map. This done, the rule of proportion would give the whole quantity of land. Thus, As the weight

of the circle is to the weight of the rest of the map: So the quantity of land in the circle (to be measured geometrically) is to the quantity of land in the rest of the map, which two quantities put together make up the whole. This though acknowledged to be but a rude way, yet was thought to come as near the truth as any computation then extant, and being judged exact enough for Mr Houghton's purpose, was made use of by him, and inserted (as well as the contents of each county performed in the same manner by Mr Halley) in his weekly paper for the improvement of husbandry and trade (71).

[11] *A surprizing rainbow at Chester.* This rainbow was a secondary arch produced by reflection from the river Dee. Our author queries whether any such had ever been observed before, and declares he had never read of any. 'For though, says he, Des Cartes speaks of an inverted one, yet it is not possible to be seen as he describes it.' Mr Halley afterwards wrote a geometrical dissertation concerning the rainbow, in which, by a direct method, is shewn how to find the diameter of each bow, the proportion of refraction being given; and *à contra* (72). This subject had been left very imperfect by Des Cartes, who in his chapter of meteors used only an indirect and tentative method. In which too he had been followed by other writers of eminent note upon this subject.

(71) No. 24 and 25. published in Jan. 1691-3. 8vo. in the first volume of Husbandry and Trade improved. N. B. To this volume is prefixed a recommendation of this undertaking by several members of the R. S. and of Mr Halley among the rest.

(72) Phil. Transf. No. 267. is the year 1700.

[KK] He



had the degree of Doctor of Laws conferred upon him by that university. He was scarce well settled at Oxford, when Dr Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church, engaged him in an undertaking that had been entered upon by Dr Bernard, which was, to translate into Latin from the Arabic, *Apollonius de sectione rationis*: the task was no slight one, especially to our new Professor, who then was entirely unacquainted with the Arabic language, and his predecessor in the work had done no more than a few passages only. But Dr Halley, who was a perfect master of the subject, knew how to make use of these as a key to the rest, by which means he in a manner decyphered the whole, and compleated the translation with a success that was very surprizing [KK]. At the same time our editor, from the account given of them by Pappus, restored the two books which are lost, of the same author, *De Sectione Spatii*, and the whole work was put into one volume, and published by him at Oxford, 1706, 8vo. with the following title, *Apollonii Pergæi de Sectione rationis libri duo, ex Arabico manuscripto latine versi. Accedunt ejusdem de Sectione spatii libri duo restituti. Opus Analysis Geometricæ studiosis apprime utile. Præmittitur Pappi Alexandrini præfatio ad septimum collectionis Mathematicæ nunc primum Græce edita: cum Lemmatibus ejusdem Pappi ad hos Apollonii libros. Opera & studio Edmundi Halley, apud Oxonienses Geomet. Profess. Savilian. Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1706 (111)*. This was no sooner out of his hands, than he took a share with his colleague Dr David Gregory, in preparing for the press the same *Apollonius's Conics*. Here again he engaged in that which was by far the most difficult part of the work, and ventured to supply the whole eighth book, which is lost, of the original [LL]. Nor was this arduous undertaking sufficient to employ the whole extent of his faculties. He likewise added the treatise of *Serenus on the Section of the Cylinder* (kkk) and *Cone*, printed from the original Greek, with a Latin translation \*, in two books, and published the whole in 1710 in folio †. At the same time he also prepared for the press an edition of *Menelaus's Spherics* (lll)

(111) He dedicated it to Dr Aldrich, at whose benevolence the present in mathematicarum præfatione Vindicta in personam grati animi testimonium.

(111) He made an excellent use of this section in demonstrating the proportional heat of the sun upon the earth in all latitudes, where he shews the advantage of the present oblique position of the earth to the sun. Abridgm. of the Phil. Trans. Vol. II. p. 126.

\* The Greek original was never before printed.

† With this title, *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum libri octo, & Sereni Antipensensis de sectione cylindri & Coni libri duo.*

[KK] He restored and published *Apollonius de sectione rationis*. The Arabic manuscript of this tract of Apollonius, *apud Alexandrinum*, was first discovered among those of Selden in the Bodleian library by Dr Edward Bernard, who resolved to translate it into Latin, but laid it aside before he had gone through a tenth part of the work, probably by reason of the difficulty thereof. For besides that the manuscript was very ill wrote, and the letters left frequently without the usual points of distinction, very often words, and sometimes whole periods, were omitted; and the letters marking the lines of the diagrams very incorrect. Some time after Dr Bernard's death, what he had left of the version was revised and corrected by Dr Gregory his successor, who also procured a fair copy thereof to be written. This being shewn by Dean Aldrich to our author, then lately made Savilian Professor of Geometry, he immediately resolved to compleat the version, however difficult the task must be, especially to him who then knew nothing at all of the Arabic language. The method therefore he took was, first to observe carefully the sense of all such words in the original, which Dr Bernard's version furnished, after that by considering the argument of Apollonius, he began by degrees to descry the sense of the rest, and thus going on in this way of decyphering, he read the whole book through; and in a manner understood it, so that by a second perusal he brought it to the form in which we now have it, without the help of any other person whatsoever. Dr Sykes, then Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, and the greatest orientalist of his time, was particularly surprized therewith, and told a friend, that the Captain talking with him upon this subject, shewed him two or three passages in the original, which should be amended, telling him what the author actually there said, and what he should have said; which sense Dr Sykes found the words in question would easily admit, with only a small correction ‖. With regard to the Arabic manuscript, Mr Halley observes that it is the only version extant of the original Greek, which is lost: that as to its antiquity, the possessor's name written in the first page, anno Hegiræ 633, that is of Christ 1235, shews it to be done at least 500 years before. That there is no certain proof how much older it is, but he conjectures it was made a little after the year 820 of the Christian æra, when Almainon, Chalif or Emperor of the Saracens, purchased of the Grecian Emperors the books of their best Philosophers and Mathematicians, and procured them to be translated into Arabic. He observes that these pieces (as well as several more of the same author by others) had been after a manner restored before by Willebrozd Snellius, this being no difficult matter to do for any one skilled in Algebra. *Verum, inquit ille, perpendendum est, aliud esse problema aliquantulum resolutum dare, quod modis variis plerumque fieri potest,*

*aliud methodo elegantissima id ipsum efficere, analysis brevissima & simul perspicua, synthesi concinna & minime operosa* (73).

[LL] *Apollonius's Conics, &c.* This work was begun by Dr Gregory, who had undertaken to prepare the four first books for the press, with the comment of Eutocius in Greek and Latin, while Dr Halley was to do the rest. But Dr Gregory dying, when he had proceeded no further than the 44th page, the whole remainder of the work fell upon Dr Halley. In the prosecution of it, he was obliged to peruse several Arabic manuscripts in the Bodleian library, particularly a version of Apollonius into that language, made by Thebit Ben Corah, but revised (about 450 years before 1710) by Nasir Eddin, two of the most famous Mathematicians of the East. He sometimes also consulted another Arabic manuscript in the same library, by Abdolmelech Schizazita a Persian, five hundred years ago, and brought out of the East by Christianus Ravius, who had given a barbarous translation of it. But that which he found of the greatest use to him was the famous manuscript of Golius, purchased of Golius's heirs by Dr Narcissus Marsh, Primate of Ireland, who readily communicated it to him for the public benefit. From this he in many places not only corrected his own version, but also supplied the deficiencies in the Greek text. This manuscript was likewise Thebit Ben Corah's version, but first corrected by Beni Moses, and afterwards revised by Mohammed Ebn Al Hasan Tafæus, who began his corrections August 16, 1247, and finished them March 9, 1248. The scholia were written by Achmed Ebn Ali Abulfarai Mohammed, surnamed Ebno Ibawwab of Bagdad, who finished that part in October 1263, the whole being compleated on the 30th of March 1303, at Maraga, a city on the confines of Media and Assyria. This valuable manuscript contains the first seven books of the Conics of Apollonius; but in the margin of the last page is written to the following effect. At the end of the copy from which this is transcribed, it is written, *That the eighth part of this book was not translated into Arabic, because it was wanting in the Greek copies* (74). Our author's attempt to restore this part, was a difficulty which perhaps nobody besides himself would have thought of encountering. But that was neither sufficient to discourage his industry, nor yet to baffle his ingenuity. He had here again the *lemmata* of Pappus still extant to assist him. These helped to shew the connection between the seventh book and the eighth, and by that help he entirely supplied it. In this performance the elegant taste and manner of Apollonius are so perfectly copied, that the best judges have agreed, the whole eight books, as published by our author, may fairly be esteemed to be the work of the same Grecian master.

(73) Præfat. ad Apollon. de Sectione rationis.

(74) Præfat in Apollon. Conic.

‖ This remark of Dr Sykes was extracted from the MSS. Memoirs, to which we are so greatly obliged.



(111) This is not yet printed. MS. Memoirs.

(m m m) Ibid.

(n n n) In the year 1732, he mentions several observations made before by him in this design in several parts of his life. Phil. Transf. No. 421.

(111) [MM]. In the midst of all this business came out the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, containing besides others, several of his pieces, and the whole printed under his direction in 1708, in three volumes, 8vo [NN]. In 1713, on the 13th of November, he succeeded Dr [afterwards Sir] Hans Sloane in the post of Secretary to the Royal-Society (m m m). As perfecting the theory of the moon's motion was always uppermost in his thoughts, so he had never omitted to give all the hours he could spare to that subject (n n n) from other employments, to which the care of his family called him. In the year 1715, he had nearly completed this theory with regard to the syzgies or conjunctions. By this means he not only predicted within a very few minutes the central eclipse of the sun which happened that year, but drew a map likewise, wherein the extent of the moon's shadow was represented to a wonderful degree of exactness, as was verified by the event [OO].

The

[MM] He prepared for the press an edition of Menelaus's *Spherics*.] There is in history the following account of this antient author. That he was by birth a Milesian, that he made observations of the fixed stars at Rhodes, and also at Rome, and found the præcession of the equinox, or the first star of aries, to be  $6^{\circ} 12'$ . that he flourished almost a whole century before Ptolemy, who compared his own observations with those of Menelaus; who wrote six books *De Subtensis vel Chordis*, besides the three of *Spherics*. That from the third book of this last treatise, which contains many acute demonstrations concerning the proportion of lines, several things were borrowed by Ptolemy, and inserted in the first book of his *Μεγαλη Συναξις*. But that the *Spherics* of Menelaus, coming afterwards into the hands of Teibitius, were observed by him to be incorrect and defective, and that thereupon he revised and corrected the work; and by supplying the demonstrations where they were wanting, brought the whole into much better order than it had appeared in before (75). Merfennus, from a MS. of this piece, has given in his Synopsis an extract of the propositions contained therein; and I have now lying before me a book printed in 8vo. complete, only that there is neither preface nor title-page; but the running title is *Menelai Alexandrini Sphaericorum, libri tres*. The appellation of *Alexandrinus* must be a mistake, if the above account, that Menelaus, the author of the *Spherics*, was a Milesian, may be depended on. However, as is already observed, the book is complete, with the supplements of Teibitius entire, and inserted in their proper places. Blancanus \* mentions Menelaus of Alexandria, an excellent Geometrician likewise, who flourished in the fourth century, and who gave some demonstrations upon the 25th proposition of the first book of Euclid's Elements, which are extant in Proclus †. Upon the whole, it will be easily understood, that the design of the present remark is, to furnish some matter for forming a probable conjecture concerning the motives which might induce Dr Halley (whose regard for Ptolemy's works is seen on all occasions) to think of publishing the *Spherics* of Menelaus.

[NN] *Miscellanea Curiosa*, &c.] Among other pieces of our author contained in this collection, we find, in the second volume, his *Compendious and easy Method for constructing the Logarithms, exemplified and demonstrated from the nature of numbers, without any regard to the hyperbola, with a speedy method for finding the number from the logarithm given*. In this discourse, which is published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 216. he rejects the old definition of logarithms, *numerationum proportionalium æquidifferentes comites*, substituting a new one, wherein he calls them *numeri rationum exponentes*, considering ratio as a *quantitas sui generis*, beginning from the ratio of equality, or 1 to 1 = 0: and these *rationes* he supposes to be measured by the number of *rationunculae* contained in each. Now these *rationunculae* are to be understood as in a continued scale of proportionals, infinite in number, between the two terms of the ratio, which infinite number of mean proportionals, is to that infinite number of the like and equal *rationunculae* between any other two terms, as the logarithm of the one ratio is to the logarithm of the other. Thus if there be supposed between 1 and 10 an infinite scale of mean proportionals, whose number is 100,000, &c. in infinitum, then between 1 and 2 there shall be 30,102, &c. and between 1 and 3 there will be 47,712, &c. of them, which numbers therefore are the logarithms of the *rationes* of 1 to 10, 1 to 2, and 1 to 3, and not so properly to be called the logarithms of 10, 2, and 3. But if, instead of supposing the logarithms composed of a number of equal *rationunculae* proportional to each ratio, we shall take the ratio of

unity to any number to consist always of the same infinite number of *rationunculae*, their magnitude in this case will be as their number in the former. Wherefore if between unity and any number proposed there be any infinity of mean proportionals, the infinitely little augment or decrement of the first of those means from unity will be a *rationuncula*, that is the momentum or fluxion of the ratio of unity to the same number; and seeing that in these continual proportionals all the *rationunculae* are equal, their sum, or the whole ratio, will be as the said momentum is directly, that is the logarithm of each ratio will be as the fluxion thereof. Wherefore if the root of any infinite power be extracted out of any number, the differentia of the said roots from unity shall be as the logarithm of that number, and thence the logarithms are produced by extracting the root of an infinite power by Sir Isaac Newton's binomial theorem. Now though it cannot be denied that the logarithms are calculated with a most surprizing ease and expedition by this method, which was likewise the first attempt to explain the construction of logarithms without having recourse to Geometry, yet the infinitely little augment or decrement of the first mean proportional, in an infinity of such means, is enveloped so much in infinity, that it has been thought obscure and almost unintelligible, at least to conceive the idea clearly, is said to put an ordinary imagination to the strain; and on that account it is highly censured and condemned as too visionary by Mr Stone (76), who for this reason prefers the former method made use of by Sir Isaac Newton, of making use of the hyperbola in explaining the logarithms. But on the other hand, several of the best Algebraists have highly extolled this performance of our author as admirably neat and elegant (77); and 'tis certain that without taking in the consideration of infinity, we can have no notion of logarithms; so that upon the whole, there seems to be no just reason for robbing him of any part of his merit in being the first inventor of a method of demonstrating the nature and construction of logarithms without the help of the hyperbola, especially since this being a matter purely arithmetical, is not, as he well observes, so properly demonstrated from the principles of Geometry (78). Another piece of Mr Halley's, inserted in the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, and which we ought not to omit mentioning here, is his *Analogy of the Logarithmic Tangents to the meridian line demonstrated*, written in 1696 †, since it contains a much easier method than had been given before, for calculating a table of meridional parts, of such necessary use in the art of Navigation.

[OO] *As was verified by the event*.] Though it be certain from the principles of Astronomy, that there happens necessarily a central eclipse of the sun in some part or other of the globe, about 28 times in each period of 18 years, and that of these no less than 8 do pass over the parallel of London, 3 of which 8 are total with continuance; yet from the great variety of the elements whereof eclipses consist, it had so happened before that time, that since the 20th of March 1140, there had not been a total eclipse of the sun at London, though the shadow had passed several times over other parts of Great Britain. Mr Halley therefore thought proper not to neglect this opportunity of getting the the dimensions of this shadow ascertained. To this purpose he caused the abovementioned small map to be dispersed all over England, with a request to the Curious to observe what they could about the eclipse, and more especially the exact time of continuance of total darkness, as this required no other instrument than a pendulum clock, and being determinable to the utmost exactness, by reason of the momentaneous occultation and emergence of the luminous edge of the sun, whose least part makes day. The pains he took did

(76) In his Mathematical Dictionary, article *Logarithms*, 2d edition, 8vo.

(77) Particularly by Mr Cotes in his *Logometria*. Phil. Transf. No. 338.

(78) The substance of this piece, and not ill performed, has been lately inserted in an appendix to a treatise of Navigation, intitled *Navigatio Britannica*, &c. by Isaac Barrow. Lond. 1751. 8vo.

† Phil. Transf. No. 219. for Jan. and Feb. 1695-6.

(75) See *Clarusum Mathematicum Chronologia*, &c. p. 50. a P. Blancano. Bononiæ, 1615. 4to. Item *Univerſæ Geometriæ mixtæque Mathematicæ Synopsis*, &c. studio & opera F. M. Merſenni M. Paris. 1644. 4to. p. 204. & *Maurolici Siculi Sphaericorum*, lib. I. in præfatione. Ibid. p. 230.

\* In *Chronologia*, &c. ubi supra, p. 52.

† Dr Gregory tells us, that one Menelaus made observations of the fixed stars at Rome, in the first year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan. Greg. Astron. lib. ii. prop. 39.



(ooo) By the particular recommendation of the Earl of Macclesfield Lord High Chancellor, and the Earl of Sunderland Secretary of State. Mr Mairan's Eloge, and Memoirs of W. Whiston, p. 252. Vol. I. 2d edition.

(ppp) The words of his commission are, *To apply himself with the utmost care and diligence to the rectifying the tables of the motions of the heavens, and the places of the fixed stars, in order to find out the so much desired longitude at sea, for the perfecting the art of Navigation.*

(qqq) Viz. In his two places, that at Oxford and this at Greenwich, and therefore we find him presently after this last preferment resigning the post of Secretary to the R. S. which he held before along with his Savilian Professorship.

(rrr) The furniture of the Observatory, as well as that of the house, being the property of Mr Flamsteed, the whole was taken away by his executors; among the rest was a mural arch erected at his own expence. Phil. Transf. No. 421.

(79) Phil. Transf. No. 447.

|| To effect this problem, he invented a new and very useful theorem in Trigonometry.

The Astronomer Royal as well as Mr Whiston gave out a scheme and calculation of this eclipse, which proved to be nothing near so exact as that of our author. This was therefore a very conspicuous instance of his superior abilities at least in that article of Astronomy. His merit in that science became from this juncture universally acknowledged, so as to be above the reach of envy or party opposition. Several other instances of this merit appeared also in the subsequent years [P P], so that upon the death of Mr Flamsteed in 1719, Dr Halley was appointed to succeed him (ooo) by his late Majesty King George the First. Thus fixed at Greenwich, he now at length saw himself in possession, not only of such advantages in respect to his fortune as satisfied his moderation, but also of those opportunities with regard to his fame, which had all along been the principal view of his life. His most ardent wish was to bring the theory of the moon's motion, at least into so great a forwardness, as should be a sufficient incitement to others to finish his scheme of that which he had constantly to this time looked on as the only practicable method of finding the longitude at sea. Here he was not only provided with the best conveniencies for that purpose, but had the honour of his royal master's express commands to apply himself particularly to that subject (ppp), and at the same time he was put into a capacity of prosecuting it uninterruptedly (which had not been hitherto his fortune), by having a handsome competency for the support of his family (qqq). Nor did he fail to answer the most sanguine expectations of his friends. For though he entered at Greenwich into a house where nothing was left but bare walls (rrr), yet he immediately fixed a transit instrument upon the meridian, and fell to his darling employment with that assiduity which was a very distinguishing part of his character. He was now in the sixty-fourth year of his age, a time of life when Cicero said of himself in the words of Plautus, *Mibi quidem ætas æta ferme est, Life is almost over with me (sss)*,<sup>2</sup> and yet Dr Halley attended his telescope without any assistance for eighteen years afterwards. In all which period he scarce lost a meridian view of the moon, whether by day or by night, as often as the heavens would permit (ttt). That he might have no avocation from this work, he resigned the post of Secretary to the Royal Society in 1721 (uuu), and the next year he began to take the right ascensions of the moon with his transit instrument, till the celebrated mural arch was (www) erected and finished at the publick expence in 1725, by which he was enabled to determine their longitudes from observations (xxx). Upon the accession of his present Majesty to the throne, his consort Queen Caroline thought proper to make a visit at the Royal Observatory, and being greatly satisfied with the polite reception she met with, among other things, took particular notice that our author had formerly served the Crown under commission of a Captain in the Navy; and she was pleased shortly

(111) See Some Epistles between Brutus and Cicerone, in the 4th volume of Dr Middleton's Works in 4to. Lond. 1752. p. 381. Epist. 14. N. B. The genuineness of these epistles will be considered in its proper place, viz. in the article MIDDLETON [CONYERS].

(111) MS. Memoirs.

(uuu) He was succeeded therein by Dr Jurin, Nov. 17. Historical Register, p. 44. for that year.

(www) There is a description with a figure of both these instruments in Dr Smith's Optics, Vol. II.

(xxx) This appears from the title of this part of his lunar tables, as follows, *Lunæ meridianæ ascensiones rectæ Grenovii observatæ a die Jan. 13, 1722. ann. Julian. ad diem Decemb. 27. ann. 1735. & ejusdem longitudines ibidem observatæ a die Decemb. 5, ann. 1725. ad diem Decemb. 27, 1739. cum computo tabularum collata.*

† She was then within 40°, or in the middle, between her shortest and longest distance from the sun.

(80) No 349. This invention had been started by him several years before. See Houghton's Husbandry and Trade improved, &c. No. 103. July 20. 1694.

(81) See his paper, intitled, Some Queries concerning the nature of light and diaphanous bodies. Phil. Transf. No. 206.

(82) In his Eloge, ubi supra.

(83) Viz. No. 341, 347, 348, 354, 355, 360, 363.

not miss of having their desired effect. For the weather happening to prove generally favourable, he received from many places such good accounts, that they fully answered all his expectations, and were sufficient to establish several of the elements of the calculus of eclipses; 'So as for the future, says he, we may more securely rely on our own predictions, though it must be granted, that in this our Astronomy has lost no credit.' Our author received particular orders from the Royal Society to observe this eclipse on the top of their house in Crane-court Fleet street, with the instruments belonging to the Society; these were a quadrant of near 30 inches radius, fixed with a telescopic sight, and moved with screws, so as to follow the sun with great nicety. He was accompanied with several persons of distinction and others, eminent for their skill in Astronomy, particularly the Earl of Abingdon and Lord Parker (afterwards Earl of Macclesfield) then Chief Justice of the King's Bench, observed along with him, having instruments provided for them; as also had Mr Monmort and the Chevalier de Louville, which last came from Paris expressly on this occasion.

When the central eclipse happened, February 28, 1736, Mr Maclaurin observed it himself at Edinburgh, and sent to his friends to determine the duration of the annular appearance, that by comparing their observations with his own, he might trace the path of the center and the limits of that phenomenon, after the example given in 1715 by Dr Halley, to whom, says he, we owe the best description of an eclipse that Astronomical History affords (79).

[P P] Several instances of his abilities in the following years.] Among these are an account of Venus seen in the day-time in 1716. This is selected by the writer of his elege, as a remarkable instance of our author's dexterity in applying calculation to physico-mathematical problems. This planet appeared at that time visible to the naked eye at mid-day, and in strong sunshine. I saw it so myself more than once or twice. Mr Halley's demonstration, shews that proper allowances being made for her distance from the earth, and the magnitude of her visible part, she can never appear so bright to us, as when her luminous crescent oc-

cupies but the fourth part of her disk †. This account was published by our author in the Philosophical Transactions (80), and in the same paper he inserted his invention of a new diving-bell, wherein the diver might continue at the bottom of the sea in much greater depth than in the usual way, as long as he pleased, by means of a contrivance to convey fresh air to him for respiration. Of this he made an experiment himself, being let down in company of four others from a ship's side in it, to a prodigious depth, together with a chair, table, and pen, ink, and paper. The whole being so ordered as to remain very steady, and light being conveyed into it through a spherical glass fixed at the top, he could see to write very well, and actually sent messages up to the ship in writing, containing directions for moving him, &c. as he thought proper. The machine indeed is too complicated and cumbersome for the use of the pearl fishery. However, the particulars of what he saw and felt during the experiment, the different colours and reflections of light, filtered as it were through such an immense quantity of water, were, as Mr Mairan observes (81), worthy objects of a learned curiosity, and afforded great assistance to Sir Isaac Newton in his optics (82). And it is worth notice, that the invention, by reducing it to the compass of four feet, was afterwards brought into general use in the Baltic sea, by Mr Trierwold, Captain of Mechanics and Military Architect to his Swedish Majesty at Stockholm, who declares that experience had convinced him, that no invention built upon any other principles than those of this bell, can be of use in any considerable depths, nor the diver a single moment safe, Phil. Transf. No. 414, for 1736. Besides these two articles, he published the following in the same Transactions within the time mentioned in the text. (1.) An account of several extraordinary meteors seen by himself. (2.) An account of an aurora borealis in 1715-16. (3.) The parallax of the sun. (4.) A small telescopic comet seen June 10, 1717. (5.) A change of latitude in some of the fixed stars. (6.) An account of an extraordinary meteor seen March 19, 1718-19. (7.) An account of an extraordinary aurora borealis, November 10, 1719 (83).



(yyy) MS.  
Memoirs.

(zzz) See his  
Eloge by Mr  
Mairan of that  
Academy, ubi  
supra.

(aaa) See be-  
low in remark  
[22].

(bbb) When  
attacked with a  
slight fever on  
catching cold, he  
used to take at  
one dose half an  
ounce of Jesuit's  
bark in water-  
gruel, which he  
called his choco-  
late, and by  
which he was  
always relieved.  
MS. Memoirs.

shortly after to obtain of his Majesty for him a grant of his half-pay for that commission, which he enjoyed during his life from that time. An offer was also made to him of being appointed Mathematical Preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, but he declined that honour by reason of his great age, and because he deemed the ordinary attendance upon that employ would be inconsistent with the performance of his duty at Greenwich (yyy). In August 1729, he was admitted as a foreign member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, in the room of Signor Bianchini (zzz). Even from his first entering upon the moon's theory, considering well the great tediousness and difficulty of that task, he had been always very desirous to have others join (lest any thing should happen to himself) in carrying it on to a perfect completion (aaa). It was with this view that he published a proposal in 1731 for finding the longitude at sea within one degree or 20 leagues [22]. He had now attained the 75th year of his age. Yet he stuck close to his mural telescope as abovementioned, 'till the end of the year 1739. When having completed his third Plinian period, he there closed this important work. He had indeed been seized a year or two before with a paralytic disorder in his right hand. This was the first attack he had ever felt upon his constitution (bbb), and though it is true it did not disable him from carrying on his observations with the same assiduity as before, yet after this time he was obliged to make use of a friend to write down his *calculus* (ccc). He came still as usual once a week, 'till within a little while before his death, to see his friends in town on thursday, before the meeting of the Royal Society. This pleasure he continued to enjoy to the last verge almost of his life, neither 'till within a few months of his death did he quite neglect his mural arch (ddd). He was of a happy constitution, and preserved his memory and judgment to the last, as he did also that particular cheerfulness of spirit for which he was remarkable. His paralytic disorder gradually increasing, and thereby his strength wearing, though gently, yet continually, away, he came at length to be wholly supported by such cordials as were ordered by his Physician (eee), 'till being tired with these he asked for a glass of wine, and having drank it presently expired as he sat in his chair without a groan, on the 14th of Jan. 1741-2, in the 86th year of his age (fff). His

(ccc) This at-  
tendant was Mr  
Gale Morris,  
F. R. S. a gen-  
tleman remark-  
ably skilled not  
only in Astrono-  
mical but in all  
other kinds of  
calculations.  
MS. Memoirs.

(ddd) He ob-  
served that a stu-  
pidous life had this  
advantage, that  
it kept a man out  
of harm's way.  
Tillotson's Life  
by Birch, p. 95.

(eee) Dr Mead.

(fff) Ibid.

[22] *A proposal for finding the longitude at sea, within a degree or twenty leagues* ] He had now perfected his tables for one whole period of the moon's *apogæum*, which is performed in something less than nine years. In that compass of time he had observed the right ascension of the moon at her transit over the meridian near 1500 times, and with an exactness, he was bold to say (they are his words) preferable to any thing done before, a number, this not less, than all that were made by *Tycho Brabe*, *Hevelius*, and *Flamsteed*, taken in one sum. There being near four of his lunar observations for each degree of the *argumentum annum*, or distance of the sun from the *apogæum*. Long before this he had resumed his first design in 1683, of filling his Synopsis of the defects in the lunar theory. Being encouraged therein by Mr Flamsteed's observations published in 1704, and also by Sir Isaac Newton's theory, a sketch of which had been first inserted by Dr Gregory, in his *Astronomiæ, &c. Elementa*, published in 1702, and again in the second edition of Sir Isaac's *Principia*, which came out in 1713. Where the same theory was revised and amended by himself to that degree of exactness, that the result frequently at that time, as our author found, for many months together, rarely differed two minutes of motion from the observations themselves. Dr Halley had likewise computed tables of this theory, which though not then published, were printed in 1721. And now to the end that the observations he had made since his coming to Greenwich, might be duly applied to rectify the defects of his former computations; he had himself compared with the abovementioned tables, not only his own observations, but also upwards of eight hundred of Mr Flamsteed's; who indeed as he notes, had been long enough possessed of the Royal Observatory, to have had a continued series of observations for more than two periods of eighteen years, by which he had it in his power to have done all that could be expected from observations towards discovering the law of the lunar motions; but that he contented himself with sparse observations, leaving wide gaps between, so as to omit frequently whole months together, and even the whole year 1716. He further informs us as to himself, that he had made some observations with a *calculus* in 1690 and 1708, which by comparing he perceived to differ insensibly from what he found in the like situation of the sun and *apogæum* in 1726 [the next *farotic* period]. Encouraged by this event, he next examined what difference might arise from the period of nine years wanting nine days; but the return of the sun to the *apogæum* in that time, differing above four times as much from an exact revolution, as in the period

of eighteen years, he could not expect, he says, the like agreement in that; however, having now entered upon the tenth year, he compared what he had observed in 1721 and 1722, with the observations in 1730 and 1731, and rarely found a difference of more than a single minute of motion (part of which might perhaps arise from the small uncertainty that always attends astronomical observations), but most commonly this difference was wholly insensible; so that by the help of what he observed in 1722, he presumed he was able during the then present year 1731, to compute the true place of the moon with certainty, within the compass of the two minutes of her motion mentioned in his appendix to Street's *Caroline* tables.—He then observes, that the motion of the moon was so swift as to afford us scarce ever less than two minutes for each degree of longitude, and sometimes two and a half. 'Twas this swiftness of the moon's motion that first put the Captain upon thinking to discover the longitude by it, since the appulses or occultations by the moon might be observed with a short telescope, such as was manageable on shipboard in moderate weather. This he experienced himself in the remote voyages he took in 1698, and the two following years, to ascertain the magnetic variations, where the few observations he had made in 1683 and 1684, proved of signal use to him in determining the longitude of his ship, as often as he could get sight of a near transit of the moon by a known good star, and thereby he frequently corrected his journal in those errors which are unavoidable by the common methods in long sea voyages (84). Mr Hadley the same year had printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 420, an account of his instrument for taking angles by reflection, which he concludes with the following remark. 'How far an instrument of this kind may be of use at sea, to take the distance of the moon's limb from the sun or a star, in order to find the ship's longitude, when the theory of that planet is perfected, I leave to others to determine. The Society has the satisfaction to know that theory to be already brought to a good degree of certainty and exactness, through the consummate skill of a very learned member, and have great reason to hope it will in a little time be completed by the continued application of some of their own body.' So far Mr Hadley; and it must be observed, that to encourage others to this undertaking, our author had lately published in *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 369, his *Zodiacus Stellatus* improved, containing besides the known stars, a great number of telescopic stars, whose positions were exactly ascertained.

(84) *Phil. Trans.*  
No. 421.



His corpse was interred near Greenwich, in the church-yard of a small village called Lee, by his own request, in the same grave where he had seen that of his beloved consort laid a few years before [R R]. With regard to Dr Halley's character it may be observed, that in his person he was of a middle stature, inclining to tallness, of a thin habit of body, and a fair complexion, and always spoke as well as acted with an uncommon degree of sprightliness and vivacity. As he was a member whose name reflects an honour upon the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, Mr Mairan, a member thereof, read, according to custom, the Eloge (which we have frequently quoted) of him before that Academy in 1742. Wherein after an oratorical account of the universality of his genius [S S], and the boldness of his philosophical hypotheses [T T], the conclusion presents us with the following particulars relating to the character of our author's temper and manners, communicated by Mr Folkes, who succeeded him in the French Academy, and was then President of the Royal-Society. He, Dr Halley, says this Eloge writer, possessed all the qualifications necessary to please princes who were desirous of instruction, great extent of knowledge, and a constant presence of mind; his answers were ready, and at the same time pertinent, judicious, polite, and sincere. When Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, came into England, he sent for Mr Halley, and found him equal to the great character he had heard of him. He asked him many questions concerning the fleet which he intended to build, the sciences and arts which he wished to introduce into his dominions, and a thousand other subjects which his unbounded curiosity suggested; he was so well satisfied with Mr Halley's answers, and so pleased with his conversation, that he admitted him familiarly to his table, and ranked him among the number of his friends, a term which we may venture to use with respect to a prince of his character; a prince truly great, in making no distinctions of men but that of their merit (g g g g). But Mr Halley, continues this writer, possessed still more of the qualifications necessary to obtain him the love of his equals. In the first place he loved them; naturally of an ardent and glowing temper, he appeared animated in their presence with a generous warmth, which the

(g g g g) See more of this under the year 1697 in an account of that Emperor's Life, by Mr Mottley, in folio, who observes that the Emperor then resided in a house of Sir John Evelyn's, called Say's-court at Deptford.

[R R] *He was buried at Lee near Greenwich.* Over the grave, which is near the fence on the east side of the church-yard, there stands a handsome tomb of Portland stone, erected by his two surviving daughters, upon the face of which, is the following plain inscription in Latin:

Sub hoc marmore  
Placide requiescit cum uxore carissima  
Edmundus Halleus, LLD.  
Astronomorum sui seculi facile princeps  
Ut vero scias lector  
Qualis quantusque vir ille fuit  
Scripta ejus multifaria lege  
Quibus omnes fere artes & scientias  
Illustravit ornavit amplificavit  
Æquum est igitur  
Ut quem cives sui virum  
Tantopere coluere  
Memoriam ejus posteritas  
Grata veneretur  
Natus } est. A. C. { MDCLVI.  
Mortuus } MDCCXLI.  
Hoc Saxum optimis parentibus  
Sacrarunt duæ filia pientissimæ  
Anno C. MDCCXLII.

Here is also interred Mrs Margaret Halley  
Eldest daughter of the above Dr Halley  
Who died on the 13 of October 1743  
In the 55th year of her age.

Besides this daughter (who was never married), and several other children who died in their infancy, the Doctor had a son who lived to man's estate and afterwards, but died long before his father. His other daughter is still living, being married to a second husband [Mr Price], and is much esteemed.

[S S] *An oratorical account of the universality of his genius.* We have already produced two specimens\*, which our author's universal genius gave his euloge writer an occasion to exert his excellent talents that way. Those specimens however looked no further than to Mr Halley's universal scholarship, and indeed were evidently designed for no more than leading steps, made use of to rise by them gradually to the full completion of this part of his character. In this view, having gone thro' the several particulars of our author's life, to that of

his reviewing the Emperor's ports on the gulph of Venice as an engineer, which gave room, as we have already observed, to insinuate, that under that cover he negotiated some secret state affairs between the two Crowns. Mr Mairan closes this part of his plan in these terms. 'While we thought the eulogium of an Astronomer, a Naturalist, a Scholar, and a Philosopher, comprehended our whole subject; we have been insensibly surprized into the history of an excellent Mariner, an illustrious Traveller, an able Engineer, and almost a Statesman.'

[T T] *The boldness of his Philosophical wit.* We have already taken notice of his free manner of interpreting the Mosaic account of the Deluge in favour of his hypothesis, which, ascribing it to the near approach of a comet to the earth, as also of his extraordinary solution of the *Aurora Borealis*. Besides these, he proposed a method of tracing the world's age backwards to the Creation, by the repeated observations of many years upon the saltiness of the sea (85), which by some experiments of his own, he conjectures, is perpetually increasing by the acquisition of new salts extracted from the earth by the rivers, and so incessantly conveyed to the sea. As this hypothesis led him to a much greater age of the world than is usually inferred from the Mosaic history, he supposes each of the six days of the Creation to be much longer than those afterwards, and even extends every one of them to the length of a thousand years; being of opinion, that such a length is not inconsistent with any thing delivered by Moses. Further. As he embraced the common opinion concerning the reality and infinitude of space, he concludes the number of stars to be infinite upon the principal of mutual attraction, which must immediately unite them in one common centre, unless balanced every where and to infinitude (86). This opinion, 'tis well known, was long ago maintained by Lucretius, and upon account of this and some other bold philosophical tenets, the Doctor's religious principles have been frequently suspected, but without any just foundation. On the other hand, Mr Mairan, with much greater truth and candor, observes upon this part of our author's character [the boldness of his hypotheses], that as he was not afraid to oppose popular opinions, conceiving and proposing hypotheses without the least scruple, forming conjectures from his own observations and particular apprehension. So to this boldness, frequently fortunate, because always directed by knowledge, we are indebted for the admirable theory of the variations of the compass, and the greater part of the other discoveries which have so much contributed to the advancement of learning and the benefit of society.

(85) In Phil. Trans. No. 344.

(86) Ibid. No. 195.

[UU] *The*

\* In remarks [R] and [CC].



(b b b b) Besides the several instances of this, mentioned below, there is a paper communicated to Mr Wotton by our author, wherein he declares, that as to Dioptrics, though some of the Ancients mention refraction as a natural effect of transparent media, yet Des Cartes was the first who in this age discovered the laws of refraction, and brought dioptrics to a science. Wotton's *Reflections upon ancient and modern Learning*, chap. xxiv. p. 601. 3d edit. 1705. 8vo.

the pleasure alone of seeing them seemed to inspire; he was open and punctual in his dealings, candid in his judgment, uniform and blameless in his manners, sweet and affable, always ready to communicate, and disinterested. He opened a way to wealth by all that he effected for the improvement of Navigation: to the glory of which he has added that of having done nothing to enrich himself: he lived and died in that mediocrity so much extolled by Philosophers, the free choice of which implies a great degree both of virtue and wisdom. The only meer lucrative place he ever had, was that in the mint at Chester, which soon determined, and he never desired another. He was generous, and his generosity exerted itself even at the expence of a vanity from which the learned are no more exempted than other men, and which perhaps they more frequently betray. I am furnished, proceeds Mr Mairan, with an instance of this by a letter which accidentally came into my hands about six years ago, written by him to an author whom he knew only by reputation. Mr Halley, in this letter, with equal sagacity and politeness points out an error in a very critical calculation which that author had fallen into, in treating on the turning point of a question in Astronomy and Physics. It must not however be concealed, that Mr Halley never published that letter, although it would certainly have done him honour; but we must not too particularly reveal a secret, from concealing which he derives still more. The reputation of others gave him no uneasiness, a restless jealousy and anxious emulation were strangers to his breast. He was equally ignorant of those extravagant prejudices in favour of one nation, which are injurious to all others. The friend, countryman, and disciple of Newton; he spoke of Des Cartes (b b b b) [UU] with respect; and successor to Dr Wallis; he did justice to the merit of our

[UU] *The friend, countryman, and disciple of Newton; he spoke of Des Cartes with respect.* There are several instances of the truth of this remark. Among the rest we shall insert the following, as necessary to explain the just force of Mr Mairan's expression. To begin with his paper concerning the construction of solid problems; where making use of what Des Cartes had delivered upon that subject, he introduces it in the following words. 'Cartesius's construction, which does very easily discover the roots of all cubic and bi-quadratic equations where the second term is wanting, may be supposed as known; yet since 'tis the main bottom, on which all that follows does depend, that this dissertation may not seem to want a principal part; I'll here add the rule taken out of his geometry, altering some few things as I think for the better.' Again pursuing the subject in a discourse concerning the number of roots in solid and biquadratic equations, &c. having declared that his first view reached no farther than to perform something serviceable to geometers of the second rank, he proceeds in these terms: 'Coming to look nearer into the business says he, I found I was imprudently fallen in among some of the profound difficulties of geometry, and destined to handle the same things, that formerly employed the pains of two illustrious men, Harriot, and Cartes. In which they either of them (by a like fate, though in a different way) committed a paralogism, perhaps the only one in all their geometrical writings' (87), as shall be afterwards proved. Lastly, in his geometrical dissertation concerning the rainbow, speaking of the cause and reason of the colours thereof, he writes thus. These were things that a long while and very greatly perplexed, as well the Moderns as the Ancients, neither did they do any thing to the purpose therein, till the famous Monsieur Des Cartes, making use of the mathematical sciences, shewed by several examples, that more strict and close methods of reasoning might and ought to obtain, even in our management of those physical speculations. Among other things, he explained the theory of the rainbow, and having discovered the laws of refraction, he clearly demonstrated, that the primary iris, &c. Mr Halley afterwards refers his reader to the 8th chapter of Cartes's book on meteors, and then remarks, that Cartes having used an indirect and tentative method in determining the angles of refraction, did not seem clearly to apprehend the easiness of the problem he proposed to himself; and because, continues he, none that I know of since him has handled the same argument more fully; and also since, some have misunderstood what Des Cartes did, committing very great paralogisms, I was willing to supply what I thought was wanting in this doctrine. Thus we see at the same time, that Dr Halley did not spare to do justice to the true merit of Des Cartes, he took care to raise a lasting monument to his own fame, by correcting the errors, and supplying the deficiencies of that eminent French Philosopher, herein treading exactly in the steps of his great master

Sir Isaac Newton. Nor was he less mindful to reflect back a good part of the honour derived to him in the friendship of that illustrious person. While Sir Isaac was unfolding the mysteries of the mundane system, by the help of a new geometry invented by himself, this disciple extended that geometry to subjects altogether untouched, and perhaps unthought of by the inventor; several of these have been mentioned in the course of this memoir, to which we refer the reader; but as in applying the method of fluxions, Dr Halley has expressed himself concerning their nature, in terms which may not seem altogether agreeable to his great master's mind, it may be expected that some notice should be taken of it in this place. It must indeed be acknowledged, that our author does not scruple to call moments by the name of indivisibles (88), yet signifying at the same time that they are such indivisibles as have not any determinate magnitude. The representation 'tis true seems harsh, at least *prima facie*, and the term indivisible, as well as the doctrine, is well known to be cautiously avoided by Sir Isaac, when he teaches the nature of his fluxions. However, it cannot be denied, that the same harsh idea is conveyed almost unavoidably by his own words, while he calls his moments the evanescent decrements of quantities continually decreasing, at which state those quantities when infinitely diminished do arrive, being then, or on such arrival, accurately in the ratio of their generating velocities, and are represented, as not differing really so much as modally from the limits at which those velocities are taken (89). Mr Maclaurin also understands moments in respect to time, not to be parts, but terminations and limits of time (90), and surely a limit is strictly indivisible. In a sentiment not much unlike this of our author, Mr Machin observes that  $z$  [the first moment] when considered as the measure of  $z$ , is indivisible, though in respect of  $z$  [the second moment] it be taken as the part, according to which the measure was made, and therefore be divisible (91). In the mean time it is agreed, that these two properties expressed by the Doctor are those characteristics which require a most careful attention in using the method of fluxions, and no-body disputes, that he has constantly and duly observed the caution, so that his conclusions always came out perfectly right. Thus was he an honour to his master's geometry; and whoever looks into the third book of the *Principia*, will presently be convinced, that without Dr Halley's assistance, the system of the world would have been far short of that perfection, wherein it now appears. Almost every page presents some instance or another of this truth. But there is one particular which the determined brevity of the illustrious author in that work, would not suffer him to shew in its full proportion of merit, and which yet shines conspicuously above the other various productions of his disciple, and therefore must not be omitted here. I mean his *Synopsis of the Doctrine of Comets*. Sir Isaac having shewn a method of delineating their orbits geometrically, on a supposition that they move about

(87) This remark will appear the more candid with regard to the latter, as Mr Fermat has shewn several mistakes which Des Cartes fell into for want of understanding fully, as he says, the true nature of Geometry.

(88) See his Demonstration of the Analogy of the Logarithmic Tangents, &c. and his General Proposition, shewing the dimensions of all curves of the cycloidal kind, where he not only calls, but considers them as indivisibles, and declares that his demonstration would not hold without it.

(89) See *Principia Math.* &c. lemma ii. and the general scholium.

(90) See his *Treatise of Fluxions*, Vol. I. p. 245.

(91) *Phil. Trans.* No. 447.



our antient Geometricians [*WW*]. To conclude, these uncommon and valuable qualifications were tempered in Mr Halley with a vein of gaiety and good humour, which neither his abstracted speculations, the infirmities of old age, nor the palsy itself, which seized him some years before his death, could impair: and this happy disposition, the gift of nature, was the more perfect, as it was still attendant upon that peace of mind, which is the nobler endowment of virtue.' Since his death, his long expected tables of the sun and planets were published in 1752, in 4to. with this title, *Astronomical Tables, with Precepts both in English and Latin for computing the places of the Sun, Moon, Planets, and Comets* [*XX*].

about the sun in a parabolic orb, and describing areas taken at the center of the sun, proportional to the times as he proved in the comet of 1680 (92). Dr Halley following the steps (they are his own words) of so great a man, attempted to bring the same to arithmetical calculation, and succeeded in the attempt. To effect this, having first collected all the observations he could meet with in all history, he thence formed a table exhibiting the astronomical elements of the motions in a parabolic orb of all the comets, that had then been duly observed. This table contains the nodes, perihelia distances, and course, of twenty-four comets, the first of which appeared in 1337, and the last in 1698 (93). In constructing this table, he spared no pains that it might come forth perfect, as a thing consecrated to posterity, and to last as long as astronomy itself, this he scruples not to declare; and however fond such an opinion may seem, it has been in a large measure justified by the universal esteem, which this great work (for so it may well be called, though lying in a very small compass) (94) has been since received by the best astronomers. He declared it to be the labour of many years; and the precise number hath been lately determined to be eighteen, by a French author (95), who apparently reckons the whole interval between the first edition of the *Principia Mathematica*, &c. in 1687, to 1705, when the *Synopsis*, &c. was first published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 297, where he declares that opportunity of publishing it was taken, least happening to die, the papers might be lost, which every man, continues he, is not capable to retrieve, because of the great difficulty of the calculation. The principal use of the table, and that which induced our author to construct it is, that whenever a new comet should appear, it might be known by comparing the elements, whether it be any of those which have appeared before, and if so, we might be able to determine it's period, and the axis of it's orbit, and to predict it's return. Upon these principles he ventures to foretel, that the comet of 1531, was the same with that of 1682, and observing a period of  $75\frac{1}{2}$  years may be expected to return in 1757, which, if it should happen, as he observes, will greatly confirm the truth of his table. He thinks also that the famous comet of 1680, was the same that appeared in the time of Julius Cæsar performing it's period in 575 years (96). It will no doubt seem a little paradoxical to such as are not well acquainted with geometry, to talk of the periodical revolutions or returns of a body which is supposed to move in a parabola. For the sake of those persons, it will not be amiss to observe, that notwithstanding our author, after his master, reduced the cometical orbits to a simple parabola, having the sun in it's focus in common with the ellipses described by the ordinary planets, which greatly facilitates the cometic calculus, and was agreeable to astronomical observations, yet the path or line of a comet's motion was not so precisely determined by those observations, but that it might be elliptical; however as these bodies do not make returns upon that supposition till after long periods of time, the ellipses described by them must be very eccentric; in which case, the velocity being very nearly equal to that in a parabola (97), the difference will be easily compensated in determining the situation of the orbit. Indeed it seems probable that comets rather move in such eccentric ellipses for many reasons, and particularly this, that though they appear frequently enough, yet none of them are found to move with an hyperbolic motion, or a motion swifter than what a comet might acquire by it's gravity toward the sun. Upon that principle therefore, when the *Synopsis* came out again in the second edition of the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, &c. in 1727, the Doctor signified, that he had made some progress in calculating the elliptical orbits of the two comets abovementioned; declaring at the same time his resolution to compleat it.

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Accordingly we find this inestimable work with that addition, published with his Lunar tables, under the following title. *Synopsis Astronomiæ Cometicæ, quæ cometarum hæcenus debite observatarum motus in orbe parabolico debite representantur. Eorumque qui annis 1680 & 1682 (98), fulsere post certas periodos redeuntium motus in orbibus ellipticis accurato calculo subiiciuntur.* By such egregious productions as these, did Dr Halley transmit his own fame, in company with that of Sir Isaac Newton; nor did his friendship degenerate into formal heartless expressions after Sir Isaac's decease. On the contrary, he thought himself then obliged by that tie to shew himself the guardian of his friend's fame, and in that character we find him seconding Sir Isaac's defence of his Chronology, against some farther objections made by P. Souciet in 1727. This defence is inserted in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 397. The piece is short, but he has unanswerably proved the point he undertook, and no humane mind can read it without being sensibly touched with that warmth of a most generous friendship, which glows ardently throughout the whole. To conclude, this friend of Sir Isaac Newton, had the happiness of flourishing under six crowned heads (99), and received favours from each of them, such as were the pure effects of his singular merit; which merit being as well known abroad as it is at home, what wonder is it that foreigners in viewing the tombs in Westminster-Abbey, after they have stood a while admiring Sir Isaac's monument, are apt sometimes to ask, where is that of his friend Dr Halley.

[*WW*] He did justice to the merit of our ancient Geometricians.] This writer had before taken notice, that 'the geometry of the Ancients, the strictness of their demonstrations, and the elegance of their constructions, were always held by our author in great estimation; and that with this turn of mind he translated Apollonius's Conics, and the two books of Serenus;' and to these may be added his copy of Menelaus's Sphærics, and the correct edition of Ptolemy's catalogue of the fixed stars mentioned in these remarks. But the instance of his doing justice to the merit of our ancient geometricians, produced by Mr Mairan in this place, seems a more direct proof of what he observes a little before, concerning Dr Halley's freedom from those extravagant prejudices in favour of one nation, which are injurious to all others. Here follows the instance: 'In the introduction to an algebraical memoir which he [Halley] read to the Royal Society, he makes no difficulty to acknowledge, that Harriot, Oughtred, and many others, as well English as foreigners, had taken from Vieta, all that was valuable in what ever they had published on that subject.' It is worth observing also, that our author's respect is tempered with the same impartiality to Vieta, as we have shewn in the last remark it was to Des Cartes, and that out of this respect he also raised a monument to his own fame, making the tediousness (which he remarks) of Vietas's method for resolving roots of equations, a foil to set off the elegance of his own, as delivered in the memoir here alluded to by Mr Mairan, being his *rational and irrational formula for extracting such roots without any previous reduction.* It was first published in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 210, in the year 1694, and afterwards in an appendix to the first edition of Sir Isaac Newton's *Arithmetica Universalis*, in 1707, 8vo, as proper to supply that part of the treatise, which was left untouched by the author (100).

[*XX*] *Tables of the sun, moon, &c.*] This work was printed in Latin by our author in 1739, with the following title prefixed, *Edmundi Halleii Astronomi dum viveret Regii Tabulæ Astronomicæ. Accedunt de usu tabularum præcepta.* But after his death the precepts here mentioned, not being found, were added by another hand, as were also a table of the mean conjunctions of the sun and moon (101); another of refractions:

(98) The last mentioned gentleman, Astronomical Professor of Gresham-college, having discovered a very practicable rule for finding the true anomaly from the mean in the elliptic orbits of comets, illustrates it by the examples of these two. Phil. Trans. No. 447.

(99) Viz. Charles II. James II. William III. Queen Anne, George I. and George II.

(100) See Mr Whiston's account of this matter in the *Arithmetica Universalis*, published by him, together with the appendix, by the particular consent, as he declares, of both the authors.

(101) Our author's tables of the eclipses which had happened in the 223 lunations, from 1701 to 1718, with the corrections which he had made for that purpose, and called the Plinian Period, are omitted, both because that period is less accurate, and besides after a few periods becomes of little use.

(92) In the *Principia*, toward the end of the third book.

(93) To this he has subjoined another table for computing the motion of comets in general in a parabolic orb, of which he gives the construction and also the use in two examples.

(94) It is contained in a single 8vo. page.

(95) Mr Monier, in his *Théorie des Comètes*, Paris, 1743. 8vo. N. B. This author, as well as Mr Costard in his *Rise and Progress of Astronomy*, 1746, 8vo, is mistaken in saying that Dr Halley's *Synopsis*, &c. was inserted in *Scarlborough's Euclid*, printed at Oxford, in 1705. fol. The first specimens of it given to the public, appeared in Dr Gregory's *Astronomy*, book v. prop. 35. and it's scholium, published at Oxford, in 1702. fol. and these shew it was not then perfected.

(96) Mr Machin having observed the path of the comet in 1737, concluded it from our author's elements in this table to be the fifth comet inserted there, which appeared in 1556. Phil. Trans. No. 446.

(97) Viz. In the subduplicate ratio of the distance of the aphelium in the ellipsis to it's whole axis; that being the proportion of the *latus rectum* of the ellipsis, to that of a parabola which has the same distance in it's perihelium.



tions; and a third of the longitude and latitude of the most remarkable places for ancient eclipses and modern observations; the whole being revised by Dr Bradley, the present Astronomer Royal. In the preface it is observed, that our author made use of Mr Flamsteed's observations, which, though taken with great care, and faithfully entered in his book, were too few of the sun to determine the solar numbers with sufficient exactness, of which Dr Halley frequently complained; hence he could not determine either the species or position of the earth's orbit, much less could he discover any equations to the motion of the aphelia and the other small equations, by which the orbit is affected, since these are not to be found out, nor their quantities determined, but by a long series of the nicest observations. It is likewise further observed, that neither the aberration of the light of the fixed stars, nor the equations to the position of the equinoctial points, nor that of the nutation of the earth's axis were at that time known, which equations, though small, are sufficient to produce a sensible appearance of error in good observations. That the great candour of Dr Halley is manifest in this, that he never intended to offer his lunar tables to the public as perfect, rather choosing to omit some equations, for determining which he had not proper observations; and at the same time resolving to publish what errors he should find in them from his own observations. As to the precepts, they are very short, but illustrated with a great number of examples for the

use of common mariners. The method is thus: First, observe nicely the time of an occultation, or close application of a fixed star to the moon, then find in the tables a correspondent observation, i. e. when there is the same mean anomaly and distance of the moon from the sun, in the same year of her period of eighteen years and eleven days, and about the same time of the year; this done, the difference of the time between the two observations, reckoning two minutes of time to a degree, gives the distance of the ship's meridian from that of London, for which the tables are calculated. The rule seems to be easy enough for general use, but it has not hitherto been found, that observations can ordinarily be made by sailors to the required degree of exactness. Our author indeed hoped, or rather wished, the same would be brought to perfection by Mr Hadley's reflecting quadrant (102), and several observations were made in 1732, on board the Chatham Yacht, by Dr Bradley and Mr Hadley, off Gravesend, and also near Sheerness, for the trial of it. But the truth is, all farther prosecution of this method for finding the longitude at sea, was dropped soon after those trials, being superseded by Mr Harrison's clock, which was approved by Dr Halley himself, as well as others, the best skilled in these matters; and which as well from the curious contrivance, as also from a successful trial thereof cross the Bay of Biscay, is universally allowed to promise much the easiest and most accurate way of attaining this grand Quæsitum. P

(102) Mentioned in remarks [22].

**HAMMOND [HENRY]**, one of the most learned, pious, and rational, English Divines in the last century, was born at Chertsey in Surrey August 18 (a), 1605. He was the youngest son of Dr John Hammond, Physician to Henry Prince of Wales, who was his godfather, and gave him his own name (b); and, by the mother's side, was descended from Dr Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's. Being yet in his long coats, which formerly were worn beyond the years of infancy, he was sent to Eaton-school; where, thro' the more than paternal care and industry of his father (who was an exact critic in the learned languages, especially the Greek), he became a great proficient in Latin and Greek. His singular improvement and skill in the latter, was owing more particularly to the friendship and conversation of Mr Thomas Allen, Fellow of Eaton-college (c). He is also said to have attained at school a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue [A]. And was very remarkable for sweetness of behaviour and uncommon piety; never engaging upon any occasion into fights or quarrels, and often retiring into places of privacy to say his prayers. At the age of thirteen, anno 1618, being ripe for the university, he was sent to Magdalen-college in Oxford; of which, on July 30, 1622, he was chosen Demie (d), and the 11th of December following took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (e). June 30, 1625, he took the degree of Master of Arts (f), and on the 26th of July the same year was elected Fellow of his college (g); having been appointed before reader of the Natural Philosophy lecture there. Some time after taking his degree, he applied himself to the study of Divinity [B]; and in 1629, being arrived to the age of twenty-four, entered into Holy Orders, as the statutes of the college required. During his residence in the university, he generally spent thirteen hours a day in his studies, which carried him not only through the whole course of Philosophy, but almost through all the classic authors; upon the more considerable of which he wrote notes and critical emendations, and drew up indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book (h). On the 28th of January, 1633-4, he proceeded Bachelor in Divinity (i); and some time before [C], Dr Frewen, then President of his college, and one of his Majesty's Chaplains, afterwards Archbishop of York, giving him the honour to supply one of his turns at Court; Robert Sydney Earl of Leicester, who happened to be one of his auditors, was so deeply affected with the sermon, and thence took so just a measure of the preacher's merit, that

(a) Life of Dr Hammond, by John Fell, D. D. Lond. 1662. p. 1. But A. Wood places his birthday on the 26th, Athenæ, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 245.

(b) Fell, *ibid.* p. 2. and Life of Dr Hammond, prefixed to his Practical Catechism, edit. 1715. 8vo.

(c) The same that assisted Sir Henry Saville in his fine edition of St Chrysostome. Fell, p. 4.

(d) Fell, p. 3, 4, 5, 6. and Wood Athen. ut supra.

(e) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 222.

(f) *Ibid.* col. 231.

(g) *Idem* Ath. Vol. II. col. 245.

(h) Fell, p. 6, 7, 8.

(i) Wood Fasti, ut supra, col. 257.

[A] He is also said to have attained at school a competent knowledge of the Hebrew tongue. And to have even become a kind of tutor to several persons in that language. For (as Dr Fell observes) 'It being then rarely heard of even out of grammar-schools, he grew the tutor of those who began to write themselves men, but thought it no shame to learn of one whose knowledge seemed rather infused than acquired; or in whom the learned languages might be thought to be the mother-tongue (1).'

(1) Fell, p. 3, 4.

[B] He applied himself to the study of Divinity. Dr Fell informs us, that 'Having taken his degree [of Master of Arts] he presently bought a *System of Divinity*, with design to apply himself straightway to that study; but, upon second thoughts, he returned for a time to human learning: and, afterwards, when he resumed his purpose for theology, took a quite different course of reading from the other too much usual,

'beginning that science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive truth in the primitive writers [He should have added, especially the Holy Scriptures] and not to suffer his understanding to be prepossessed by the contrived and interested schemes of modern, and withal obnoxious authors (2).'

(2) *Id.* p. 7.

[C] And some time before. Dr Fell says, that 'not long after' his entering into holy orders, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity. And, as he places that fact before his preaching at Court, one would be apt thence to conclude, that he took that degree in the beginning of the year 1633. But by comparing Dr Fell's relation (3) with A. Wood's Fasti (4), it is evident, that Mr Hammond did not take his Bachelor of Divinity's degree till January 28, 1633-4; some months after he had been inducted into his living.

(3) P. 8.

(4) Col. 257.



that he immediately offered him the rectory of Penshurst in Kent, then void, and in his gift. Our author accepting of it, was inducted August 22, 1633. Thereupon he quitted the college, and went and resided upon his cure, where he performed every branch of the ministerial function in the most diligent and exemplary manner: not only by constant preaching [D], but also in daily reading the public prayers [E], administering the Sacraments [F], relieving the poor, keeping hospitality [G], reconciling differences amongst neighbours, visiting the sick, catechising the youth [H], &c. (k). March 7, 1638-9, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity (l): and in 1640 was chosen one of the members of the Convocation, called with the short Parliament that began April 13 that year. Also, by the unsought-for favour of Dr Brian Duppa, then Bishop of Chichester and afterwards of Winchester, he was made in 1643 Archdeacon of Chichester: and the same year named one of the Assembly of Divines, but never sat amongst them (m). In the beginning of the national troubles, he continued undisturbed at his living (except the being now and then summoned before the committee of the country) 'till the middle of July 1643. But joining then in the fruitless attempt made at Tunbridge in favour of the King, he was forced to retire in disguise to his old tutor Dr Buckner, to whom he came about the 25th of July, early in the morning. In this retirement he continued quietly about three weeks, 'till an alarm was brought, that strict enquiry was made after Dr Hammond, and a hundred pounds reward promised to the person that should produce him. Thereupon he found it necessary to remove; and, by the persuasion of Dr Oliver, newly chosen President of Magdalen-college, who had absconded with him, they jointly withdrew to Oxford [I]. Having procured an apartment in his old college, he sought that peace in his retirement and study which was no where else to be found; taking no other diversion than what the giving encouragement and instruction to ingenious young students afforded him, and the satisfaction which he received from the conversation of learned men (n). In

(k) Fell, p. 9,  
10, 11.

(l) Wood, Fasti,  
ut supra, col.  
276.

(m) Fell, p. 230

(n) Fell, p. 26  
—33.

[D] *Not only by constant preaching.* His preaching was not at the ordinary rate of the times, an unpremeditated, undigested effusion of shallow and crude conceptions; but a rational and just discourse. His method was, after every sermon to resolve upon the ensuing subject; and that being done, to pursue the course of study which he was then in hand with, reserving the close of the week for the provision of the next Lord's-day. Whereby not only a constant progress was made in knowledge, but materials unawares gained for the immediate future work (5).

[E] *But also in daily reading the public prayers.* Namely in his own church: and that, not only upon Sundays, and festivals and their eves as also on Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the rubrick; but every day in the week, and twice on Saturdays and holy-day eves. And at those devotions he took order, that his family should give diligent attendance (6).—Even when deprived of his living, he did not intermit so necessary a duty, as that of prayer. For, in the ten last years of his life, his certain perpetual returns of prayer exceeded David's seven times a day. As soon as he was ready, which was usually early, he prayed in his chamber with his servant, in a peculiar form composed for that purpose. After this he retired to his own more secret devotions in his closet. Betwixt ten and eleven in the morning he had a solemn intercession in reference to the national calamities: to this, after a little distance, succeeded the morning office of the Church, which he particularly desired to perform in his own person, and would by no means accept the ease of having it read by any other. In the afternoon he had another hour of private prayer, which on Sundays he enlarged, and so religiously observed, that if any necessary business or charity had diverted him at the usual time, he spent the supper-time therein. About five of the clock, the solemn private prayers for the nation, and the evening service of the Church returned. At bed time his private prayers closed the day: and after all even the night was not without its office, the 51st Psalm being his midnight entertainment (7).

[F] *Administering the Sacraments.* The administration of the holy communion in particular, he reduced to an imitation, though a distant one, of primitive frequency, to once a month; and therewith its ancient inseparable attendant, the Offertory: wherein his instruction and example so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any poor-rate in his parish. Nay 'tis reported, that in a short time a flock was raised to be always ready for putting out children apprentices. And, after that, there yet remained a surplus, for the assistance of the neighbouring parishes (8).

[G] *Relieving the poor, keeping hospitality.* For the relief of the poor, he constantly set apart a weekly

allowance of money, over and above the tenth part of all he received, and the daily alms given at his door. To which must be added, his selling of corn to his poor neighbours under the market-price; which though, as he said, he had reason to do, in that it saved him the charge of carriage, yet was it no small benefit to poor labourers, who, besides the abatement of price, and forbearance of payment sometimes, saved thereby a day's work.——As he was thus liberal to the necessitous, so was he no less hospitable to those of better quality; especially on Sundays, which seldom passed without some of his neighbours at his table; he well knowing how much the application at the table enforced the doctrines of the pulpit, and how necessary the endearing of his person was to the recommending his instructions.——In every instance he was kind and obliging to his parishioners; not only in compounding with them for their tithes, but also in receding even sometimes from his right. For instance; having set the tithe of a large meadow, and upon agreement received part of the money at the beginning of the year; it happening that the crop was afterwards spoiled by a flood, when the tenant came to make the last payment, he not only refused it, but returned the former sum, saying to the poor man, *God forbid I should take the tenth where you have not the nine parts.* By these and the like means he came to be universally beloved in his parish: so that when he was driven away, and his books plundered, one of his neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the war (9).

[H] *Catechising the youth.* His custom was, during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before evening prayer in catechising; at which the parents, and older sort of people used to be present, and from whence (as he was wont to say) they reaped more benefit than from his sermons.——And that no imaginable assistance might be wanting, he provided an able school-master in the parish, whom he continued during the whole time of his abode there (10).

[I] *They jointly withdrew to Oxford.* Dr Hammond was forced to withdraw, chiefly through the malice of one who wanted to get into his good living. He made much difficulty to consent to go to Oxford, thinking that too public a place; and, what he more considered, too far from his cure, whither he had hopes, (when the present fury was allayed) to return again; and, for that purpose, had wrote to such friends of his as were in power, to use their interest for procuring his safety. But his letters meeting with a cold reception, and the company of his friend on one hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other, charming him to it, he was at last persuaded: so encompassing Hampshire, they came with some difficulty to Oxford (11).

(9) Fell, p. 14  
—19.

(10) Id. p. 20—  
22.

(11) Fell, p. 26

[K] And —32.

(5) Fell, p. 11,  
12.

(6) Ibid. p. 12,  
13.

(7) Ibid. p. 115  
—117.

(8) Ibid. p. 13,  
24.



the number of these was Dr Christopher Potter, Provost of Queen's college, with whom he had a particular intimacy, and who prevailed upon him to publish his Practical Catechism in 1644 [K]. The same year, and the following, he put out several useful pieces adapted to the times [L]. In December 1644, he attended, as chaplain, the Duke of Richmond, and Earl of Southampton, who were sent to London by King Charles the First, with terms of peace and accommodation to the Parliament (o). And when a treaty was appointed at Uxbridge, he appeared there as one of the Divines on the King's side; in which station, he not only laboured to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: but also managed, greatly to his honour, a dispute with Richard Vines [M], one of the Presbyterian ministers sent by the Parliament (p). A few days after the breaking of this treaty, a Canonry of Christ-church in Oxford becoming void by the death of Dr William Strode, King Charles bestowed it, about March 15, 1644-5, on Dr Hammond (q); and the university chose him also their public Orator [N] His Majesty coming to reside in that city, appointed him moreover one of his chaplains in ordinary. But these new employments did not divert him from his beloved studies, nor hinder him from publishing several books, adapted chiefly to the increasing mischiefs of the times (r) [O]. His attendance as chaplain was superseded by the surrender of Oxford, and the King's captivity in the Scots camp, and at Holdenby: but, when his Majesty came into the army's power, he was permitted to attend him again, in his several confinements

(o) See the Memorable Occurrences, at the end of Mercurius Rusticus.

(p) Fell, p. 37, 38, 39.

(q) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 450.

(r) Fell, p. 44, 45.

[K] *And who prevailed upon him to publish his Practical Catechism* It was published at their joint charge, (as the reader may see in Dr Hammond's life) and without the author's name; at Oxford 1644, in 4to, and in 1645, 12mo. The bookseller printed a new impression of it in 1646, 4to. without the author's knowledge, to all appearance. For, before publication, the Doctor sent to him additions and changes, which he printed under the title of, 'Large Additions to the Practicall Catechisme, written by Henry Hammond, D. D. Containing these heads, Of Just Dealing; Of the Creed; The Sacraments; The Commandments; St Basil's Prayer, &c. Together with the Author's Preface, and many other insertions by way of Appendix:' which were printed in 4to, as part of the IVth, and the Vth, and VIth, books of that work. This is a very neat edition. — Though it was one of the most valuable and excellent books published at that time, yet because it did not suit the nonsense then prevailing, great objections were raised against it by fifty-two ministers within the province of London; and especially by Fr. Cheynell, the same infamous person that slandered, in the meanest manner, the memory of the most learned Mr Chillingworth (12). Dr Hammond therefore was obliged to vindicate his Catechism in the following pieces. 1. 'A view of some Exceptions to the Practicall Catechisme: from the censures affixt on them by the Ministers of London, in a book entituled, *A Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ*, &c.' 2. 'A copy of some Papers past at Oxford, betwixt the Author of the Practicall Catechisme, and Mr Cheynell.' Lond. 1646, 4to. 3. 'Vindication of three passages in the *practicall Catechism*.' Lond. 1648, 4to. — Notwithstanding all discouragements and opposition, that good book met with so kind a reception, that the 7th edition came out in 1662: and the 15th edition was published in 1715. The 2d, 3d, and 4th books are an explanation of our Saviour's sermon on the mount.

[L] *The same year, and the following, he put out several useful pieces adapted to the times.* I. 'Of resisting the Lawfull Magistrate under colour of Religion: and appendant to it, of the word *Kρίμα* rendered Damnation, Rom. 13. Also, of the Zelots among the Jewes; Of taking up the crosse; A vindication of Christ's reprehending St Peter, from the exceptions of Mr Marshall.' Oxford, 1644, 4to. II. 'Of Conscience, Scandall, Will-worship, and Superstition.' Oxford, 1645, 4to. III. 'Considerations of present use concerning the Danger resulting from the Change of our Church-government.' IV. 'A view of the new Directory, and a Vindication of the ancient Liturgy of the Church of England; in answer to the Reasons pretended in the Ordinance and Preface, for the abolishing the one, and establishing the other.' Oxford.

[M] *But also managed, greatly to his honour, a dispute with Richard Vines.* At this treaty, Dr Steward and Mr Henderson were at first only admitted to dispute; but at the second meeting the other Divines were called in: which was a surprize, and designed for such, to those of the King's part, who came as chap-

lains and private attendants on the Lords; but was before designed and prepared by those of the Presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of Dr Hammond to have Mr Vines for his antagonist; who, instead of offering a scholastick disputation, read from a paper a long Divinity lecture, in which were interwoven several little cavils and exceptions designed for arguments. Dr Hammond perceiving this, drew out his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately answered the several suggestions in order, being about forty. Which he did with that readines and sufficiency, as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the truth he asserted. However, an impudent falsity was afterwards raised upon the Doctor, namely, That Mr Vines utterly silenced him; in so much that he was fain to use this unheard-of stratagem to avoid his adversary's demonstration, viz. to swear by God and the holy Angels, that though at present a solution did not occur to him, he could answer it. But the Doctor being informed of this slander, wrote a letter in his own vindication, Jan. 22. 1655, wherein he has these words; 'I am both sure that I never called God and his holy Angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary oath that I know of (and sure there was then none imposed on me) and that I was not, at that meeting, conscious to myself, of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or pressed with any considerable difficulty, or forced by any consideration to wave the answer of any thing objected (13).'

[N] *And the university chose him their public Orator.* In his predecessor's time, viz. in 1626, that Canonry was annexed to the office of public Orator (14); which is the reason why Mr Wood says (15), that 'By virtue of this Canonry he became Orator of the university.' But it has been separated again since from that office.

[O] *Nor hinder him from publishing several books, adapted chiefly to the increasing mischiefs of the times.* Namely, V. 'Of Sinnes of Weaknesse, Wilfulnesse, And appendant to it, A paraphrasticall Explication of two difficult Texts, Heb. vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. and Heb. x. 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.' Oxford, 1646, 4to. VI. 'Of a late or a death-bed Repentance.' Oxford, 1646, 4to. VII. 'Of Idolatry.' Oxford, 1646, 4to. VIII. 'A View of some Exceptions which have beene made by a Romanist, to the Lord Viscount Falkland's Discourse of the Infallibillie of the Church of Rome. Together with the Discourse it selfe of Infallibilitie prefixt to it.' 1646, 4to. IX. 'Of the Power of the Keyes: or, of binding and loosing.' Lond. 1647, 4to. X. 'Of fraternal Admonition and Correetion.' Lond. 1647, 4to. XI. 'The Christian's Obligation to Peace and Charity. Delivered in an Advent-Sermon at Carisbrooke-castle, an. 1647. And now published with IX. Sermons more.' Lond. 1649, 4to. They are dedicated to the King; who had been 'pleased to call, for about twelve weeks' before, for the first sermon; as the learned author says in his dedication, which is dated Sept. 16, 1648.

(13) Fell, p. 38 — 43.

(14) Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. ii. p. 47.

(15) Athenæ, ut supra.

[P] *When*

(12) See the article CHILLINGWORTH [WILLIAM].



confinements and removes of Woburn, Cavesham, Hampton-court, and the Isle of Wight; at which last place he continued 'till Christmas 1647, the time that all his Majesty's servants were put away from him (s). Deprived of this his desired employment, he returned again to Oxford; where being chosen Sub-dean of Christ-Church (an office to which belongs much of the scholastic government of that college), he undertook the entire management of all affairs; and discharged it with great abilities and admirable diligence, 'till March 30, 1648, when he was forcibly turned out by the parliamentary visitors (t) [P]. Instead of being commanded immediately to quit Oxford, as others were, a Committee of Parliament voted him and Dr Sheldon to be prisoners in that place, where they continued in restraint for about ten weeks. During this confinement, he began his excellent Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament [Q]. Some intention there was of removing him and his fellow-prisoner to Wallingford-castle [R]. But, by the interposition of his brother-in-law Sir John Temple, he had leave to be removed to Clapham in Bedfordshire, the house in which his friend Sir Philip Warwick lived. The trial of King Charles drawing on, and our author being in no other capacity to interpose than by writing, drew up an address to the General and Council of Officers, and transmitted it to them [S]. His grief for the death of his royal master was extreme; but, after having indulged it a while, he resumed his studies, and published several pieces (u) [T]. And the rigour of his restraint being taken off in the beginning of the year 1649, he removed to Westwood in Worcestershire, the seat of the loyal Sir John Packington, from whom he

(s) Fell, p. 47, 48.

(t) Fell, p. 48, &c.  
J. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, &c. Part ii. p. 103.

(u) Fell, p. 52 —57.

[P] *When he was forcibly turned out by the parliamentary visitors.*] The accusations laid against him were; His refusing to submit to the visitors power; His being concerned in drawing up the reasons which were presented to the Convocation against the authority of that visitation; and, His refusing to publish the visitors orders for the expulsion of several of the members of Christ-church (16).

[Q] *His Paraphrase and Annotations on the New Testament.*] The ground-work of this excellent book was this: Having written in Latin two large volumes, in 4to. of the way of interpreting the New-Testament, with reference to the customs of the Jews, and of the first Heretics in the Christian Church, and also of the Heathens, especially in the Grecian games; above all, the importance of the Hellenistical dialect, into which he had made the exactest search (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that sacred book): he began to consider that it might be more useful to the English reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language, and set every observation in its natural order, according to the direction of the text. And having some years before collated several Greek copies of the New Testament; observed the variation of our English from the original; and made an entire translation of the whole for his private use; being thus prepared, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears (17). It first came out in 1653. He published, in 1656, *A Review of it with some Additions and Alterations*, Lond. 8vo. And in 1698, Mr John Le Clerc put out a Latin translation of this work, namely of the Paraphrase and Annotations, (with the text of the vulgate) wherein he hath intermixed many of his own animadversions, explaining those points upon which Dr Hammond had but slightly touched; and corrected many of his mistakes. He frequently criticizes upon the Doctor's sentiments, and examines his quotations by the originals; whereby he has discovered a great many typographical errors, especially in numbers, and not a few of the Doctor's mistakes in quoting upon the credit of others. Sometimes he blames him, for giving a particular sense to certain Greek words, contrary to the common use of those words in Greek authors, wherein he thinks the Doctor was not very conversant, and that he learned his Greek rather in studying the Fathers to know their sentiments, than to obtain an exact skill in the language. He blames him also, (and indeed he is justly blameable) for meeting so often with the Gnostics; thinking that the writers of the New Testament allude to them oftner than they do; and even wresting some texts to favour that hypothesis. But the Doctor shewed his good sense, judgment, and honesty, in following the immortal Grotius, especially in his commentaries on the Epistle to the Romans.

[R] *Some intention there was of removing him and his fellow-prisoner to Wallingford-castle.*] But Colonel Evelyn, the Governor of that castle (though a man of as opposite principles to church and church-men as any in those rebellious times) wholly declined the employment; solemnly protesting, that if they came to him, they should be entertained as friends, and not as

prisoners. — During their confinement at Oxford, the King desired that they should attend him at the treaty in the Isle of Wight. But this reasonable request was not granted; under pretence, that they were prisoners. And, probably, the gaining that, was the cause why they were so; as Dr Fell observes (18).

[S] *Drew up an address to the General, and Council of Officers.*] Which he published under this title, XII. 'To the right honourable the Lord Fairfax, and his Council of Warre; the humble Adresse of Henry Hammond.' Lond. 1649, 4to. XIII. Shortly after he put out a vindication of the same, intitled, 'A Vindication of Dr Hammond's Adresse, &c. from the Exceptions of Eutastus Philodemus, in two particulars; concerning the Power supposed in the Jew, over his own Freedome; the no-power over a man's own life: Together with a brief Reply to Mr John Goodwin's Τερισωδιναι, as far as concerns Dr Hammond' Lond. 1650, 4to. The person who assumed the name of Eutastus Philodemus, was the author of *The Original and End of civil Government*

(18) See Fell, p. 53i 54.

[T] *And published several pieces.*] Particularly, XIV. 'Of the Reasonableness of Christian Religion.' Lond. 1650, 12mo, printed since at the end of his Practical Catechism. He published also an answer to David Blondell's objections, concerning the Valentinian Heresy, and Episcopal, and Chorepiscopal power, occasioned by Archbishop Usher's edition of Ignatius's Epistles. This answer was in Latin, and intitled, XV. *Dissertationes quatuor, quibus Episcopatus jura ex S. Scripturis et primæva Antiquitate adstruuntur, contra sententiam D. Blondelli, et aliorum.* To which is prefixed, *Dissertatio de Antichristo, de mysterio Iniquitatis, de Diotrephe, et de Gnosticis sub Apostolorum ævo se prodentibus.* Lond. 1651, 4to. In pursuance of the same argument, he published the two following tracts in English. XVI. 'A Vindication of the Dissertations concerning Episcopacie, from the Answers or Exceptions offered against them by the London Ministers, in their *Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici.*' And, XVII. 'An Answer to the Animadversions on the Dissertations touching Ignatius's Epistles, and the Episcopacie in them asserted.' Lond. 1654, 4to. — In the former of these, namely in the *Vindication of the Dissertations*, &c. from page 125 to 137, he vindicates himself against some detractors, who affirmed, that in his annotations on the New Testament, he had stolen a great deal from Grotius. To which he adds, 'A digression concerning some jealousies spread of Hugo Grotius: whom his enemies had represented as a Socinian, a Papist, and what not. — In further vindication of that excellent writer, he published, XVIII. 'A Defence of the learned Hugo Grotius, &c.' Lond. 1655, 4to. XIX. 'A second Defence of the learned Hugo Grotius, or a vindication of the Digression concerning him from some fresh Exceptions.' Lond. 1655, 4to. And, XX. 'A continuation of the Defence of Hugo Grotius, in an Answer to the Review of his Annotations on the New Testament.' Lond. 1657, 4to.



he had received a kind invitation. Here he spent the remainder of his days. In 1651, when King Charles the Second came into those parts, he waited upon him, and received a letter from his own hand, of great importance, to satisfy his loyal subjects concerning his adherence to the Religion of the Church of England. His Majesty's defeat, and the subsequent persecution that fell upon the generous master of the family in which he was entertained, greatly disconcerted his mind. But his grief was much alleviated by the King's deliverance and wonderful escape (w). And, as soon as he could compose his thoughts, he pursued his studies with amazing diligence. For in 1653 he published his great work on the New Testament; and after that went on applying antidotes to the distempers of the Church and State, and opposing those monstrous, ill-grounded, and absurd tenets, which were daily broached under the name of Religion: particularly those of the Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts [U]. Popery, which also was lifting up its head, through the usurper's connivance or encouragement, and by taking advantage of our unhappy troubles and divisions, received due correction from his masterly hand [W]. And, though the loss of all his preferments had in a great measure deprived him of the means of exerting his favourite virtue of Charity [X], yet he exercised it to the utmost of his power, especially towards the loyal exiles [Y]. Also he formed at the same time this generous design, namely, to preserve the future being of the Church of England, which was in danger of being utterly destroyed by the cruel interdict of January 1655 (z) [Z]. But these designs did not divert him from his further endeavours to improve and benefit the world by his learning: since he undertook a Paraphrase and Commentary on all the books of the Old Testament; of which he published the Psalms, and went through a third part of

(w) Fell, p. 64, 65, 66.

(x) Fell, p. 73, 74, 76, 78.

[U] *Particularly those of the Anabaptists and other Enthusiasts.* Of this kind were, XXI. 'A Letter of Resolution to six Queries of present use in the Church of England, viz. 1. Of the way of resolving Controversies, which are not clearly stated and resolved in the Scriptures. 2. Of marrying the wife's sister. 3. Of Polygamy and Divorces. 4. Of the baptism of infants. 5. Of imposition of hands for ordination. 6. Of the observation of Christmas-day, and other Festivals of the Church.' Lond. 1653, 8vo XXII. 'An Account of Mr Cawdry's triplex diatribe, concerning Superstition, Wil-worship, and Christmas-festivall.' Lond. 1654, 4to. XXIII. 'Of Fundamentals in a notion referring to practice.' Lond. 1654, 12mo. XXIV. 'The Baptising of Infants reviewed and defended from the Exceptions of Mr Tombes, in the three last chapters of his book entitled *Anti-pedo-baptism*.' Lond. 1655, 4to. XXV. 'The degrees of ardency in Christ's Prayer, reconciled with his fullness of habitual Grace, in reply to the author of a book entit. *A mixture of Scholastical Divinity, &c.* by Henry Jeanes.' Lond. 1656, 4to. XXVI. 'The grounds of Uniformity from 1 Cor. xiv. 40, vindicated from Mr Henry Jeanes's Exceptions in one passage in the View of the Directory.' Lond. 1657, 4to.

[W] *Popery—also—received due correction from his masterly hand.* For, (besides his two pieces against the Romanists mentioned above under note [O] No. 7, 8.) he published against them, XXVII. 'An Appendix, or Answer, to what was returned by the Apologist.' Lond. 1650, 4to. That Apologist was the author of, 'A Treatise apologetical touching the infallibility of the Church Catholic, &c.' in answer to Lord Falkland. XXVIII. 'Of Schisme: or, a Defence of the Church of England, against the Exceptions of the Romanists.' Lond. 1653, 12mo. [John Serjeant put out an answer to it.] XXIX. 'A Reply to the Catholick Gentleman's Answer to the most material parts of the booke of Schisme. Where-to is annexed, An Account of H. T. his Appendix to his Manual of Controversies, concerning the Abbot of Bangor's Answer to Augustine.' Lond. 1654, 4to. XXX. 'The Disarmer's Dexterities examined. In a second defence of the Treatise of Schisme.' Lond. 1656, 4to. XXXI. 'Parænesis, &c. A discourse of Heresy in defence of our Church against the Romanist.' Lond. 1656, 8vo. XXXII. 'Reply to some passages of the Reviewer, in his late Book of Schisme, concerning his charge of Corruptions in the primitive Church, and some other particulars.' Lond. 1657, 4to. XXXIII. 'The Dispatcher dispatched: Or, an Examination of the Romanists rejoinder to the Replies of D. H. being a third Defence of the Treatise of Schisme, wherein is inserted a view of their possession and oral Tradition in the way of M. White.' Lond. 1659, 4to. [This is most particularly levelled against D. Holden, T.

White, and Richworth or Rushworth.] XXXIV. 'Αὐτὸν ἀνὰ γένει, or a Brief Account of one Suggestion of the Romanist against the Dispatcher dispatched.' Lond. 1660, 4to.

[X] *And, though the loss of all his preferments had in a great measure deprived him of the means of exerting his favourite virtue of Charity.* At the time of his flight from Penthurst, his whole fortune was barely three hundred pounds. But, by the sale of a lease left him for his portion from his father, and the assistance of his Canonry of Christ-church, he raised it to near a thousand, notwithstanding all his lavish charities. The only other way of income he had, was the buying of leases for years, and the printing of his books; from the latter of which, when all charges were deducted, very little came into his pocket. And yet he grew rich in spite of all his liberality, as Dr Fell expresses it, being worth at the time of his death about 1500 l. (19)

[Y] *Yet he exercised it to the utmost of his power, especially towards the loyal exiles.* The reader may see an account of his great and very numerous charities, (too many to come within the compass of this note) in his life written by Dr Fell (20): and, among the rest, his remittances to the Royal exiles, though it was declared high-treason. The person intrusted with these was discovered to Oliver Cromwell, who notwithstanding let the Doctor escape without punishment (21).

[Z] *Which was in danger of being utterly destroyed by the cruel interdict of January 1655.* This interdict, or declaration, enjoined, that after the first day of January 1655, no persons should keep in their houses or families, as chaplains or school-masters for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected Minister, Fellow of a College, or School-master; nor permit any of their children to be taught by such. And that no person who had been sequestered, or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school, should from and after the said first day of January, keep any school either public or private:—nor preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family; nor administer baptism, or the Lord's Supper, or marry any persons, or use the book of Common-Prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained (22). As the ancient stock of clergymen were by this edict in a manner rendered useless, and the Church was at best but a set of ancient persons hastening to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted; Dr Hammond projected, by pensions to hopeful persons in our two Universities, to maintain a seminary of youth trained up in piety and learning upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Church of England: giving in charge to those whom he employed in this affair, 'carefully to seek out such as were piously inclined, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts,' adding this as a certain maxim, 'That exemplary virtue must restore the Church (23).'

(19) Fell, p. 144—148.

(20) From p. 136 to 165.

(21) Fell, p. 77, 78.

(22) See J. Walker's Sufferings, &c. as above, Part i. p. 194. and Scobell's Collection, p. 346.

(23) Fell, p.

[A A] Of 76, 77.



of the book of Proverbs [A A]. His want of health only hindered him from proceeding further. For, that strength of body, which before had attended his indefatigable mind, beginning to fail him about the year 1654, he was seized by those four tormenting distempers, each of which hath been judged a competent tryal of human patience, namely, the stone, the gout, the colick, and the cramp; the last of which was as painful as any of the other (y). But the stone put an end to his valuable life. For, while King Charles the Second was designing him for the bishopric of Worcester, and he was preparing to go to London, whither he had been invited by the most eminent divines, he was seized with a sharp fit of the stone [B B] on the 4th of April, of which he died the 25th of the same month, in the 55th year of his age. The next day he was decently buried in the neighbouring church of Hampton-Lover, with the office and rites of the Church of England; his body, in token of respect, being borne to the grave by clergymen (z). Dr Hammond was a very handsome man; his *stature* being of just height, and all proportionate dimensions; his *complexion* clear and florid; his *eye* quick [C C] and sprightly; and his *face* carried dignity and attractives in it, being scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkened by reservedness. His constitution was strong; patient of cold [D D], and of the greatest labour, and severest hardships. As to the faculties of his mind; his judgment was sound, clear, and discerning; his invention fruitful, nay inexhaustible, whence proceeded his great facility in composing [E E], and that copiousness, or rather in some respects blameable exuberance, which appears in his writings [F F]. His memory was a sign of his good judgment, that is, it was serviceable but not officious; faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the contexture and punctualities of words. With regard to his moral conduct, he was most exemplary for charity [G G], temperance [H H], chastity, and all social virtues [I I]. He was likewise a man of uncommon diligence and

(y) Fell, p. 72, 83.

(z) Fell, p. 209—236.

[A A] *Of which he published the Psalms, and went through a third part of the book of Proverbs.* He published, XXXIV his 'Paraphrase and Annotations on the book of Psalms.' Lond. 1659, fol. And XXXV. The 'Paraphrase and Annotations on the ten first Chapters of the Proverbs,' which he lived to finish, were published after his decease. Lond. 1683, fol.

[B B] *He was seized with a sharp fit of the stone.* Namely, on the 4th of April; with those symptoms that are usual in such cases; which yet upon the voidance of a stone ceased for that time. However, on the 8th of the same month it returned again with greater violence: and, though after two days the pain decreased, the suppression of urine yet continued, with frequent vomitings, and a distention of the whole body, and likewise shortness of breath upon every little motion. At length, it turned to a violent bleeding at the nose, which put an end to his life (24).

[C C] *His eye quick.* His sight was quick to an unusual degree; insomuch that if by chance he saw a knot of men, a flock of sheep, or herd of cattle, being engaged in discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His ear also was accurate and tuned to his harmonious soul, so that having never learned to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a harpsicon or theorbo; and frequently did so in his more vigorous years after the toyl and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night (25).

[D D] *Patient of cold.* Insomuch that for the most part of his life, in the fiercest cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, than to look upon it, at a distance (26).

[E E] *Whence proceeded his great facility in composing.* He dispatched his writings with incredible swiftness, usually composing faster than his amanuensis, though a very dextrous person, could transcribe after him. His *considerations of present use concerning Episcopacy* were drawn up after ten of the clock at night in a friend's chamber, who professed, that sitting by all the while, he remembered not that he took off pen from paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the Bishop of Salisbury [Dr Dnppa] he sent it to the press (27): to which work he could have no premeditation or second thoughts, he being that very night after supper employed by the said Bishop on that task. So likewise he began his tract of *Scandal* at eleven at night, and finished it before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having, amidst his other diversions, been sundry times his one day's work; adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper (28).

[F F] *And that copiousness, or rather in some respects blameable exuberance, which appears in his writings.* This defect is acknowledged by the writer of his life, the learned Dr Fell, who calls it, 'The best kind of defect; the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confined by periods; whereby his style, though round and comprehensive, was incumbered sometimes by *Parentheses*, and became difficult to vulgar understandings: but (adds he) by the use of writing, and his desire to accommodate himself to all capacities, he in his latter years mastered that defect: so as to deserve from King Charles I. this character and testimony, 'That he was the most natural orator he ever heard (29).' This fault was plainly owing to his overhastiness in composing, and the not allowing himself time to arrange his thoughts in neat, short, and clear periods; a method indeed not very common in his time, and chiefly brought in after the Restoration.

[G G] *He was most exemplary for charity.* As Dr Fell expresses it (30), 'Misery and want, wherever he met with them, sufficiently endeared the object. His alms was as exuberant as his love; and in calamities, he never was a stranger to the exigence, whatever he might be to the man that suffered.' To this beneficent disposition he devoted the tenth of all his income; wherein he was so strictly punctual, that commonly the first thing he did was to compute and separate the poor man's share. To this he added every week five shillings. Over and above which, he compleated the devotions of his weekly fast, by adding twenty shillings to the poor man's heap.' For instances of his charity, see his life by Dr Fell (31).

[H H] *Temperance.* His diet was of the plainest meats. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of, but often expressed his wonder, 'How rational creatures should eat for any thing but health, since he that did eat or drink that which might cause a fit of the stone or gout, though a year after, unmanned himself, and acted as a beast.' Therefore, in the time of his full health, he seldom did eat or drink more than once in 24 hours, and some fruit towards night; and two days in every week, and in Lent and Ember-week three days, he eat but once in thirty-six. His temperance in sleep resembled that of his meats, midnight being the usual time of his going to rest, and four or five, very rarely six, the hour of his rising (32).

[I I] *And all social virtues.* He was, in particular, a passionate lover of friendship; which, in his opinion, was the next sacred thing unto religion. Therefore he reflected with compassion on the ignorance of those, who were strangers to it, saying that 'such must lead a pitiful insipid herb-john-like life.' Upon this ground, he used industriously to recommend and propagate friendship; and professed, that 'he had no such way of enjoying any thing as by reflexion from the person he loved: so that his friend's being happy, was

(29) Id. p. 97.

(30) P. 133, 139.

(31) P. 157, &amp;c.

(32) Fell, p. 106, 107, 110.

(24) Fell, p. 213, 214, 225, 231.

(25) Fell, p. 87, 88.

(26) Fell, p. 87.

(27) They made 24 pages in 4to. printed close and small.

(28) Fell, p. 90, 91, 92.



(a) Fell, p. 111, 112, &c.

(b) Wood Ath. ut supra, col. 246.

(c) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724, p. 177.

and industry, abhorring sloth and idleness (a) [KK]. And, to conclude his character with what A. Wood and Bishop Burnet have said of him; 'Great were his natural abilities, greater his acquired; and in the whole circle of arts he was most accurate. He was also eloquent in the tongues, exact in antient and modern writers, well versed in Philosophy, and better in Philology, most learned in School-Divinity, and a great master in Church-Antiquity (b).' His death, saith Bishop Burnet (c), was an unspeakable loss to the Church. For, as he was a man of great learning, and of most eminent merit, he having been the person that during the bad times had maintained the cause of the Church in a very singular manner; so he was a very moderate man in his temper, though with a high principle, and probably he would have fallen into healing counsels. He was also much set on reforming abuses, and for raising in the clergy a due sense of the obligations they lay under.' Besides his several pieces abovementioned, some were published after his decease [LL]: and his amanuensis, the learned Mr William Fulman, collected them together into four volumes folio in 1684.

(33) Id. p. 122, 123, 125, 133.

'was the readiest way to make him so.' The principal thing he contracted for in friendship, was a free use of *mutual admonition*; and he used to say, that he 'delighted to be loved, not revered (33).'

[KK] He was likewise a man of uncommon diligence and industry.] He not only avoided, but bore a perfect hate, and seemed to have a forcible antipathy to idleness, and scarcely recommended any thing in his advices with that concern and vigour, as, to be furnished always with somewhat to do. This he proposed as the best expedient for innocence and pleasure; assuring, that 'No burthen is more heavy, or temptation more dangerous, than to have time lye on ones hand; the idle man's brain being not only (as he worded it) the devil's shop, but his kingdom too, a model of, and appendage to, hell, a place given up to torment and mischief.' Besides those portions of time which the necessities of nature and of civil life extorted from him, there was not a minute of the day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not so much to recreate himself as to obey the prescriptions of his physician, he never failed to take a book with him, and read all the while: and in his chamber also he had one lay constantly open, out of which his servant read to him while he was dressing and undressing; by which one piece of husbandry, in a short time he dispatched several considerable volumes (34). The following observations of the learned author of his life, are further proofs of his very great industry. 'He that shall consider his laborious way, immerst in almost infinite quotations, to which the turning over books and consulting several editions was absolutely needful; his obligation to read not only classick authors, but the more recent abortions of the press, wherein he proved frequently concerned; his perusal of the writings of his friends and strangers, designed for the press; his reviews of his own works, and correcting them with his own hand sheet by sheet as they were printed, which he did to all his later tracts; his receptions of visits, whether of civility, or for resolution of conscience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous and great devourers of his time; his agency for men of quality, providing them schoolmasters for their children, and chaplains in their houses, in which af-

fair he had set up a kind of office; his general correspondencies by letter, whereof some cost him 10, others 20, 30, 40, nay 60 sheets of paper, and ever took up two days of the week entirely; the time exhausted by his sicknesses; his constant preaching, and instructing the family where he was; and, amidst all, his sure returns of prayer: all these, were sufficient proofs of a most uncommon diligence (35).

[LL] Some were published after his decease.] Namely, XXXVI. 'Prayers of intercession for their use who mourn in secret for the publick calamities of this nation, with an anniversary prayer for the 30th of January, &c.' Lond. 1659, 8vo (36). XXXVII. 'Χάρις καὶ Εἰρήνη; Or, a pacific Discourse of God's Grace and Decrees; in a letter of full accordance written to the Reverend and most learned Dr Sander-son. To which are annexed the Extracts of three Letters concerning God's Prescience reconciled with Liberty and Contingency.' Lond. 1660, 8vo. XXXVIII. His last words; being two prayers for the peaceful re-settlement of this Church and State. XXXIX. 'The daily Practice of Piety: With devotions and Prayers in time of Captivity.' Lond. 1660, 8vo. XL. 'Spiritual Sacrifice: Or, Devotions and Prayers, &c.' XLI. 'A solemn Petition and Address to the Convocation, with directions to the Laity how to prolong their happiness.' Cambr. 1661. Published by Tho. Smith, of Christ-college in Cambridge. XLII. *De Confirmatione sive benedictione post baptismum solenni, per impositionem manuum Episcopi celebrata, commentarius, ex sententia Ecclesie Anglicanae.* Lond. 1661, 8vo. XLIII. 'Several Sermons.' Lond. 1664, fol. They are in number 31, and some of them had been published before. XLIV. 'Of Hell-Torments: Or, an Assertion of the Existence and Duration of Hell-Torments, &c.' Ox. 1664, 12mo. XLV. 'An Accordance of St Paul with St James in the great point of Faith and Works.' Ox. 1665, 8vo. XLVI. 'Answer to Mr Richard Smith's Letter concerning the Sense of that Article in the Creed, *He descended into Hell*: Dated 29 April, 1659.' Lond. 1684, 8vo (37). XLVII. Nineteen Letters of his were published by Fr. Peck, M. A. in 1739.

(35) Fell. p. 94, 93, 94.

(36) See Bishop Kennet's Reg. p. 38.

(37) This account is partly taken from the books themselves, and partly from A. Wood's Athenæ.

(34) Id. p. 111, 112.

HAMPDEN [JOHN], Esq; of Hamden in Buckinghamshire, frequently distinguished by the appellation of Patriot Hampden, was a gentleman of a fair estate and good extraction\*, and cousin-german to Oliver Cromwell [A]. He was born in London in the year 1594, and at the age of fifteen sent from school to Oxford in 1609, where he was admitted a Commoner of Magdalen-college; but leaving the university without any degree, he removed to the Inns of Court, where he made a considerable progress in the study of the Law (a). With this, the ordinary education of a gentleman, he went to reside upon his estate at Hamden; setting out at first in the jovial way suitable to his years. In that disposition he indulged to himself all the freedom in sports and exercises and company which were used by men of the most jolly conversation. In the second parliament of King Charles the First he obtained a seat in the House of Commons [B], and having also a place

\* Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 204. first edit. in fol. Whitlocke says, of the antientest extraction in Buckinghamshire. *Memorials of the English Affairs*, p. 70. edit. 1732. in fol.

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 31. & Fasti, col. 88 and 90.

(2) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. III. p. 60. first edit. 1704. fol.

[A] *Cousin to Oliver Cromwell.* His father John Hampden, Esq; married Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbroke in Huntingdonshire, Grandfather to the Protector, who 'tis said, was advised by this kinsman while alive (1), and always adored his memory after his death (2).

[B] *This Parliament met at Westminster, Feb. 4, 1625-6.* So that Mr Hampden was then turned of

thirty, a proper age as has been sometimes remarked, for putting off the man of pleasure, and taking up the man of business; the seeds of that ambition (without which persons of the highest rank and fairest opportunities, sink into some degree of disvalue) naturally springing up in all hopeful minds about that age. To this purpose Mr Whitlocke observes, that it was Mr Hampden's *affection to public liberty and applause*

(a) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 30. Sir Philip Warwick observes, that he had great knowledge both in Scholarship and the Law. *Mem. of the reign of K. Charles I.* p. 240. Lond. 1701.



place there in the two succeeding parliaments, he quitted his pleasures, and turned his mind to public business; wherein siding with the party against the Court, he took up a reserved and precise behaviour, living with extraordinary sobriety and strictness; but still preserved the natural cheerfulness and affability of his temper (b). It seems to be about this time that, changing also his condition, he married Sarah, second daughter of Thomas Foley, Esq; great-grand-father to the first Lord Foley, and widow of Essex Knightley, Esq; [C] of Fawcley in Northamptonshire (c). Hitherto Mr Hampden made no remarkable figure in the public. For though he concurred in the prosecution against the Duke of Buckingham, and suffered among many others for refusing to comply with the loan (d) in 1626; yet his name is not among those who were pricked for Sheriffs, in order to prevent their election in the ensuing parliament; nor was he any of those who were committed to the Tower in 1628 for a riotous proceeding in the House of Commons, while the Protestation was read, that *whoever should bring in innovations in religion, &c. should be accounted enemies to the kingdom*. But in the year 1636 he became universally known, by a solemn tryal at the King's-Bench, on his refusal to pay the ship-money [D]. He behaved with singular temper and modesty in this suit, and obtained more advantage and credit by losing it, than the King did of service by gaining it (e) [E]. From this time he soon grew to be one of the most popular men in the nation (f), and a principal leading member in the Long Parliament (g): so that his actions and conduct became the subject of general history, to which therefore we refer the reader (h) [F]; and shall only (as falling

more

in his country, which [drawing him into action] exposed him to many difficulties and troubles (3).

[C] He married Mr Knightly's widow.] A certain author writes, that, 'Mr Hampden being a person of antimonarchical principles, he did not only ride for several years, before the grand rebellion broke out, into Scotland, to keep consults with the covenanting brethren there, but kept his circuits to several puritanical houses in England, particularly to that of Knightley in Northamptonshire, and also to that of Lord Say, at Broughton near Banbury in Oxfordshire, where there was a room and a passage thereto, which his Lordship's servants were prohibited to come near, when the company met.' The same author also relates, 'that the party having in these and other places their council-chambers and chief speakers; whatever embroils were conceived in the country, were afterwards shaped in Gray's Inn-lane near London; where, continues he, the undertakers for the Isle of Providence did meet, brought them to pass, and put them out to nurse in London' (4). We should not have cited an author, whose reputation is notoriously murdered by his own virulency, and has lain long rotten in the grave of oblivion; but only as some facts are there found, which are not improbable from other circumstances, in relation to the particular company with whom Mr Hampden joined after he left the jovial course, and which also are of use to confirm and illustrate a remark on this change of his life, made by Lord Clarendon, whose words are, that, 'he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society.' For which change in his manners, his Lordship proceeds to give this as a proof. 'That though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the Church; yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace (5).' That is (as is evident from his Lordship's character of Mr Hampden) that the bottom of his heart was carefully concealed, even from those who conversed nearly with him.

[D] He became famous by his trial for refusing to pay the ship-money.] The particulars of this transaction are too well known to be enlarged upon here; it will be more agreeable to the design of this undertaking, to enquire by what means Mr Hampden came to obtain a trial, which had been refused to several others. For instance, Mr Richard Chambers, a merchant in London, on his refusal to pay this tax, was imprisoned in the King's-bench; and though upon bringing his *habeas corpus*, he was admitted to bail, yet the judge [Berkeley] absolutely refused in June 1636 to let the legality of the tax be argued (6). A petition was also offered about the same time by the city of London, complaining of its illegality, but the trial was still avoided, and other means made use of to persuade the city to a compliance (7). We are likewise assured by the noble historian, that, 'Lord Say did as absolutely refuse the payment of ship-money as Mr Hampden, though the latter by the choice of the King's counsel

had brought his cause to be first heard and argued, with which judgment it was intended the whole right of that matter should be concluded, and all other cases over-ruled. Yet the Lord Say, continues the Earl, would not acquiesce, but pressed to have his own case argued, and was solicitous in person with all the Judges, both privately at their chambers, and publickly in the courts of Westminster, and indeed was very grievous to them (8).' The noble author has not given his opinion what might be the reason of this preference shewn to Mr Hampden, but perhaps it may be found clearly enough in one part of the character given of him by his Lordship, that he was a man of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time; and that a great part of this address consisted in his singular modesty, humility, and submission. This conjecture seems to be confirmed by another passage in the same history, where his Lordship giving an account of the debates on the grievance of ship-money, at the beginning of the short Parliament in April 1640, observes, that Herbert the Solicitor-General, while he was speaking in commendation of the King's candour in that affair, took occasion to stroke and commend Mr Hampden, who sat under him, for his great temper and modesty in the prosecution of that suit (9).

[E] Obtained more advantage and credit by losing it, &c.] 'Tis this single transaction of his life, which first procured him the title mentioned in the text, of Patriot Hampden, and his memory has been very lately embalmed afresh for it, in an elegant Poem (10), intituled, *An Elegy written in a Country Church-yard*, where the author presents him in the most interesting view, as follows.

'Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid,  
'Some heart once pregnant with celestial fire;  
'Hands that the rod of empire might have sway'd,  
'Or wak'd to extasy the living lyre.  
\* \* \* \* \*  
'Some village Hampden, that with dauntless  
'breast  
'The little tyrant of his fields withstood,  
'Some mute inglorious Milton, here may rest;  
'Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood.'

[F] We refer to the general histories.] In the note to these words, Lord Clarendon is distinguished above the rest, as the author who has given us many more particulars of Mr Hampden's life, than are to be found in any of his cotemporary writers, and those too made much more interesting by a finely animated style. His Lordship was indeed most sensibly touched by the effects of Mr Hampden's address, especially in the case of his darling Lord Falkland; and has not only set forth his antagonist's merits and demerits, with regard to the public, by particular instances, in the course of his life, but brought the whole together into one view, in a general character of him after his death. The

28 L

noble

(b) Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 146 and 205. first edit. in folio.

(c) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 286. Lond. 1741. in 4 vols 8vo.

(d) Whitlocke's Memorials, &c. p. 70. edit. 1732. fol.

(e) History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 53. ubi supra.

(3) Memorials of the English affairs, p. 70. Lond. 1732. fol.

(4) See a piece intitled, *Persecutio Undecima, or, the Church's Eleventh Persecution*, &c. chap. vii. p. 103. Lond. 1648. 4to.

(5) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 205. first edit. in fol.

(6) Rushworth's Collections, Part ii. p. 323. first edit. in fol.

(7) Ibid. chap. ii. p. 334.

(f) Lord Clarendon says, he was possessed with the most assured spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man he ever knew. Ibid. p. 205.

(g) He was returned for his county both in this and the short parliament preceding.

(h) These are, Rushworth, Whitlocke, and especially Clarendon.

(8) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. ubi supra, p. 145. Vol. I.

(9) Ibid. p. 148, 205, 206.

(10) Written by Mr Gray. The ninth edition of it was printed in 1754.



more properly under the design of this work) take notice of some few particulars concerning him, which have been either unfairly and partially represented, or else left altogether untouched by others [G]. After he had, by the advantage of some peculiar and extraordinary talents [H], held the chief direction of his party in the House of Commons against the

noble author's singular talent at drawing characters is universally acknowledged. Whence this is the most entertaining part of his history to all readers; and principally useful to young students in this science. In which view the character of Mr Hampden deserves particular notice, it being easy to make an extract of the several facts as they lie in the history, which are the proper foundation for an attempt to form the character, and by comparing this, when done, to that of his Lordship, the difference is seen at once, and easily noted for improvement.

[G] *Particulars partially represented or untouched.* The fact suggested above to be partially represented, is to be found under our author's article in the General Dictionary, in the remark [B], to these words, *Before this trial [of the Earl of Strafford] (11), there was said to be a proposal for restoring the Earl to his former favour and honour, on condition that his Majesty would promote Mr Hampden, to be Tutor to the Prince, and other eminent opposers of the Court, to the most considerable posts.* In support of this, only Mr Whitlocke is cited (12), without mentioning Lord Clarendon's account of this matter, or so much as referring to it, which at least might fairly be expected. For though indeed with regard to Mr Hampden, the difference between the two accounts is not material, yet in respect to the King there is an essential difference. For instance, Mr Whitlocke concludes his account with this reflection. *'But whether upon the King's alteration of his mind, or by what other means is uncertain, these things were not effected; and the great men baffled thereby, became the more incensed and violent against the Earl, joining with the Scots Commissioners, who were implacable against him.'* Here the reader is put into the road of assigning the worst cause for this change of his Majesty's mind, especially when he considers how often he was afterwards charged by these persons with breach of promise. But all just grounds for such an injurious insinuation are taken away by the following account, which Lord Clarendon gives of this transaction (13). 'From the time, says he, that there

'was no more fear of the Archbishop, nor the Lord Deputy of Ireland, nor of any particular men, who were like to succeed them in favour, all who had been active in the Court, or in any service for the King being totally dispirited, and most of them to be disposed to any ill offices against him. The great patriots thought they might be able to do their country better service, if they got the places and preferments of the Court for themselves, and so prevent the evil counsels which had been used to spring from thence; for which purpose they had a fast friend in the Marquis of Hamilton, who could put such an affair into agitation, &c.' His Lordship afterwards mentions the particular persons to be promoted, the same with Mr Whitlocke, only Mr Hampden is omitted here, being taken notice of presently, and proceeds. 'Thus far the intrigue for preferments was entirely complied with, and it is great pity it was not fully executed, that so the King might have had some able men to have advised and assisted him, which probably these very men would have done, after they had been so thoroughly engaged; whereas the King had none left about him in any immediate trust in business (for I speak not of the Duke of Richmond, and some very few men more about his person, who always behaved themselves honourably) who did not either betray, or sink under the weight or reproach of it.—But the Earl of Bedford was resolved, that he would not enter into the Treasury, 'till the revenue was in some degree settled; at least, the bill for tonnage and poundage passed, with all decent circumstances, and for life; which both he and Mr Pym did very heartily labour to effect, and had in their thoughts many good expedients by which they intended to raise the revenue of the Crown, and none of them were very solicitous to take their preferments, before other accommodations were provided for some of the rest of their chief companions, who would be neither so well pleased with their so hasty advancement before them, nor so submissive in it after, to follow their dictates. Hampden was a man

'they could not leave unprovided for, and therefore there were several designs, and very far driven, for the satisfaction and promotion of him, and Essex, Kimbolton, and others; though not so fully concluded as those abovementioned. For the King's great end was by these compliances to save the life of the Earl of Strafford, and to preserve the Church from ruin; for no-body thought the Archbishop in danger of his life: and there were few of the persons mentioned before, who thought their preferments would do them much good, if the Earl was suffered to live: but in that of the Church, the major part even of those persons would have been willing to have satisfied the King, the rather, because they had no reason to think the two houses, or indeed either of them, could have been induced to have pursued the contrary. And so the continued and enraged violence in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, made the King well contented (as other reasons prevailed with other persons) that the putting these promotions in practice, should be for a time suspended.' By this account the noble author seems to be well aware how much, and how unjustly his Majesty either had been or would be censured in this proceeding, and therefore thought it necessary to shew the world clearly, that it was not indeed so much the King's fault as it was his misfortune to have the scheme of the promotions frustrated.

The particulars hinted above as untouched by any of the historians, relate first to the report about the City of London in the beginning of 1643, that the Earl of Essex was to resign his post of General, and to be succeeded therein by Mr Hampden (14), and the truth of the report seems probable enough. His first resolution to make no peace with the King, as well as the great influence and authority he had in the army, and his personal courage, both sufficiently manifested in the action of Chalgrove-Field, mentioned in the text, suit very well with such a design. But the same action shews, that his courage was not sufficiently tempered; he was hot and rash, and the fatal consequence of that rashness, to which he fell a sacrifice, clearly demonstrates him not so fit for a General's command. Another remark which has escaped all the writers who mention him, respects the consequence of his loss to the Parliament. Lord Clarendon indeed touches upon that consequence to both sides in general, as follows. *'But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable recompence for a defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the victory, which was the death of Mr Hampden, to as great a consternation of all that party, as if their whole army had been defeated or cut off' (15).* The greatness of the consternation is strongly marked in these words, but the particular effects of that consternation are not produced. However, when a little below, in the same history, we read of Sir Will. Waller's defeat at Roundway Down near the Devizes in Wiltshire on one side, and of the Queen's safe arrival at Oxford with the forces from France on the other side, and both these events attributed to the Earl of Essex, who suffered a strong party of horse to march out of that garrison, by which means the destruction of the former was effected; and gave no kind of hindrance to her Majesty's march into it; but spent his time between Tame and Ailbury about ten miles from Oxford, without any action after that skirmish in which (they are his Lordship's words) Mr Hampden was slain (16). Surely it will be thought no injury to the noble author, if we presume his intention in these last words was to suggest, that this change, which brought a better face upon the King's affairs, than they had appeared with since the beginning of the war, was owing at least in some measure, to that consternation into which the Earl of Essex's army was thrown by Mr Hampden's death, and which had rendered the whole corps discreet, or if you will dispirited.

[H] *Some peculiar and extraordinary talents.* What these are may be fully seen in his character drawn by Lord Clarendon in the History of the Rebellion, &c (17), to which therefore we send the reader for the reason mentioned in the text, and shall spend this remark agreeable to the plan of the proceeding, in taking notice

(11) Mr Hampden was of the committee to prepare the charge and manage the evidence against the Earl.

(12) Memorials, &c. p. 41.

(13) Hist. of the Civil Wars, Vol. I. p. 166, 167, 168, 169. folio edition.

(14) Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 30.

(15) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 204. Vol. II. ubi supra.

(16) Ibid. p. 224.

(17) P. 205. Vol. II.



the King, he took up arms in the same cause, and was one of the first who opened the war by an action (though without success) at a place called Brill, a garrison of the King's upon the edge of Buckinghamshire (i), about five miles from Oxford. He took the command of a regiment of foot under the Earl of Essex, and had he lived, would probably have been soon raised to the post of a General (k). Always behaving with a military bravery in the Field, equal to the civil intrepidity which he had shewn in the House. But whatever views either himself or his friends for him had of any kind, they were all cut off by a mortal wound, which he received in a skirmish with Prince Rupert at Chalgrove-field in Oxfordshire (l); of which we have the following uncontested account. 'It was confessed, says Lord Clarendon, by the prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the alarm that morning after their quarters were beaten up, Mr Hampden was exceeding solicitous to draw forces together to pursue the enemy, and being a Colonel of foot, put himself as a volunteer among those horse who were first ready; and that when the Prince made a stand, all the officers were of opinion to stay 'till their body came up; and he alone (being second to none but the General himself in the observance and application of all men) persuaded and prevailed with them to advance (m).' He was shot into the shoulder with a brace of bullets, which broke the bone, on the 18th of June 1643; and after suffering much pain and misery, he died thereof on the 24th of that month (n), greatly lamented by the Parliament [I], who ordered the sum of 5000 pounds to be paid to his assignees, out of the excise in course, the moiety of the receipts of Goldsmith's-hall, and the King's revenue (o). He was interred in the church of Great Hamden, where, by his will, he directed a stone to be laid over his grave, with the figures of himself, his wife, and ten children engraven upon it (p) [K]. Mr Wood has given him a place among the Oxford writers, and tells us of several speeches printed under his name, but describes only one which now lies before me, and is entitled, *A discreet and learned Speech spoken in the Parliament, on Wednesday the 4th of January, 1641, by Mr Hampden Burgess of Buckingham (q), concerning the accusation of high-treason preferred by His Majesty against himself, Lord Kimbolton, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Mr Pym, Mr Stroud, and Mr Hollis, worthy members of the House of Commons. Therein shortly declaring the difference between a good subject and a*

(i) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. II. p. 126.

(k) See below in remark [G].

(l) The place where he had first executed the ordinance of the militia about a year before, 11th of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 204.

(m) Ibid. p. 205.

(n) Rushworth's Collections, Part III. Vol. II. p. 274. first edit. 1650. Lord Clarendon, who is observed not to be exact in his dates, says, he lay three weeks in extraordinary pain.

(o) Ibid. Part iv. Vol. VII. p. 934.

(p) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 31.

(q) It should be Buckinghamshire.

notice of a passage in that character, which has been we apprehend a little unfairly, though artfully, represented by a late author. The passage is that famous one which concludes the character, that he [Mr Hampden] had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief. In an account of this gentleman lately published, the author having cited the words, takes this opportunity to observe, that notwithstanding what has been asserted to the contrary, the history, where they are found, is faithfully printed from the original manuscript, which he had seen; and every body else sees the reflection cast upon his Lordship in this artful insinuation (18). Suppose it to be what Cicero calls *Verbum Ardens*, yet even then, in the opinion of that orator and critic, it brings it's own excuse. But the present case admits still of a further plea in his Lordship's behalf. 'Tis generally allowed, that the best way to come at the true sense of scripture, is to interpret it by itself; if this rule had been observed here, no injury had been done to his Lordship's memory, as is evident from the following passage in the same history (19), where the noble author having mentioned Mr Hampden as one of the committee that attended the King in his journey to Scotland, takes occasion to give him this character. 'The latter [Hampden] hath been mentioned before as a man of great understanding and parts, and of great sagacity in discerning men's natures and manners, and he must upon all occasions still be mentioned, as a person of great dexterity and abilities, and equal to any trust or management, good or bad, which he was inclined to undertake.'

[I] Greatly lamented by the Parliament.] Mr Wood (20), in his usual vein, having told us, 'that soon after his death, Mr Richard Baxter did translate the soul of him and of John Pym into heaven, in his *Saint's everlasting rest*, and that others of his opinion made elegies on him, declaring to the world his great worth and loss, proceeds to inform us, that he was the very person who advised his kinsman, Oliver Cromwell (afterwards Lord Protector) to oppose the justice and honour of his Majesty's cause, with an affected zeal of conscience and pure religion, as the said Cromwell did several times confess to his friends and relations. Whatever may be thought of this story, taken apparently from the scandalous chronicle, we have a much better authority for asserting, that these two were bosom friends, and were actuated with the same spirit of hypocrisy, and for the same ends, though wearing contrary faces.

Cromwell's roughness and unpolishedness, which in the beginning of the [Long] Parliament he affected, contrary to the smoothness and complaisance which his kinsman and bosom friend Hampden practised towards all men, being equally necessary, and alike employed, to nurse in it's infant state their jointly determined purpose (21).

[K] His wife and ten children.] His wife has been already taken notice of in the text. Of his children, one daughter, Mary, was married to Sir John Hobart, son of Sir Miles Hobart, who in 1628, was imprisoned for locking the door of the House of Commons, while the famous Protestation above mentioned was read (22). Colonel Hammond, Governor of the Isle of Wight, who had the custody of the King there, married another of Mr Hampden's daughters by the advice of Oliver Cromwell (23). Mr Hampden's eldest son Richard (for we have found no account of any other) as well as his grandson John, made a figure in Parliament, and in the public, from the Restoration to the reign of Queen Anne, as may be seen in the General History of England (24), to which therefore, for the reason already mentioned, we refer the reader, and shall only take notice of two particulars which are not in that history. The first is, That Richard when young, was chosen one of the five Knights for Buckinghamshire, to serve in the Parliament called Sept. 17, 1656, by the Protector, who also about the same time created him a Lord, to sit in the upper or other house (25). The other particular not mentioned in the General History of England, relates to the grandson John Hampden, Esq; who being confined two years \* in the same prison with Mr Sam. Johnson, author (among other things) of a piece intitled, *The Abrogation of King James II.* gave an account of that performance to the Dukes of Mazarine, wherein he recounts the several pleas advanced by the clergy, to reconcile their compliance with the Revolution to the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, which they had maintained in an unlimited sense in the preceding reign; he reduces these pleas in defence of King William's right, to four, (1.) The right of conquest. (2.) That of Providence. (3.) That of possession. And (4.) That of the vacancy of the throne by King James's abdication. This account is prefixed to an edition of Mr Johnson's works, by the editor, who observes, *That every body must own Mr Hampden to have been as able a judge of that subject, as any man in England before or since* (26).

(21) Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 80. Vol. III. ubi supra.

(22) Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 338. edit. 1741. 8vo.

(23) Hist. of the Rebellion where last cited.

(24) See Kennet's Hist. of England, in 3 vols folio. And Boyer's Hist. of Queen Anne, folio.

(25) Ath. Ox. where last cited.

\* He was condemned for high-treason in Dec. 1685; but his life saved. He had before been found guilty of a misdemeanour in the Fanatic plot, and fined 40,000 l.

(26) Memorials of the Life and Writings of Mr Samuel Johnson, prefixed to his Works, 2d edit. 1713. folio.

(18) Life of John Hampden, in the Lives of several Illustrious Persons, &c. with cuts, Lond. 1743. folio.

(19) P. 235. Vol. I.

(20) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 31.



bad, and referring his own tryal to the judgment of that honourable assembly [L]. Lond. 1641. 4to.

[L] *A speech in the House of Commons—referring his trial to that honourable assembly.* As this is the only specimen we have of his talent this way (27), it must not be omitted here, though it is printed in the General Dictionary.

(27) Mr Wood refers to the Earl of Strafford's trial, where he was one of the managers of the House of Commons for more of his speeches; and we find him in need frequently speaking in the interlocutory parts of that trial, but never making any thing like what is usually understood by A SPEECH.

MR SPEAKER,

‘It is a true saying of the wise man, That all things happen alike to all men, as well to the good man as to the bad. There is no state or condition whatsoever, either of prosperity or adversity, but all men are sharers in the same. No man can be discerned truly by the outward appearance, whether he be a good subject either to his God, his Prince, or his Country, until he be tried by the touchstone of loyalty. Give me leave, I beseech you, to parallel the lives of either sort, that we may in some measure discern truth from falsehood. And in speaking I shall simulate their lives. (1.) In religion towards God. (2.) In loyalty and due subjection to their sovereign, in their affection towards the safety of their country. 1. Concerning religion; the best means to discern between the true and false religion is, by searching the sacred writings of the old and new Testament, which is of itself pure, indited by the spirit of God, and written by holy men unspotted in their lives and conversations; and by this sacred word, we may prove whether our religion be of God or no; and by looking in this glass, we may discern whether we are in the right way or no. And looking into the same, I find by this truth of God, that there is but one God, one Christ, one Faith, one Religion, which is the gospel of Christ, and the doctrine of the prophets and apostles. In these two Testaments are contained all things necessary to salvation. If that our religion doth hang upon this doctrine, and no other secondary means, then it is true; to which comes nearest the Protestant religion, which we profess, as I really and verily believe; and consequently that religion, which joineth with the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, the traditions and inventions of men, prayers to the Virgin Mary, angels, saints, that are used in the exercise of their religion, strange and superstitious worshipping, cringing, bowing, creeping to the altar, using pictures, dirges, and such like, cannot be true, but erroneous, nay devilish; and all that is maintained in the Church of Rome, as necessary as the scripture to salvation, therefore is a false and erroneous Church both in doctrine and discipline; and all other sects and schisms that lean not only on the scriptures, though never so contrary to the Church of Rome, is a false worshipping of God, and not true religion. And thus much concerning religion, to discern the truth and falsehood thereof. I come now, Mr Speaker, to the second thing intimated unto you, which was to discern in a state between good subjects and bad, by their loyalty and due subjection to their lawful sovereign; in which I shall, under favour, observe two things. (1.) Lawful subjection to a King in his own person, and the commands, edicts, and proclamations of the Prince and his Privy-Council. 2. Lawful obedience to the laws, statutes, and ordinances made, enacted by the King and the Lords, with the free consent of his great Council of State assembled in Parliament. For the first to deny a willing and due obedience to a lawful sovereign and his Privy-Council (for as Camden truly saith, The command of the Lords, Privy-Councillors, and the edicts of the Prince are all one, for they are inseparable, the one never without the other) either to defend his royal person and kingdoms against the enemies of the same either publick or private; or to defend the antient privileges and prerogatives of the King pertaining and belonging of right to his Royal Crown and the maintenance of his honour and dignity; or to defend and maintain true re-

ligion established in the land according to the truth of God; is one sign of an evil and bad subject. Secondly, to yield obedience to the commands of a King, if against the true religion, against the antient and fundamental laws of the land, is another sign of an ill subject. Thirdly, to resist the lawful power of the King; to raise insurrection against the King, admit him adverse in his religion; to conspire against his sacred person, or any ways to rebel, though commanding things against our conscience in exercising religion, or against the rights and privileges of the subject; is an absolute sign of a disaffected and traitorous subject. And now having given the signs of discerning evil and disloyal subjects, I shall only give you in a word or two the signs of discerning which are loyal and good subjects, only by turning these three signs already shewn on the contrary side. 1. He that willingly and cheerfully endeavoureth himself to obey his sovereign's commands for the defence of his own person and kingdoms, for the defence of true religion, for the defence of the laws of his country, is a loyal and good subject. 2. To deny obedience to a King commanding any thing against God's true worship and religion, against the antient and fundamental laws of the land; in endeavouring to perform the same, is a good subject. 3. Not to resist the lawful and royal power of the King; not to raise sedition or insurrection against his person, nor to set division between the King and his good subjects by rebellion, although commanding things against conscience in the exercise of religion, or against the rights and privileges of the subject; but patiently for the same to undergo his Prince's displeasure, whether it be to his imprisonment, confiscation of goods, banishment, or any other punishment whatsoever, without murmuring, grudging, or reviling against his sovereign or his proceedings; but submitting willingly and cheerfully himself, and his cause to Almighty God, is the only sign of an obedient and loyal subject. I come now to the second means to know the difference between a good subject and a bad, by their obedience to the laws, statutes, and ordinances made by the King, with the whole consent of his Parliament. And in this I observe a two-fold subjection; in the particular members thereof dissenting from the general votes of the whole Parliament; and secondly, the whole state of the kingdom in a full Parliament. First, I confess, if any particular member of Parliament, although his judgment and vote be contrary, do not willingly submit to the rest, he is an ill subject to the King and country. Secondly, to resist the ordinance of the whole state of the kingdom, either by stirring up a dislike in the hearts of his Majesty's subjects of the proceedings of the Parliament; to endeavour by levying of arms to compel the King and Parliament to make such laws as seem best to them; to deny the power, authority, and privileges of Parliament; to cast aspersions upon the same; to procure the untimely dissolution and breaking off the Parliament, before all things be settled by the same for the safety and tranquillity both of King and state; is an apparent sign of a traitorous and disloyal subject against his King and country. And thus having troubled your patience in shewing the difference, between true Protestants and false, between loyal subjects and traitors, in a state or kingdom; and the means how to discern them: I humbly desire my actions may be compared with either, both as I am a subject, a Protestant, and a native in this country; and as I am a member of this present and happy Parliament. And as I shall be found guilty upon these articles exhibited against myself and the other gentlemen, either a bad or a good subject to my gracious sovereign and native country, to receive such sentence upon the same, as by this honourable House shall be conceived to agree with law and justice.

P



HARRINGTON [JAMES], an eminent political writer in the XVIIth century, was the eldest son of Sir Sapcote Harrington, by Jane the daughter of Sir William Samuel of Upton in Northamptonshire (a). Though his immediate predecessors were not ennobled, his family was one of the most honourable in England. It had long flourished in Rutlandshire; and, as the historian of that county observes, had, when he wrote, produced eight dukes, three marquises, seventy earls, twenty-seven viscounts, and thirty-six barons; of which number sixteen were Knights of the Garter (b). He was born at Upton the first Friday of January, 1611 (c). In his very infancy there appeared promising indications of his future ability and attainments. He had an early propensity to learning, with a seriousness of temper, and gravity of behaviour, so much beyond what is commonly seen in children, that, instead of needing restraint or correction, he rather impressed on his parents and teachers an awe of him: and yet, when grown to manhood, he discovered not the least sourness or austerity of disposition; but, on the contrary, was remarkably facetious and witty (d). When he had made a sufficient progress in the rudiments of learning, he was, some time in 1629, entered a Fellow-Commoner of Trinity-college in Oxford, where he had the happiness of being placed under the tuition of the famous William Chillingworth (e), who had been admitted a Fellow thereof on the 10th of June in the preceding year (f). Here he made a considerable proficiency in the literature then in vogue, and taught in those seminaries; and more particularly applied himself to the learning of several foreign languages; for the understanding of which, as he was determined to see the world, he prudently foresaw an occasion. He had not been above three years at his studies, when his father died, leaving him under age (g). Though the oppressive Court of Wards was in being, yet the tenure of his estate empowering him to chuse his own guardian, he pitched on the Lady Samuel, his maternal grandmother, a woman of distinguished prudence and virtue. From her and the rest of his governors he obtained a permission of quitting the university, before he was of standing requisite for a degree, and of travelling abroad (h). His first step was into Holland, in those days the principal school of martial discipline; and (what still rendered it more agreeable to him) a country so wonderfully flourishing, under the auspices of liberty, in commerce, strength, and grandure, as excited the envy or admiration of all Europe. Now, we may suppose, it was, that he began to make government the main subject of his meditations; for he used to say frequently afterwards to his acquaintance, that, before he left England, he knew not the true nature of monarchy, anarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, and the like. On his coming into the Netherlands he entered a volunteer, and so continued some months, in Lord Craven's regiment; during which, being much at the Hague, he had an opportunity of adding greatly to the accomplishments both of his mind and person, by frequenting the courts of the Prince of Orange and the Queen of Bohemia, both of which were then resident in that beautiful village. Mr Harrington had qualities that soon recommended him to the notice of the latter of these excellent persons, and she accordingly received him very graciously. She was indeed influenced in her consideration of him by a two-fold motive, viz. on the score of his own merit, and in regard of his uncle John Lord Harrington, who had formerly been her governor. The Elector also courted him into his service. He attended his Highness in a visit he paid the King of Denmark at Copenhagen, whither he went to try if he could engage that monarch in his interest; he waited upon him likewise some years in his chamber, and was intrusted by him with the affairs of the Palatinate so far as they were transacted at the British Court (i). Returning from Denmark to Holland, Mr Harrington staid there but a short time. No one could relish the charms of that Republic more exquisitely; but nothing could extinguish the thirst he had of visiting other nations; and therefore, taking Flanders in his way, he set out on a tour through part of Germany, France, and Italy. While he was at Rome, the Pope performed the ceremony of consecrating wax-lights on Candlemas-day. When his Holiness had sanctified these torches, they were distributed among the people, who sought for them very eagerly. Mr Harrington was desirous of one of them; but, as it was not to be obtained without kissing the Pontiff's toe, he declined the sacred bauble. His companions were not so squeamish; they gained them by a mean submission. When they came home to England, they had the folly to complain of his stiffness to the King; who telling him he might have complied with the practice, as a respect only to a temporal prince, he very politely replied, That since he had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand, he thought it beneath him to kiss any other prince's foot (k). Venice he admired beyond all the other Latian states; esteeming it's constitution the best in the world, immutable by any external or internal causes. Here he cultivated an acquaintance with men of letters, or otherwise of character, by whose friendship he could reap any benefit; and enriched his library with a collection of all the valuable books to be found there in the Italian tongue, especially relating to Politics (l). He came back to his native country in all points greatly improved, and qualified to serve and adorn it. He was heartily welcomed by many, and received most joyfully by his own family, the ordering of which was now an object of his deepest concern [A]. At the commencement of the civil

(a) Life of James Harrington, p. 13. prefixed to his Occasional and other Works printed at London, 1737, in folio.

(b) Wright, in his Antiquities of the county of Rutland, p. 52.

(c) Wood, Ath. Ox. Vol II. col. 588. 2d edit. Lond. 1721.

(d) Life of Harrington, p. 14.

(e) Wood, ubi supra.

(f) Life of Chillingworth, by P. Des Maizeaux, p. 2.

(g) Life of Harrington, p. 14.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Wood and Toland, ubi supra.

(k) Life of Harrington by Toland, p. 15.

(l) Idem.

[A] An object of his deepest concern. His brother William, as Mr Toland informs us (1), he bred to be a merchant, in which calling he became a considerable man; he was a good architect, and was so much

noticed for his ingenious contrivances, that he was received a Fellow of the Royal Society. He took all the care of a parent in the education of his sisters, and would himself make large discourses to them concern-

(1) Life of Harrington, p. 15.



(m) Wood, ubi  
supra.

(n) Wood, ut  
supra.  
Life of Harrington  
by Toland,  
p. 16.

(o) Wood, ut  
supra.

(p) Life of Harrington  
by Toland, ut supra.

civil war, in 1642, he was manifestly inclined on the Parliament's side [B]; and endeavoured to procure a seat in the House; but in this he was disappointed (m). His inclination to study kept him from seeking after public employments; so that we have nothing more concerning him 'till January 1646; when, out of curiosity, accompanying the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to go to the King at Newcastle, to treat of peace, and bring him nearer to London, he was by some of these Commissioners named to wait on his Majesty, as a person known to him before, and engaged in no party or faction. The King approved the proposal, and Harrington entered on the station of a domestic. However, he would never presume to come into the royal presence, except in public, 'till he was particularly commanded by the King; and that he and Thomas Herbert (created a Baronet after the Restoration) were made Grooms of his Bed-Chamber at Holmby, in the month of May, 1647, on the dismissal of some of his old servants. The Commissioners were ordered by the Parliament to recommend those two gentlemen for that post; and the King having taken notice that they had followed the Court since his coming from Newcastle, and being satisfied with what he himself had observed, and with the report he had received concerning them from others, as to their sobriety and good education, he received them very willingly in that capacity. Mr Harrington performed the duties of his office with untainted fidelity to his Sovereign, without doing any thing inconsistent with the welfare of his country; and he thereupon became very acceptable to the King. His Majesty perceiving him to be a learned ingenious man, loved his company, and chose rather to converse with him than with the rest about him (n). They talked of books and foreign countries with mutual pleasure; but Government was Mr Harrington's favourite topic; the King often discoursed with him thereon, but was always manifestly chagrined when he entered on the subject of a Commonwealth [C]. These frequent familiar intercourses gradually rectified the mistaken notion Mr Harrington, as well as many other honest men, had formerly conceived of his Majesty, for want of a nearer acquaintance with him, and through the wicked misrepresentations of a faction, who served their own villainous ends by lies and scandal (o). Mr Harrington's growing esteem of the King, and compassionate concern on account of his distressful circumstances, induced him to solicit his friends in Parliament to have matters accommodated to the contentment both of Prince and People. During the treaty in the Isle of Wight, he frequently warned the divines of his acquaintance, to take heed how far they pressed the King to insist upon any thing, which, however it conduced to their dignity, was no essential point of religion; and that such matters, driven too far, would infallibly ruin all the endeavours used for a peace (p). Soon after the breaking off this treaty, he was turned out of the King's service, by those who had then forcibly assumed the disposal of his sacred person. He incurred the displeasure of these sons of violence in the following manner. His Majesty being carried away from Holmby, to the head quarters of the army, from thence conveyed by slow journeys to Hampton-court, next deluded into the Isle of Wight (where he treated with the Commissioners of Parliament for peace), and from Newport, there, hurried away, by Lieutenant-Colonel Ralph Cobbet, to Hurst-castle in Hampshire

ing the reverence that was due to Almighty God; the benevolence they were obliged to shew all mankind; how they ought to furnish their minds with knowledge by reading of useful books, and to shew the goodness of their disposition by a constant practice of virtue: in a word, he taught them the true rules of humanity and decency, always inculcating to them that good manners did not so much consist in a fashionable carriage (which yet ought not to be neglected), as in becoming words and actions, an obliging address, and a modest behaviour. He treated his mother-in-law, as if she were his own, and made no distinction between her children and the rest of his brothers and sisters.

[B] *Inclined on the Parliament's side.* There were many truly honest and judicious men, at that juncture, who were of the same principles, and had the same views as our author. The administration, during the course of Charles the First's reign, to that time, was so far from unblameable, that it abounded with errors, and was chargeable with very grievous encroachments on the rights of the people. The King himself had an upright heart, but he had been misled and ill-biased; he had not been inspired with a just idea of the British Constitution, and could hardly be induced to think his subjects properties exempt from the stretch of his prerogative: he fancied this to be somewhat conferred on him by Heaven; not a delegation from the people, to be limited by, and exercised only for, their interests. It was to maintain these, and rescue them from unwarrantable infractions, that those brave patriots, who made a majority of the long Parliament, first entered into that dispute with the Crown, which proceeded to such an unjustifiable length, and had so lamentable an

issue. They foresaw not the tragical catastrophe. It was not against his Majesty's person or legal government they unsheathed the sword; but against that exorbitance of power, which was raised to an intolerable height, and which my Lord Clarendon, an unexceptionable loyalist, has fairly described. Mr Harrington was one of this class, and not to be reckoned among those firebrands, who were unhappily mixed with the genuine friends of liberty, at last got the better of them, as well as of their sovereign, and reduced all to ruin.

[C] *When he entered on the subject of a Commonwealth, &c.* Toland, on this occasion, makes the following reflection: 'Here I know not which most to commend; the King for trusting a man of republican principles, or Harrington for owning his principles while he served a King (2).' But, in truth, there seems little to commend or wonder at on either side in this case. The King, we may suppose, considered no farther in Harrington, than as the least exceptionable of those, whom, in that deplorable situation, he was constrained to receive, as attendants, at the pleasure of the Parliament, who were then his masters. Nor did it discover any extraordinary greatness of soul in Harrington, to talk to a captive prince (for such the King really then was) in so disagreeable a strain. It would have been more noble in him to have shunned the disgusting topic at that season; and more prudent in his Majesty to have betrayed no resentment of it. The one would hardly have presumed to act the part of an advocate for a Commonwealth, a few years before, at Whitehall, when the King was in the splendor of his dignity; nor would the other have suffered it, without inflicting severer tokens of his displeasure.

(2) Life of Harrington, p. 16.

[D] T.



Hampshire [D], on November 30, 1648; it happened that Harrington, who in all these changes accompanied his Majesty, did one morning fall into conversation with the governor of that castle, and some other officers of the Parliament forces, concerning the late negotiations at Newport, wherein he magnified the King's wisdom in his arguments with the Commissioners upon the propositions for peace; alledged the satisfactoriness of his concessions; and the probability of an happy issue of that affair, if this force in removing him to Hurst-castle had not intervened, and made an unhappy rupture; enlarging also upon his Majesty's learned disputes with Mr Richard Vines, and other Presbyterian Ministers, on the points of ecclesiastical government and discipline. This discourse, however true in itself, was, in that unlucky season, undeniably, inconsistent with prudence: and this was his Majesty's own sentiment of it; who, instead of reaping any benefit thereby, had the mortification, on the score thereof, to be deprived of the most valued of his servants; and so had reason for blaming the good man's indiscretion, though he could not but entertain a grateful sense of his zeal and affection. In short, the persons to whom he had thus talked, whose conviction was what he aimed at, without any design of offending them, withdrew, greatly incensed; and, after consulting a little among themselves, returned, and let him know they were dissatisfied with what he had said. He desired them to instance wherein, and would have explained and justified his meaning. But they, interrupting, told him in plain terms, they could not suffer his attendance on the King any longer. Accordingly he was secluded his presence; and there is no sure ground to think he saw him any more [E], 'till that fatal day when he was brought to the scaffold, where Mr Harrington

[D] *To Hurst-castle in Hampshire.* The King's circumstances here were truly miserable: absolutely in the power of a set of men inured to slaughter; haunted by the dismal apprehensions of their insolent cruelty; no friend or servant of his own at hand, to comfort or defend him, except Herbert, of his bedchamber, and he weak and dispirited by an aguish disorder. An incident relative to this matter, and which in some sort shews the wretchedness of his Majesty's condition, is told by Wood (3). 'About three days before he was moved to Windsor, at midnight, there was an unusual noise in the said Hurst-castle, that awakened him out of his sleep; and he was in some marvel to hear the draw-bridge let down at that unreasonable hour, and some horsemen enter, who being alighted, the rest of the night was in deep silence. The King being desirous to know the matter, he rung his silver bell long before break of day, (which, with both his watches, he usually laid upon a stool near the wax lamp that was set near them in a large silver basin) upon which call, Herbert opened the bed-chamber door to know his Majesty's pleasure. The King told him he would rise; and as he was making ready, he asked him if he heard a noise that was made about midnight. Herbert answered he did, as also the falling of the draw-bridge, but he being shut up in the back-stair room next to the bed-chamber, and the door, by the Governor's order, being bolted without, he neither could nor would, without his Majesty's order, adventure out at such a time of night. The King then bid him go and learn what the matter was, which he did accordingly, and knocking at the back stair door, the soldiers unbolted it without; so that entering into the next room he happily found Capt. Reynolds there alone by a fire, and, after some discourse, he enquired of him who they were that came so very late into the castle last night, and their errand. The Captain in a joking way bad him be wary in carrying news to the King, for he was among supercilious superintendants, and his comrade was served for an example. Herbert thanked him for his friendly caution, and at length got out of him who the commander was that came so late into the castle, but would not discover what his business was. Whereupon he returned to his Majesty, and told him it was Major Thomas Harrison that came so late into the castle. *Are you sure it was Major Harrison,* said the King? *May it please your Majesty* (said Herbert) *Captain Reynolds told me so.* The King then making a little pause, said, *Then I believe it; but did you see Major Harrison?* No, Sir, said Herbert, *Then the King said, Would not Captain Reynolds tell you what the Major's business is?* Herbert then replied, *that he did what he could to be informed, but that all he could then learn from the Captain was, that the occasion of Harrison's coming would be known suddenly.* The King said no more, but bad him wait in the next room; and forthwith his Majesty went to his prayers. In less than an hour the King opened his bed-chamber door, and

'beckoned to Herbert to come in and make him ready. Herbert was in some consternation to see his Majesty so much discomposed, and wept: which the King observing, asked him the meaning of it; Herbert replied, *Because I perceive your Majesty so much concerned at the news I brought.* The King said thereupon, *I am not afraid; but do you not know that this is the man (Harrison) who intendeth to assassinate me, as by letter I was informed during the late treaty?* *to my knowledge I never saw the Major, though I have often heard of him, nor ever did him injury. The commissioners indeed bearing of it, represented it from Newport to the House of Lords: what satisfaction he gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I trust in God, who is my helper; I would not be surprised, but this is a place fit for such a purpose.* Herbert, *I trust to your care; go again, and make farther inquiry into this business.* Immediately afterwards Herbert went out, and finding an opportunity of speaking in private with Captain Reynolds (who being a gentleman well educated, and at all essays ready to express civility towards the King, with whom he most times walked upon a long narrow passage of stony ground joining to the castle, and was always courteous to his servants) he told him the Major's business was to remove the King thence to Windsor-castle, within three days at farthest. Herbert believing the King would be pleased with the exchange, by leaving the worst to enjoy the best castle in England, returned to his Majesty with a mirthful countenance, little imagining, God knows, the sad consequence; but as soon as the King heard Windsor named he seemed to rejoice at it. It was on a window of Hurst-castle that this disconsolate prince wrote the following line of Ovid;

Qui decumbit humi non habet unde cadet.

He was conveyed hence to Windsor in his own coach, Harrison sitting therein with him, all the way, covered.

[E] *No sure ground to think he saw him any more.* Neither Wood nor Toland express themselves intelligibly concerning this circumstance; but they seem to contradict one another. Wood says, 'I think he (Harrington) was never admitted again when the King was afterwards conveyed to Windsor, and so to St James's (4), which is not sense. Toland, after saying, he was forcibly turned out of the King's service, adds, 'As they were taking the King to Windsor, he begged admittance to the boot of the coach, that he might bid his master farewell, which being granted, and he preparing to kneel, the King took him by the hand, and pulled him into him; he was for three or four days permitted to stay; but because he would not take an oath against assisting or concealing the King's escape, he was not only discharged from his office, but also for some time detained in custody, till Major-General Ireton obtained his liberty. He afterwards found means to see the King at St James's (5).—He was for three or four days permitted

(4) Wood, ut supra, col. 589.

(5) Toland, ut supra, p. 17.



(q) Wood, ut  
supra, col. 589.

(r) Idem.

(s) Toland, ut  
supra, p. 17.

Harrington was with him, and where, or a little before, he received a token of his Majesty's affection (q). The King's execution affected him extremely. He often said, nothing ever went nearer him, and that his grief on the score of it was so great, he had thereby contracted a disease; ever after, even while Oliver reigned, speaking of that unfortunate prince with the greatest zeal and passion imaginable (r). After this shocking event he was more recluse than ordinary; keeping for the most part in his library. His friends attributed this for a good while to melancholy and discontent, and took all opportunities of persuading him to a more agreeable sort of life. At length, to convince them of their mistake, and rid himself of their importunity, he shewed them the real cause of his retirement, and how he was therein employed, by laying before them a copy of his *Oceana* [F], which he had been then writing: telling them withal, that ever since he began to examine things seriously, he had principally addicted himself to the study of civil government, as being of the highest importance to the peace and felicity of mankind; and that he succeeded, at least, to his own satisfaction; being now convinced that no government is of so accidental or arbitrary an institution as people are wont to imagine; there being in societies natural causes producing their necessary effects, as well as in the earth or the air (s). It was with difficulty that he produced this curious piece to the world. After he had effectuated the conception of so elaborate a system, it had like to have been stifled in the birth. Some of Oliver's courtiers hearing of it, and that it was in the press, set all their emissaries at work in search of it. In short, they found, they seized, and carried it to Whitehall. All the author's solicitations were insufficient for the recovery of it. At last, his memory suggested an happy expedient. He recollected, that Oliver's favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, acted the part of a princess very naturally, obliging all persons with her civility, and frequently interceding for the miserable. To her, therefore, he determined to apply; and he succeeded to the very utmost of his wishes. This, however, was, perhaps, owing to an unforeseen and comical incident [G].

Be

*permitted to stay.*—To stay where? or, in what character?—No-body can gather from this passage —*He was discharged from his office.*—He was in no office. He had, by Toland's own account, been discharged from his office a while before. The circumstance indeed is in itself of little moment; but I take notice of it, to instance what obscure and inaccurate writers Wood and Toland are.

[F] *A copy of his Oceana* ] This is a kind of political romance, in imitation of Plato's atlantic story, where by Oceana Harrington intends England; exhibiting a plan of republican government, which he would have had erected here, in case these kingdoms had formed themselves into a genuine Commonwealth, instead of that spurious monster which assumed the venerable name during Oliver's usurpation. The book, according to Toland's analysis of it (6), consists of preliminaries divided into two parts, and a third section called the Council of Legislators; then follows the Commonwealth; and lastly comes the conclusion or corollary.

The preliminary discourses contain the principles, generation, and effects of all governments, whether monarchical, aristocratical, or popular; and their several corruptions, as tyranny, oligarchy, and anarchy, with all the good or bad mixtures that naturally result from them.

The first part of the preliminaries particularly treats of antient prudence, or that kind of government which generally prevailed in the world 'till the time of Julius Cæsar. None can consult a surer oracle, that would conceive rightly of foreign or domestic empire; the balance of land or money; arms or contracts; magistrates and judicatures; agrarian laws; elections by the ballot; rotation of officers, and the like.

The second part of the preliminaries treats of modern prudence, or that which has chiefly obtained since the expiration of the Roman liberty; especially the Gothic constitution. Here we may acquire a clear idea of the English government, under the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, till the foundations of it were subverted under Charles I. and here we may learn to understand the antient feuds and tenures, the origin and degrees of our nobility, with the inferior orders of the populace: What was meant, under the Saxons, by Ealdorman or Earl; King's Thane; middle Thane or Vavasors; their Shire Moots, Sherifs and Viscounts; their Halymoots, Weidengemoots, &c. Here also we see what the Baronage of the Normans was; some being of that rank by their possessions, others by writ, or by patent. In the latter part of this discourse, the author displays the natural causes of the dissolution of the Norman monarchy under Charles the First, and the generation of the Commonwealth, or rather anarchy, that succeeded.

Next follows the Council of Legislators. Harrington designing to offer the world a most perfect system of government, studied all the ancient and modern politicians, that he might imitate what was excellent, and avoid or rectify whatever he found inconvenient in their several systems. To this end therefore he introduces nine legislators, under fictitious names, perfectly acquainted with the different states they are appointed to represent. The province of the first is that of the Jews; of the second, Athens; of the third, Sparta; of the fourth, Carthage; of the fifth, the Archæans, Ætolians, and Lycians; of the sixth, Rome; of the seventh, Venice; of the eighth, Switzerland; of the ninth Holland. Of the excellencies of all these, and the fruits of his own wise invention, he framed the model of his Oceana.

The method he observes in that work, is, to lay down his laws or orders in so many positive propositions, subjoining to each an explanatory discourse; and, if occasion requires, adding a speech, supposed to be delivered by the archon, or some of the legislators. In the corollary, or, conclusion, he shews how the last hand was put to his Commonwealth. His system comprehends not only the form of a senate and assemblies of the people, the manner of waging war and governing in peace, but, moreover, the discipline of a national religion, and the security of a liberty of conscience; a form of government for Scotland, Ireland, and the other provinces of the Republic; governments for London and Westminster, proportionably to which the other corporations of the nation are to be fashioned; directions for the promoting of trade; laws for regulating academies; with admirable rules for the educating of youth, as well to the wars or the sea, to manufactures or husbandry, as to law, physic, or divinity, and, chiefly, to the breeding and figure of accomplished gentlemen; excellent orders for reforming the stage; the number, choice, duty, and salaries, of the officers of state, of the revenue, and the like; with an estimate of the ordinary annual expence of the whole community.

[G] *Owing to an unforeseen and comical incident.* ] Toland relates (7), that Harrington having thought fit to make his application to Lady Claypole, though she was an absolute stranger to him, being led into her anti-chamber, he sent in his name, with his humble request that she would admit him into her presence. While he attended, some of her women coming into the room, were followed by her little daughter, about three years old, who staid behind them. He entertained the child so divertingly, that she suffered him to take her up in his arms 'till her mother came; whereupon, he stepping towards her, and setting the child down at her feet, said, Madam, 'tis well you are come at this nick.

(7) Toland, ut  
supra, p. 19.

of



Be that as it will, his copy was restored, and he was suffered to proceed in the printing of it. As soon as it appeared in the world, it was greedily bought up, and became the general subject of conversation (r). Several undertook a refutation of it, to whom Harrington replied [H]. Many were desirous of an epitome of it; and indeed it might very well bear one. Mr Harrington was not used to say too little upon any matter; he was rather apt to encumber or obscure his subject by an exuberance of expression. His scheme, when reduced to a narrower compass, would become more perspicuous, and easier in the purchase, and so be of greater utility. In compliance therefore with a general importunity, he printed an abridgment of it in the year 1649, calling it *The Art of Lawgiving*, in three books. The first, which treats of the *Foundation and Superstructures of all kinds of Government*, is an abstract of his preliminaries to the *Oceana*: and the third book, shewing *A Model of Popular Government, fitted to the present State or Balance of this Nation*, is an exact compendium of the *Oceana* itself, with short discourses explaining the propositions. The second book, between these two, is *A full Account of the Commonwealth of Israel, with all the Variations it underwent*. To the *Art of Lawgiving* is annexed a small dissertation, or *A Word concerning a House of Peers* (u). Harrington not only endeavoured to propagate his republican notions by writing, but for the more effectually advancing a cause, of which he was enthusiastically enamoured, he formed a society of gentlemen, agreeing with him in principles, who met nightly at Miles's coffee-house in the New-Palace-yard Westminster, and were called the *Rota* (w). The room where they assembled was open to all, and many came out of curiosity, and probably for the sake of prating or disputing; for it seems as if strangers and occasional visitants had that liberty. The discourses here were political, tending to instil a dislike of Monarchy, and by displaying the advantages of a Commonwealth, to create a fondness in the people of that sort of government. Wood is very particular in his account of this association, or gang as he terms it (x) [I]. After the Restoration Mr Harrington lived rather more privately than he had

(r) Toland, ut supra, p. 26.

(u) Ibid.

(w) Ut supra, p. 28. Wood, ut supra, col. 591.

(x) Ut supra.

done

of time, or I had certainly stolen this pretty little lady. Stolen her, replied the mother! pray, what to do with her? for she is yet too young to become your mistress. Madam, said he, though her charms assure her of a more considerable conquest, yet I must confess it is not love, but revenge, that prompted me to commit this theft. Lord, answered the Lady again, what injury have I done you, that you should steal my child? none at all, replied he, but that you might be induced to prevail with your father to do me justice, by restoring my child that he has stolen. But she urging it was impossible, because her father had children enough of his own; he told her, at last, it was the issue of his brain, which was misrepresented to the Protector, and taken out of the press by his order. She immediately promised to procure it for him, if it contained nothing prejudicial to her father's government; and he assuring her it was only a kind of political romance, so far from any treason against her father, that he hoped she would acquaint him he designed to dedicate it to him; and promising that she herself should be presented with one of the first copies; the Lady was satisfied, and so well pleased with his manner of address, that he had his book speedily restored to him.

coming up to the perfection of the kind, comes not short of the perfection of government, and has not some flaw in it? that is, whether the best monarchy be not the worst government.——Whether any Commonwealth, that was not first broken or divided by itself, was ever conquered by any monarch? where he shews that none ever were; and that the greatest monarchies have been broken by very small commonwealths, &c. &c. (10).

(10) Ibid.

It was chiefly against the *Oceana* that Richard Baxter wrote his *Holy Commonwealth*. But Mr Harrington had so contemptuous an opinion of this piece, that he vouchsafed it no other answer but half a sheet of cant and ridicule (11). Wren, not satisfied with Harrington's answer to his *Considerations*, immediately published a vindication of them, under the title of *Monarchy Asserted* (12). This was penned in a very abusive strain, with little force of argument. In both these respects Harrington was even with him in his reply.

(11) Ibid. p. 26.

(12) Ibid.

Something also passed between Dr Stubbe and Harrington, relative to *Oceana*; but it was so trifling as not to deserve any farther mention.

[I] Wood is very particular in his account of this association. They had a balloting box, and balloted how things should be carried, by way of Tentamens; which not being used or known in England before for this purpose, the room every evening was very full. Besides Harrington and Henry Nevill, who were the prime men of this club, were Cyriack Skinner, a Mercer's son of London, an ingenious young gentleman, and scholar to John Milton, which Skinner sometimes held the chair; Major John Wildman, Charles Wolfeley of Staffordshire, Roger Coke, author of the Detection of the four last reigns, William Poultney, afterwards a Knight, who sometimes held the chair; John Hoskyns, John Aubrey, Maximilian Pettie of Tetworth in Oxfordshire, a very able man in these matters, and who had more than once turned the council board of Oliver Cromwell, Michael Mallet, Philip Carteret of the Isle of Guernsey, Francis Cradock a Merchant, Henry Ford, Major Venner, Thomas Marriett of Warwickshire, Henry Croone a Physician, Edward Bagshaw of Christ-church, and sometimes Robert Wood of Lincoln-college, and James Arderne, then or soon after a divine, with many others besides antagonists and auditors of note. Dr William Petty was a rota-man, and would sometimes trouble Harrington in his club; and one Stafford, a gentleman of Northamptonshire, who used to be an auditor, did with his gang come among them one evening very mellow from the tavern, and did much affront the Junto, and tore their orders and minutes.

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[H] Several undertook a refutation of it, to whom Harrington replied. The first of these was Dr Henry Ferne, afterwards Bishop of Chester. Harrington published the whole controversy between them in the year 1656, under the title of *Pian Piano, or, An Intercourse between Henry Ferne, Doctor in Divinity, and James Harrington, Esq; upon occasion of the Doctor's Censure of the Commonwealth of Oceana* (8). The next that appeared against it, was Matthew Wren, eldest son to the Bishop of Ely. His book was intitled *Considerations*, and confined to the first part of the preliminaries only. Mr Harrington answered in the first book of his *Prerogative of Popular Government*, where he explains and vindicates his assertions. He treats his adversary with a good deal of contempt, and it was thought he had the better of him by much (9). In the course of this debate with Wren, he has discussed several curious and interesting points: as, whether a Commonwealth be rightly defined to be a government of laws, and not of men; and monarchy to be a government of some men, or a few men, and not of laws?—Whether the balance of dominion in land be the natural cause of empire?—Whether the decrees of the Roman Senate, or, *Senatus Consulta*, had the power of laws?—Whether the Ten Commandments, proposed by God or Moses, were voted and passed into laws by the people of Israel?—Whether a Commonwealth, coming up to the perfection of the kind, comes not up to the perfection of government? that is, whether the best Commonwealth be not the best government?—Whether monarchy,

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(8) Toland, ubi supra, p. 24.

(9) Ibid.



done during the usurpation; demeaning himself peaceably, as became a man of no party. He was visited however by many of different ranks and denominations; some with a malevolent design as spies, others with nobler intentions, either to improve by his instructive conversation, or to put him on the composing of something which might direct to a thorough settlement of the kingdom. Among these was an eminent Royalist, who prevailed with him to draw up some instructions for the King's service, whereby he might be enabled to govern with satisfaction to the people and safety to himself. This being performed, and signed with his own name, his friend, after shewing it to several of the courtiers, found, as he might easily have foreseen, they did not approve a scheme that was not favourable to their purposes. On this, the author himself delivered it to a great minister about the King, in order to its being offered his Majesty. The acceptance it there found may be imagined from the usage, we are going to mention, which he met with shortly after. About this time he was busy in reducing his politics to short and easy aphorisms, digested into a natural order, and suited to vulgar capacities. Of this he made no secret, and freely communicated his papers to any of his acquaintance. It must be confessed there was too little prudence in this behaviour. He should have known, a work of this nature could not fail (if divulged) of rendering him obnoxious to a monarch, who had his principles in the utmost detestation, and whose measures were the reverse of them. Accordingly, while he was putting the last hand to this system, he was, by an order from the King, on the 28th of December, 1661 (y), seized by Sir William Poultney (a quondam brother of the Rota) and others, and committed to the Tower of London for treasonable designs and practices. He had the written sheets of his Aphorisms lying before him on the table, when the aforesaid persons entered his chamber; and understanding they intended to carry them to the Council, he begged they would permit him to stitch them together, which was granted; and so they were removed with some other papers to Whitehall (x). He himself was instantly hurried to the Tower, without being allowed to take leave of any one, and secreted from the speech or sight of any of his friends. His sisters were hereupon inconsolable. One of them, who had formerly experienced the King's favour, threw herself at his feet, beseeching him to compassionate her brother, who, through a great mistake, was fallen under his Majesty's displeasure; for as she was sure that none of his subjects exceeded him in loyalty, so his Majesty might see he was not the man they designed, since the warrant was for Sir James Harrington, whereas her brother was never honoured with such a title by his Majesty's ancestors, and he would not have accepted it from Oliver. To this artful plea the King as politely answered, That though they might be mistaken in his title, he doubted he might be found more guilty of the crimes alledged against him, than he wished any brother of her's to be. Then she petitioned he might be examined before his Majesty, or brought to a speedy tryal. Not one of her requests was gratified. Shortly after, Lord Lauderdale, who was somewhat a-kin to him, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Edward Walker, were sent to examine him in the Tower, about a plot, which they said he had contrived against his Majesty's person and government (y). At the hearing of this he was greatly revived: for, 'till then, though he might know he was not engaged in any conspiracy against the King, since his Restoration, he could not be insensible how virulently, nay even traiterously, he had abused his character, as well as his royal progenitors, before that period [K]; and

(y) Wood dates this incident November 26.

(x) Toland, ut supra, p. 30.

(y) Ibid. p. 31.

'The soldiers, who commonly were there as auditors and spectators, would have kicked them down stairs, but Harrington's moderation and persuasion hindred them (13). The plan of government these meetings were intended to recommend, was conformable to Harrington's Oceana. The supreme authority of the nation was to be in a senate, a third part of which should rotate out by ballot every year; so that every ninth year the said senate would be wholly altered. No magistrate was to continue in office above three years, and all to be chosen by ballot. This doctrine was very taking; and the more, as there scarcely appeared at that time a possibility of the King's return. However, the greatest of the parliament men hated it, as being against their power. Eight or ten were for it, of which number Henry Nevil was one, who proposed it to the House, and made it out to the members thereof, that, except they embraced that way of government, they should be ruined. This club lasted till about the 21st of February, 1659, when the secluded members being restored by General Monke, all their schemes vanished (14).

[K] He had abused his character, as well as his royal progenitors, before that period. Nothing can be viler than the picture he has drawn of Mary Queen of Scots: he even outscandalizes Buchanan (15). He has painted her son, James the First, also, in the most odious colours; suggesting at the same time, that he was not born of the Queen, but was a suppositious impostor, and, of course, had no right to the Crown he inherited (16). His portrait of Charles the First is an abominable figure (17). Besides several other bad things, and one most horrible, even parricide, he says

of him, 'Never was man so resolute and obstinate in a tyranny.—He was one of the most consummate in the arts of tyranny that ever was. And it could be no other than God's hand that arrested him in the height of his designs and greatness, and cut off him and his family (18).' Charles the Second was in Scotland when this libel was published, so defamatory of him and his ancestors; which circumstance I mention, that the ensuing passages may be more intelligible to the reader. He went thither at the earnest request of that people, who professed the highest loyalty and affection. How they used him there is known to every one. His situation was truly miserable; rather an object of pity, than to be envied. They treated him like a slave than a sovereign. But, instead of commiserating the unhappy Prince, or blaming the brutality and sottishness of his mock subjects, Harrington predicts the vengeance of God on them, for receiving him at all, unless (as he oddly says) the English army prevented the Deities inflicting it. He represents him, there, with that nation, as a Log among his Frogs, suffering them to play about him; then adds, 'Yet God will suffer him (if the English army prevents not) to turn Stork and devour them, while their cries shall not be heard, as those that (in sight of the warning of Providence, and the light of their own reasons, for their own corrupt interest and greedy ambition) brought those miseries upon themselves (19).' And he closes The Grounds and Reasons of Monarchy (a magazine of this and abundantly more slander) with the following paragraph: 'Our scene is again in Scotland, which has accepted Charles the First's son, whom, for distinction sake, we will be content to call Charles the

Second,

(13) Wood, ut supra, col. 59.

(14) Idem.

(15) Works of Harrington collected by Toland, Lond. 1737. fol. p. 28.

(16) Idem, & seq.

(17) Idem, p. 31.

(18) Idem, p. 32.

(19) Idem, p. 15.



and therefore might well fear the weight of his vengeance, whenever an occasion presented of inflicting it. But now he perceived his accusation was not of that, but of a more recent crime, whereof he was not guilty, he fancied he should easily clear himself, and be speedily released. However, though, according to that account of his examination which he transmitted to his sisters, he made a plausible defence, and even seems to have in some measure inclined Lauderdale and the rest to believe him innocent; and though a committee of Lords and Commons, after several sittings, could make nothing of this imaginary plot [L], and never so much as named him in all their reports (z), he remained a close prisoner. His sisters in the mean time being impatient to know his condition, after several petitions, at length obtained an order of Council to admit them into the Tower; where they found him barbarously used by the Lieutenant, whom they softened into more humanity by a present of fifty pounds, under the notion of fees. By them he delivered a petition to the King; not only asserting his innocence, but commending his own behaviour in the late times, 'When he had opposed the usurper in such a manner, as was judged, even by the Royalists themselves, to be very much to his disadvantage.' Wherefore he begged the favour of a public trial, or a more easy confinement (a). Other supplications were made in his behalf, but all to no purpose. Finding no relief from this quarter, he turned his eyes toward the Parliament, and framed a petition, representing to that illustrious body the hardships he had undergone, 'by lying a close prisoner in the Tower for five months, on a bare suspicion of some disaffection to the government, which in all his examinations did not in the least appear; that he hoped in that time so to have cleared his innocence by a public trial, as to deserve his liberty; and that because he understood these matters were in some measure before their House, he would not presume, without first making his application to them, to sue for his freedom by other legal means.' But so much was that House then under the awe and influence of the Court, that his sister could get none of the members to deliver this petition, or to give her any encouragement. Several, on the other hand, dissuaded her from any application at all, lest, instead of procuring her brother any benefit thereby, she hastened his destruction: whereas, if she continued patient under his sufferings, he might be safe in his restraint (b). These methods failing, he advised his sister to move for an *habeas corpus*. She did so. It was at first absolutely denied. It was afterwards granted, and duly served; but the effect of it basely defeated by a most arbitrary and cruel proceeding: for when he and his friends justly expected, that, in consequence of this writ, he should have been presently brought to a legal trial, or enlarged, his warder came one day to his sisters at Westminster, and informed them, that, between one and two o'clock that morning, their brother was put on board a ship, to be transported he knew not whither, without any time given him, either to see his friends, or to make provision of money, linnen, or other necessaries (c). His relations were under the deepest concern on account of this strange incident. They made all the enquiry they could possibly after him, at the Tower, and at the Secretary's office, but all to no purpose. They could get no intelligence

(x) *Idem*.

(\*) Life of Harrington, by Toland, p. 35.

(b) *Ibid*, p. 36.(c) *Idem*.

'Second. Certainly these people were strangely blind as to God's judgment perpetually poured out upon a family; or else wonderfully addicted to their own interest, to admit the spray of such a stock; one that has so little to commend him, and so great improbability to further their designs and happiness; a popish education, if not religion too, however for the present he may seem to dissemble it; France, the Jesuits, and his mother, good means of such an improvement; the dangerous maxims of his father, besides the revenge he owes his death, of which he will never totally acquit the Scots; his hate to the whole nation; his sense of Montrose's death; his backwardness to come to them till all other means failed (both his foreign begged assistance, his propositions to the Pope, and commissions to Montrose) and, lastly, his late running away to his old friends in the North: so that any may see his present compliance to be but histrionical and forced, and that as soon as he has led them into the snare, and got power into his own hands, so as that he may appear once more bare-faced, he will be a scourge upon them for their gross hypocrisy, and leave them a sad instance to all nations, how dangerous it is to espouse such an interest, against which God with so visible and severe a hand does fight, carried on by and for the support of a tyrannizing nobility and clergy, and wherein the poor people are blindly led on—and made instrumental with their own estates and blood towards enslaving and ruining themselves (20). Whatever ground there might be for this invective, there can be none for supposing the writer of it a true friend or subject of Charles the Second: nor can we conceive with what face his sister could plead for that Prince's compassion towards him, under that character; or in the least wonder at the dismal apprehensions he entertained in

the beginning of his imprisonment, while he was unacquainted with the real occasion of it.

[L] *Could make nothing of this imaginary plot.*] The account Chancellor Hyde gave of it, at a conference of the Lords and Commons, was, 'That one and thirty persons were the chief managers of it; that they met in Bow-street Covent garden, in St Martins-le-grand, at the Mill-bank, and in other places; and that they were of seven different parties or interests, as, three for the Commonwealth, three for the long Parliament, three for the city, three for the purchasers, three for the disbanded army, three for the independents, and three for the fifth-monarchy men. That their first consideration was how to agree on the choice of Parliament-men against the ensuing session; and that a special care ought to be had about members for the city of London, as a precedent for the rest of the kingdom to follow, whereupon they nominated the four members after chosen, and then sitting in Parliament. Their next care was to frame a petition to the Parliament for a preaching ministry, and liberty of conscience. Then they were to divide and sub-divide themselves into several councils and committees, for the better carrying on their business by themselves or their agents and accomplices all over the kingdom. In these meetings Harrington was said to be often in the chair; that they had taken an oath of secrecy, and concerted measures for levying men and money.' The Chancellor added, that though he had certain information of the times and places of their meetings, and particularly those of Harrington and Wildman, they were nevertheless so fixed in their nefarious design, that none of those they had taken would confess any thing, not so much as that they had seen or spoken to one another at those times or places (21).

(21) Life of Harrington, by Toland, p. 35.

[M] Was



telligence of him any where. They were a fortnight labouring under this painful anxiety, uncertain of his condition, and dreading his fate; when they received a note from his own hand on board one of the King's ships, then lying under Hurst-castle, informing them he believed he was bound for Plymouth. About a month after, he sent them word, by another letter, that he was landed on a sort of rock opposite to Plymouth, called St Nicholas's island; from whence he frequently afterwards wrote to them (d). His close restraint here, where the water was very bad, and he had scarcely room enough to move in, quickly impaired his health. This occasioned a petition for his being removed to Plymouth, which was complied with, on his brother and uncle obliging themselves in a bond of five thousand pounds, for his safe imprisonment. Here he had the liberty of walking on the hoe, and was exceedingly well treated by the Deputy-Governor of the fort, Sir John Skelton. At this place he unfortunately became acquainted with one Dr Dunstan, who advised him to take a preparation of Guaiacum in coffee, as a certain cure for the scurvy, with which he was then troubled. He drank of this liquor in great quantities, morning and evening; which, it is like, had a very pernicious effect, for he soon grew delirious. His sisters having notice of this from his landlady, one of them applied to the Earl of Bath, then Chief Governor of Plymouth, and informed him of his prisoner's sad condition (e). This noble lord hereupon representing his case to the King, and interceding for his removal to London, where he might have the advice of able Physicians, his Majesty granted a warrant for his release, since nothing appeared against him, supported by any credible evidence or presumption (f). The next day Lady Ashton, with another of his sisters, set out for Plymouth, where they found him in a miserable state; his understanding quite impaired, and his body wasted to a skeleton. A rumour among the people of the town, that he had taken some drink which would make any one mad in a month; the furliness of the doctor, and some expressions that dropped from a maid, who was put to attend him against his will, made several suspect he had foul play, lest he should write any more *Oceanas* (g). It was near a month before he was able to bear the journey to London in a coach. Here (after passing a time at Ashted in Surry, to drink the Epom waters, from which he received no benefit) he was put wholly under the care of Dr Prujean, who with all his art could afford him little help for the weakness of his body, and none at all for the disorder of his mind. He would discourse of other things as rationally as any man; but when his own distemper was touched on, he would fancy and utter strange things about the operation of his animal spirits, which transpired from him, he said, in the shape of birds, flies, bees, or the like. He talked so much of good and evil spirits, that he even terrified those about him. But he was wont to argue so strenuously, that these chimeras were not the issues of a disordered imagination, that his Doctor, as we are told, was often put to his shifts for an answer [M]. He would on such occasions compare himself to Democritus, who, for his admirable discoveries in Anatomy, was reckoned distracted by his fellow-citizens (h). In this crazy condition he married the daughter of Sir Marmaduke Dorrel of Buckinghamshire; a very agreeable woman, and celebrated wit, whose person and conversation he always admired, and who had been long intimate with his family. He had made his addresses to this lady in his younger days; but she was then in the height of her charms, and did not make those returns of affection he desired. And now she thought fit to accept him, having probably been disappointed of greater expectations, it presently appeared the match was not so disinterested on her side as she pretended. Some intimations of this in her conduct occasioned a difference between them, soon after their nuptials; however, a reconciliation quickly ensued, and he treated her with great generosity and respect during the remainder of his life. Towards his latter end he was subject to the gout, and enjoyed little ease, but drooping and languishing a good while, he was at last seized with a palsy, and died at Westminster, the eleventh of September, 1677, leaving his estate to his brother's children, and lies buried in St Margaret's church, on the south side of the altar, next the grave of Sir Walter Raleigh (i). Mr Harrington was a man of genius and learning, but he can hardly be deemed a fine writer. He is redundant in respect of his matter, too verbose, and his stile not only exuberant, but disfigured with uncouth terms and phrases. However, a skilful and patient reader may collect a very valuable stock of political knowledge out of his writings. We shall give a list of them below [N].

[M] Was often put to his shifts for an answer.] There must surely have been some flaw in the Doctor's own understanding, or he would never have studied any reply to the ravings of a lunatic: for such Mr Harrington was certainly in this instance. Nor can one otherwise than smile at the grave apology which Mr Toland offers in behalf of these whimsies; which he owns indeed puzzled him for a while, 'till he at length happened on a solution, that, in his judgment, frees them from all imputation of madness. This he found in a paper written by Harrington himself, and communicated, after his death, to Mr Toland; whereby it appeared, That the said Harrington's pretended visions of angels and devils were nothing else but good or bad animal spirits, and that his flies and bees were only similitudes whereby he used to express the various figures and forms of those particles (22). Mr Toland, it seems, on the reading of this piece,

was perfectly amazed at the discovery of so mighty a secret; and it had such an influence on him, that he could never after, as he tells us, be convinced of Harrington's being delirious in this particular. And to satisfy the learned in the point, who are all, as he imagines, concerned therein, he has presented them with the discourse itself, at the conclusion of the author's life (23).]

[N] We shall give a list of them below ] I. 'The Commonwealth of Oceana.' First printed at London, in Folio, 1656. II. 'The Prerogative of Popular Government.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1658. III. 'The Art of Lawgiving.' First printed at London, in octavo, 1659. IV. 'A Word concerning a House of Peers.' First printed at London, in octavo, 1659. V. 'Valerius and Publicola, or the true Form of a Popular Commonwealth extracted e puris naturalibus.' First printed in quarto, 1659.

(23) Ibid. p. 42.

(d) Idem.

(e) Idem.

(f) Ibid. p. 37.

(g) Idem.

(h) Idem.

(i) Ibid. p. 38.

(22) Idem, p. 38.



1659. VI. 'A System of Politics delineated in short and easy Aphorisms.' This was first published from a manuscript of the author's, after his death, by Mr Toland. VII. 'Political Aphorisms.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. VIII. 'Seven Models of a Commonwealth, or brief Directions shewing how a fit and perfect Model of Popular Government may be made, found, or understood.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. IX. 'The Ways and Means whereby an equal and lasting Commonwealth may be suddenly introduced and perfectly founded, with the free Consent and actual Confirmation of the whole People of England.' First printed at London in quarto, 1660. X. 'The humble petition of divers well affected Persons, delivered the sixth of July, 1659; with the Parliament's Answer thereto.' These were the writings of Mr Harrington that Toland collected, methodized, reviewed, and published in one volume, folio, at London, in the year 1700. But there was another and much compleater edition of his works set forth, in 1737, by Andrew Millar, Book-feller, of the same city. This edition contains the following articles, omitted in Mr Toland's; and for which the world is obliged to the Rev. Thomas Birch, D. D. F. R. S. who communicated them to the editor, viz. XI. 'Pian Piano, or, Intercourse between H. Ferne, D. D. and J. Harrington, Esq; upon Occasion of the Doctor's Censure of the Commonwealth of Oceana' First printed at London, in duodecimo, 1656. XII. 'The Stumbling Block of Disobedience and Rebellion, cunningly imputed by P. H. unto Calvin, removed in a Letter to the said P. H. from J. H.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XIII. 'A Letter unto Mr Stubbs, in Answer to his Oceana weighed, &c.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XIV. 'Politicafter, or a comical Discourse, in Answer to

'Mr Wren's book, intituled, Monarchy Asserted against Mr Harrington's Oceana.' First printed at London, in duodecimo, 1659. XV. *Pour enclouer le Canon.* First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVI. 'A Discourse upon this saying, The Spirit of the Nation is not yet to be trusted with Liberty, lest it introduce Monarchy, or invade the Liberty of Conscience.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVII. 'A Discourse shewing, that the Spirit of Parliaments, with a Council in the Intervals, is not to be trusted for a Settlement, lest it introduce Monarchy and Persecution for Conscience.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XVIII. 'A Parallel of the Spirit of the People with the Spirit of Mr Rogers; and an Appeal thereupon unto the Reader, whether the Spirit of the People, or the Spirit of Men like Mr Rogers, be the fitter to be trusted with the Government.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XIX. 'A sufficient Answer to Mr Stubbs.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1659. XX. 'A Proposition in order to the proposing of a Commonwealth or Democracy.' First printed at London, in folio, 1659. XXI. 'The Rota, or a Model of a Free State or equal Commonwealth, once proposed and debated in brief, and to be again more at large proposed to, and debated by, a free and open Society of ingenious Gentlemen.' First printed at London, in quarto, 1660 (24). Mr Harrington made some attempts in the poetical way, but they gained him no reputation (25). However, in 1658, he published an English translation of two Eclogues of Virgil, and two books of the *Æneis*, under the title of, 'An Essay upon two of Virgil's Eclogues and two of his *Æneis*, towards the translation of the whole,' octavo; and in 1659, was printed his translation of the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth books of the *Æneis* (26). I

(24) Ibid. p. 45.

(25) Wood, ut supra, col. 590.

(26) Ibid. col. 594.

(a) See below in remark [H].

(b) See the inscription upon his monument in remark [F].

(c) He took this degree Feb. 12. and completed it the following Lent. Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 118. &amp; Ath. Ox. ibid. col. 459. where he tells us, Mr Harriot was entered of St Mary-Hall, and bred under two succeeding Principals there, both strict Disciplinarians.

(d) Idem ibid. col. 460.

(e) In the list of the persons who staid a year in Virginia, our author is ranked among the gentlemen, and his name put in the second place next to the Admiral Amada, who first discovered the country. See an account of the particularities of the employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia, &amp;c. in Hakluyt's Voyages, &amp;c. Vol. III. p. 255. Lond. 1660. fol.

HARRIOT [THOMAS], the first inventor of the way of notation since universally used in Algebra (a), was born and bred at Oxford (b); and having completed his Bachelor of Arts degree in Lent 1579 (c), being then about 19 years of age, he had so remarkably distinguished himself by his skill in Mathematics, as to be recommended soon after to Sir Walter Raleigh as a proper Preceptor for him in those sciences. Accordingly that gentleman became his first patron, and took him into his family, with the allowance of an annual pension (d). This was the first reward of his merit, and there are several instances which undeniably evince that his patron found him worthy of his esteem and confidence. For in the first place, after he had, in pursuance of his patent for the purpose, made a sufficient discovery of the country now called Virginia, in 1584, he sent our author, with the colony, under Sir Richard Greenville, the following year, as a person every way qualified to open the way for settling it (e). From their first arrival there, in June 1585, Mr Harriot applied himself to the business with all the diligence which the occasion required (f); and upon their return home, after a full year's stay, by reason of some unforeseen accidents, without having made such a progress towards the settlement as was expected [A], he was employed by Sir Walter to draw up and publish a topography of the country, in order to keep up the spirit of the undertaking [B]. This piece was published in 1588 in 4to (g); and it

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(f) See Sir Richard Greenville's Voyage for Sir W. Raleigh in 1585. Ibid. p. 251.

(g) It is subscribed February 1587. in the conclusion, where he says, he had drawn up a chronicle of all the remarkable occurrences of the several colonies, from the first discovery of Virginia in 1584 to that time, which he then intended to publish, but did not, being probably prevented by the accounts of others.

[A] Some unforeseen accidents obliged them to return without success.] Mr (afterwards Sir) Ralph Lane, who on the departure of Sir Richard Greenville, was left by him Deputy-Governour of the colony, thought himself obliged to leave the country on account of the weakness of his company, as well as their small number; the loss of their bark, which with all their provisions was carried away by a storm, and their disappointment in their expected supply, which though promised by Sir Richard Greenville, to be with them undoubtedly before Easter, yet was not then [in June] come, nor likely to come that year (1). And to these reasons may be added what Mr Harriot writes concerning the temper and qualities of some of the inferior members of this colony (2), that either through ignorance of the nature of such an undertaking, or malice and ill-will to their masters, or else through laziness and an accustomed delicacy of life (which probably reduced them to that weak condition mentioned by the Deputy-Governour) they were either grown weary of, or not well affected to, the enterprize. For these reasons it was thought proper not to lose the opportunity of returning in the Fleet with Sir Francis Drake, who happened to touch there in his way home\*. Accordingly they set sail on the 19th of June 1586, and arrived at Portsmouth the 27th of July following (3).

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[B] He drew up a topography of the country, to keep up the spirit of the undertaking.] It is intituled, *A Brief and true Report of the New Found Land of Virginia: Of the Commodities there found and to be raised, as well merchantable as others. Written by Thomas Harriot, Servant to Sir Walter Raleigh, a Member of the Colony, and there employed in discovering it a twelve month.* From this treatise we have already in the preceding remark taken notice of the ill-will which had begun to take root in some of the inferior sort of the colony before their departure; this was apparently nothing else but the simple effect, as is ordinarily seen, of disappointment †; and there being no possible way of removing that cause for the present, the distemper grew to a head in the passage, and soon after their arrival in England broke out in various disparaging misrepresentations of the country, in order to involve the ruin of the whole design in their particular disappointment. Every body knows how many difficulties inseparably attend an attempt to settle a new colony abroad, as well as the general disposition of the people at home to believe the worst reports which they hear about it. I was to prevent the mischief of such false and slanderous reports, that our author, as he declares (4), was prompted to draw up and publish the present treatise, which therefore is called by him very

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appositely,

† In not finding gold and silver so soon as they looked for.

(4) In the introduction, addressed to the adventurers, favourers, and well-willers, of the enterprize for the inhabiting and planting of Virginia.

(1) An account of the particularities, of the employments of the Englishmen left in Virginia under the care of Master Ralph Lane, &amp;c. sent and directed to Sir Walter Raleigh. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 255. &amp; seq. edit. 1660. folio.

(2) In his brief and true Report of the New found Land of Virginia, in the introduction. Ibid. p. 266. &amp; seq.

\* Viz. from sailing San Domingo, Cartagena, and St Augustine. Third Voyage to Virginia in 1586. Id. p. 265. (3) Account of the Particularities, &amp;c. part II. at the end.



was probably either this or the following year, that his patron introduced him to the knowledge of Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, who being pleased with his affability and peaceable temper, and convinced of his profound learning, gave him a pension of one hundred and twenty pounds a year, and afterwards kept a handsome table for him, and some other of his mathematical friends [C], in the Tower, where his Lordship was imprisoned in 1606 for life, diverting the melancholy of his confinement in the daily society of men of learning and ingenuity. Sir Walter Raleigh being also in the Tower at the same time, frequently joined in the company (b), enjoying the sweets of friendship in a free and unreserved declaration of sentiment upon points of literature with his preceptor [D], who always retained a most grateful sense of his patron's favours. It was in this sentiment that he first introduced Captain Keymis to him [E], whose information afterwards of a gold

(b) Wood, where last cited.

appositely, *A true Report of the New Found Land, &c.* and to gain credit to his report, he signifies not only that he had been in the discovery, but was especially employed in dealing with the natural inhabitants, and had therefore seen and known more than the ordinary sort. In further confirmation of the truth of his report, there is prefixed a preface by Mr Lane, the Deputy-Governour abovementioned; wherein he stakes his own credit for the said truth, attesting that the author of the treatise, was a man no less for his honesty, than for his learning commendable.

[C] Kept a table for him and some of his mathematical friends.] These friends were Walter Warner and Robert Hughes. He also allowed to each of these a pension, but of less value than that of Mr Harriot, as indeed their merit was less (5). They were the Earl's constant companions while he was detained in the Tower, and were usually called the Earl of Northumberland's Three Mags (6). Of Mr Warner, we shall have occasion to speak further in the sequel; the other, Mr Hughes, is well known by his treatise of the globes, the first edition of which was printed in Latin in 1593, 8vo. with this title, *Traſtatus de globis & eorum uſu; accomodatus iis qui Londini editi ſunt.* Mr Hughes was also tutor to the Earl of Northumberland's son, Algonoon Percy, while he was at Christ-church-college in Oxford (7). We are told that the Earl retained an acquaintance of Mr Hughes's in his service, the famous Nicholas Hill (8), author of a piece intitled, *Philosophia Epicurea, Democritana, Theophrastica, propoſita ſimpliciter non edoſta*, Paris. 1601, 8vo. of which Ben Johnson has these lines (9):

*Thoſe atomi ridiculous, whereof old Democrite, and Hill Nicholis,  
One ſaid, the other ſwore, the world conſiſts.*

The witty Ben might probably be prompted to introduce Hill Nicholis into this epigram, on account of the following pleasant story concerning him. That when he was secretary to Edward, the poetical and prodigal Earl of Oxford, among other accounts he brought in this. *Item, for making a man, 10 l. 6 s. 8 d.* and being required by the Earl to explain it, he said he had merely out of charity given that sum to a poor person who had frequently told him, that *ten pounds would make him a man* (10).

[D] *A free conversation upon points of learning with his preceptor.*] Mr Wood, from whom this account is collected, will needs have our author to be a deist, and suggests, that when these conversations turned upon religion, the infinity of matter and of the world, and other points, contrary to the accounts in the Bible, were maintained by him. But it has been already suggested (11), that this imputation is charged upon him without any authority, and also is very inconsistent with Mr Harriot's behaviour. In his employment to convert the natives of Virginia to the Christian religion, when explaining to them the contents of the Bible, he declared, *That therein was set forth the true and only God and his mighty works; that it contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of miracles and chief points of religion, as I was able, says he, then to utter, and thought fit for the time.* However at the same time we find him prudently cautioning them against running into any superstitious veneration of the said book, when he saw them embrace and kiss it, and stroke over all their bodies with it, observing to them that the book materially and of itself was not of such virtue as he thought they conceived, but only the doctrine therein contained. In reality, the whole discourse of our author with those heathens, is dictated by a true spirit of

piety, as well as good sense; and that he continued steady in the same principles of religion to his death, appears both from the inscription upon his monument, where he is declared to be, *Dei Trinitarius cultor piissimus*, and also from a remark in a poem on the appearance of the comet in 1618, addressed to Sir Tho. Ailsbury, by Dr Richard Corbet, successively Bishop of Oxford and Norwich, where he writes thus,

*Now for the peace of God and men advise,  
Thou that hast where withal to make us wise,  
Thine own rich studies, and deep Harriot's mine,  
In which there is no dross, but all refine* (12).

(12) Corbet's Poems, p. 56. Lond. 1672. 8vo.

As this poem appears to be wrote particularly upon the opinion at that time in general vogue, that comets were certain fore-runners of some independent judgment from the Deity. The Bishop therein seems to allude to a remarkable passage in the discourse about religion to the natives of Virginia just mentioned, wherein Mr Harriot, speaking of the extraordinary successes in their military engagements against those idolators, which became more effectual by a general sickness wherewith they were seized, thereupon makes this remark. Some of them said, 'It was the especial work of God for our sakes, as we ourselves, continues he, have cause in some sort to think no less, whatever some do, or may imagine to the contrary, especially some astrologers knowing of the eclipse of the sun, which we saw the same year before in our voyage thitherward, which in the time appeared very terrible; and also of a comet which begun to appear but a few days before the beginning of the said sickness; but to exclude them from being the especial causes of so especial an accident, there are further reasons than I think fit at present to be alledged.' Hence it appears that Mr Harriot's religion and piety were kept by his good sense within the bounds of reason, and if in the free conversation between him and his patron, some superstitious and groundless conceits, too stiffly maintained by the divines of those times, were handsomely rallied, that was a further proof of the good sense of both; Though turned by Mr Wood into an occasion of aspersing both as deists (13).

[E] *He introduced Captain Keymis to Sir Walter.*] This is inserted upon the authority of Mr Wood \*, who has ranked him among the number of our author's mathematical friends, of which the following Latin poem written by Captain Keymis, and prefixed to the account of his second voyage to Guiana in 1596, is an illustrious proof. It contains a description of that country, and runs thus:

*Ad Thomam Harriotum, Mathematicum et Universæ,  
Philosophiæ peritissimum. De Guiana Carmen.  
Datum Anno 1595.*

*Montibus est Regio, quasi muris, obſita multis,  
Circumſepit aquis quos Raleſtana ſuis.  
Intus habet largos Guaina recessus,  
Hoſtili geſtans libera colla jugo.  
Hispanus clivis illis ſudavit, et aſcit,  
Septem annos novies: nec tamen invaluit.  
Numen & omen ineſt numeris: fatale ſit illi,  
Et nobis, virtus ſit recidiva, precor.  
Gualtero pateſcitra via eſt duce & auſpice Ralegh  
Menſe uno: ô factum hoc nomine quo celebrem?  
Noſte dieque, daſtis velis, remiſque laborans,  
Exegit ſummæ dexteritatis opus.  
Scilicet expenſis magnis non ille pepercit,  
Communi natus conſuluiſſe bono.*

*Providus*

(13) Sir Walter Raleigh's character is vindicated also by an appeal to several parts of his History of the World. See his Life by Mr Oldys, p. 71.

\* Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 433.

(5) Wallis's Opera, Vol. II. in præfatione.

(6) Wood's Ath. Ox. col. 460. Vol. I. To these the Earl afterwards added Nath. Torperley, who had been amanuensis to the famous Vieta in France. Ibid. col. 566.

(7) Ath. Ox. col. 572. Vol. I.

(8) Idem ibid. col. 365.

(9) In his epigrams, No. 134.

(10) Wood, where last cited.

(11) In the General Dictionary, under our author's article.



(i) See General History of Great Britain, or the Life and Reign of King James I. Lond. 1653. p. 12. and Howell's Letters, &c. let. 3. p. 95. edit. 650.

(k) See Dr Hearn's Works, Treatise 2. of Meers, Lett. 26. Lond. 1650. where the doctor also observes, that Harriot and his three friends aforementioned were maintained by the noble Earl of Northumberland while in the Tower, whom he styles the Marterns of learning and all learned uen.

(14) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 666.

(15) Stowe's Survey of London, Vol. I. book ii. p. 123. dit. 1725.

(16) Wallis's History of Algebra, edit. 1685. pl. in the preface.

(17) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 461.

(18) That gentleman also gave Mr Warner an annual pension, though smaller than that which he had from the Earl of Northumberland. See ibid.

gold mine in Guiana (i), as 'tis said, was made use of by Sir Walter to procure his release from the Tower. The attempt consequent thereupon proved indeed fatally ruinous to both these friends of Mr Harriot by different ways, though from the same cause. But the death of Sir Walter particularly brought an indelible infamy upon the royal author of it. Neither did his friend, the subject of the present article, long survive it. For being seized with a cancer in his lip, he put himself under the care of Dr Alexander Rhead (k); but that cruelly painful incurable malady (l) put an end to his life, July 2, 1621. He died in Sion-college, where he had resided several years for the sake of his studies; whence his corpse was carried with great funeral solemnity to St Christopher's church, and interred there, a monument being erected to his memory by his noble executors, Robert Sidney Viscount Lisle, and Sir Thomas Aylesbury, with an inscription (m) which is inserted below [F]. Our author left several posthumous pieces (n), none of which have been printed (o) except the following in folio, whereof the title-page is thus drawn up, *Artis Analyticae praxis ad æquationes algebraicas nova expedita, & generali methodo resolvendas, e Posthumis Thomæ Harrioti, Philosophi ac Mathematici celeberrimi schediasmatis summa fide & diligentia descriptis, & Illustrissimo Domino Henrico Perceio Northumbricæ Comiti, qui hæc primo sub patronatus munificentia suæ auspiciis ad proprios usus & lucubrata in communem Mathematicorum utilitatem denuo revivenda describenda & publicanda mandavit, meritissimi honoris ergo nuncupatus.* Lond. 1631 [G]. This work contains so many excellently useful improve-

(l) Mr Oldys, ubi supra, imagines, this cancer might be occasioned by holding frequently mathematical instruments of brass in his mouth. But he seems to forget that Mr Harriot's studies lay more in the speculation than in the practice of that art.

(m) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 460.

(n) See remark [G].

(o) One intitled *Ephemeris Chiro-metrica* is preserved in Sion-college library.

ments

*Providus excubuit simili discrimine Joseph,*

*Sic fratres fratrem deseruere suum.*

*Fama coloratam designet si bona vestem,*

*Vestis scissa malis sic fuit illa modis.*

*Mira leges, auresque animumque tuum arrige, tellus*

*Hæc aurum et gemma, graminis instar, habet.*

*Ver ibi perpetuum est: ibi prodiga terra quotannis*

*Luxuriat, sola fertilitate nocens.*

*Anglia nostra licet dives sit, et undique sælix,*

*Anglia, si confers, indiga frugis erit.*

*Expertes capitum volucres, piscesque, ferasque,*

*Prætereo: haud profunt, quæ novitate placent.*

*Est ibi, vel nusquam, quod quærimus. Ergo petamus:*

*Det Deus hanc Canaan possideamus, Amen.*

Tui amantiss. L. K. (14).

[F] An inscription upon his monument.] It was consumed in the fire of London, but is preserved by Mr Stowe, whence, as it contains some particulars of his life referred to in this memoir, we shall transcribe it at length.

*Siste Viator, leviter preme,  
Jacet hic juxta quod mortale fuit  
C. V.*

*Thomæ Harrioti.  
Hic fuit doctissimus Ille Harriotus  
De Syon ad flumen Thamesin,  
Patria & Educatione  
Oxonienfis.*

*Qui omnes scientias calluit, & in omnibus excelluit;  
Mathematicis, Philosophicis, Theologicis.  
Veritatis Indagator Studiosissimus.  
Dei Triniunus cultor piissimus.  
Sexagenarius aut eo circiter  
Mortalitati valedixit non Vitæ  
An. Christi MDCXXI. 2. Julij (15).*

[G] *Artis analyticae praxis, &c.* This book was published by Mr Warner (though without mentioning his name) (16), concerning which Mr Wood gives the following account (17). That, 'the sum of it coming to the hands of Sir Thomas Ailsbury, Mr Warner undertook to perfect and publish it, on condition that Algernoon, eldest son of Henry Earl of Northumberland would, after his father's decease, continue his pension to him during his life. This being obtained by the interest of Sir Thomas Ailsbury (18), Warner took a great deal of pains in it, and at length published in that sort as we see it now extant.' The obvious inference from this account is, that the manuscript being left imperfect by the author, these defects were supplied by the editor, which however is so far wide of the truth, that besides no notice being taken

by the latter, of his having made any such supplies, it is certain that one remarkable hiatus in the manuscript was left by him unsupplied in the printed copy, and was afterwards observed and filled up by Dr Wallis in his history of Algebra. All that Mr Warner added, was a preface and an epilogue, in both which he has indeed shewn himself to be a friend worthy of Mr Harriot, the stile in both being perspicuous and elegant, and the matter close and pertinent. With regard to the preface, in order to give the reader an exact and comprehensive view of Mr Harriot's true merit in this piece, he lays before him an account of the state of the analytick art in the several stages from its origin and invention by the Ancients, to its restitution by Vieta. In executing this general plan, he proceeds to observe, particularly, 'That in the business of investigation, the Ancients generally made use of the analytic art, though nothing thereof appeared upon the face of the problem as it stood in their works, the construction being synthetical, which was consequently demonstrated geometrically; but that this method was extended universally no further than to quadratic equations, or to the *loci plani*, for when the analytical solution terminated in the formula of the higher orders, as cubics, biquadratics, &c. they had recourse to the *loci solidi*, or the conic sections; and where that failed, to the *loci*, which they called *linear*, that is, to mechanic curves, such as the helix, conchoid, quadratrix, &c. but that this last method was only a necessary supplement to their defective art; these mechanical constructions being by the nature of them incapable of geometrical demonstrations. In this state the analytic art or power in solving problems, stuck among the Grecians, nor were any improvements made therein by the Arabs, who did nothing more than give to the art the name of Algebra from their own language. Here it stood till Cardan and Tartaglia, Italians, building upon a certain geometrical foundation, endeavoured to advance it to the solution of cubic equations demonstratively, and this they performed in some conditional cases accurately, but by a very perplexed form in binomial roots: and even so, this basis of the solution is not general and absolute. Which being observed by Stevinus, he proceeded a step further, and exhibited, (1.) A method of solution for such cubic equations as were resolvable by their original nature and condition, that is, such whose solutions may be drawn from the supposed foundation. (2.) He reduced and resolved those forms of cubic equations which are reducible by their condition to the primary ones. (3.) He resolves such biquadratics after they are reduced to those primary cubics to which they are reducible. All the rest unconditioned, as well cubics as biquadratics (which is a great part of the whole) being, by a tacit exclusion, condemned as irresolvable, to the great detriment of the art. This was the progress, and these the boundaries of the Italian invention, limited, continues Mr Warner, not so much by our ignorance, as by the nature of the thing. At last appeared Vieta, that great analytical architect, who after many fruitless trials and researches in the geometrical way, turned himself at length to the arithmetical



ments in Algebra, entirely his own inventions, that he is deservedly ranked among those illustrious authors who are an honour to our country; which requires the more notice, as we were for many years robbed of that honour by the management of Des Cartes, who plumed himself with these English feathers so artfully, that they were generally esteemed abroad to be the genuine growth of France [H].

'arithmetical course, and thereby happily invented both the *logistes speciosa*, and *exegetis numerosa*, which by the nature of it comprehending the solution of all equations, of all orders and forms by a general uniform and invariable method, so that the solution of problems being finally compleated by the resolution of equations, he marked it by the magnificent name of that universal problem, *nullum non problema solvere*.' Mr Warner concludes the preface, with shewing the improvements which were made in Vieta's method by Mr Harriot, the particulars of which will be seen in the next remark.

In the epilogue, the editor declares, that he had published this work of his friend as a *prodromus* to several others, all built upon the same method of logistic species by the same author; which he had in his hands, and intended to give to the public; but none of these were ever printed, and are now probably long since lost. As to Mr Warner, we are informed (19), that he was born at Leicestershire, and was a good philosopher as well as a mathematician, that he invented a table of logarithms, different from that of Briggs (20). That besides this he wrote a *treatise upon coin and coinage*, and first communicated the secret of the circulation of the blood to Dr Harvey, an account whereof will be seen in his article, and that he died in 1640.

[H] Mr Harriot's inventions were borrowed by Des Cartes.] After what is said of these inventions above, the curious reader will naturally expect to see some account of them here, and his curiosity will be fully gratified with the following list of them given first by Dr Wallis. Mr Harriot greatly improves the art, says he, (1) In producing small letters instead of capitals to define his species, as taking up less room, especially when they come to be frequently repeated. (2.) His waving the terms of quadratic, cubic, sursolid, &c. in the designation of them, which he performs very naturally by the bare number of their dimensions as *aa*, *aaa*, *aaaa*, which when they come to be numerous, are conveniently expressed by numeral figures\*, which is also sometimes used by others. (3.) His putting the whole equation to one side, making it equal to nothing; and, which was the end why he did it, (4.) Shewing thence the true original of higher equations from a composition of lateral or more simple equations, which is the great key, that opens the most abstruse mysteries in algebra, and which I think we owe purely to him. And, consequently thereupon, (5.) Determining the number of roots (affirmative, negative, or imaginary) in every equation, viz. so many as are the dimensions of it's highest term. (6.) Discovering the genuine construction of the absolutely known quantity, or homogeneum comparationis, as Vieta calls it, viz. by a continual multiplication of all the roots. (7.) As also the constitution of all the coefficients, viz. of what and how many numbers each coefficient doth consist, and by what multiplication of roots into one another each member is made. (8.) Resolving by division an equation so compounded into those simple equations, of which by multiplication it is made up. (9.) Determining (by comparing common equations with his canonicals) how many roots of each equation are real (and not merely imaginary) and how many of these are affirmative, and how many negative. (10.) Reducing conditional equations to more simple forms by supposition of certain qualities, or respective proportions in their several roots among themselves, whereby some of their places become vacant, or so and so qualified, and (consequently). (11.) A discovery of those qualities and proportions in the roots, from such want of, or qualifications of the coefficients as arise from thence. (12.) Turning at once by changing the signs of even places, all the affirmative roots into negative, & contra. (13.) Multiplying and dividing the roots of any equation yet unknown, in any proportion at pleasure. And, (14.) Thereby freeing the coefficients of any equation from fractions and surds. (15.) Increasing or diminishing the value of such unknown roots, by the addition or subtraction of any quantity assigned. And so, (16.) By this means (if there be occasion) making some or all of the negative roots to become affirmative or vice versa. And, (17.) Taking away (by the same means) one or

more of the intermediate terms in any equation, and thereby reducing the equation to fewer terms. (18.) Taking away in particular, the second term in any equation, by increasing or diminishing the value of the root by an aliquot part of the coefficient, denominated by such number as is that of the dimensions of the highest term. (19.) Reducing thereby all affected quadratic equations to simple quadratic. (20.) Reducing in like manner all affected cubic equations to two forms very convenient for further reduction. (21.) Reducing farther the same affected cubic equations to simple cubics, as far as they are capable of being reduced into species. (22.) Discovering those cubic equations, which are not capable of explication in species (according to such ways of notation as are yet received) without imagining the square root of a negative quantity, with the demonstration of that incapacity. (23.) Shewing notwithstanding that these same equations have real roots, and not merely imaginary. (24.) A peculiar way, and very expedient, of reducing affected quadratic equations, to simple quadratics, by completing the square. (25.) An improvement of the *exegetis numerosa*, that is, the numeral solution or extraction of roots of affected equations, first introduced by Vieta. All these, continues the Doctor, are either explicitly delivered by him, or are obvious to remark upon the bare inspection of what he delivers, and most of them are properly his own discoveries, as far as I can yet find, though in some few of them Vieta had gone before him. To this state had Harriot advanced algebra, in that his posthumous work, written long before; for he died in 1621, but published in 1631. In running over these improvements of Harriot, the Doctor remarks those (and they were the greatest part of them) which he observes were borrowed by Des Cartes, and inserted in the first edition of his Geometry, published by himself in 1637. Whence upon the whole, the Doctor concludes with the following remark in justice to Mr Harriot. 'That, pure algebra, as it simply considers the computation and management of proportion, abstract from the consideration of any particular subject, none before him [Harriot] had so accurately delivered by a genuine deduction from it's true principles, and what Des Cartes (who hath borrowed his algebra from him, and others since him) has added to it, are built upon those foundations which he had laid (21.)' While this was in the press, the Doctor received the following account from Dr John Pell, to whom it was related by Sir Charles Cavendish, (only brother to William, then Earl, and afterwards Duke of Newcastle,) a person of honour, well skilled in the mathematics. He discoursing at Paris with Monsr. Roberval, an eminent French mathematician concerning that piece of Des Cartes then lately published. 'I admire, saith Roberval, that notation in Des Cartes, of putting over the whole equation to one side, making it equal to nothing (22); and how he lighted upon it. The reason why you admire it, says Sir Charles, is because you are a Frenchman; for if you were an Englishman, you would not admire it. Why so? saith Mr Roberval. Because, saith Sir Charles, we in England know where he had it, namely from Harriot's Algebra. What book is that? saith Monsieur Roberval, I never saw it. Next time you come to my chambers, says Sir Charles, I will shew it you. Which a while after he did, and upon perusal of it, Monsieur Roberval exclaimed with admiration. *Il l'a veu! Il l'a veu!* i. e. He had seen it, he had seen it, finding all that in Harriot, which he had before admired in Des Cartes, and not doubting but that Des Cartes had it from thence (23.)' Upon this, Dr Wallis, in the preface to his history of Algebra, scruples not to assert that Mr Harriot in his *Artis Analyticæ Praxis*, &c. 'Had taught (in a manner) all that, which hath since passed for the Cartesian method of Algebra, there being scarce any thing of pure Algebra in Des Cartes, which was not before in Harriot, from whom Des Cartes seems to have taken what he hath that is purely Algebra, but without naming him.' So bold an attack upon Des Cartes, made a great noise both in France and Holland, where it had always passed current for truth, that he was the undoubted genuine inventor of what was called the Cartesian Algebra.

(19) By Mr Wood, *ibid*.

(20) See more of this in the article of PELL [JOHN]

\* 'Tis no injustice to Sir Isaac Newton to say that some of his improvements in Algebra are raised out of this way of notation.

(21) The doctor had before expressed the same things in the following words, *Without which (foundation of Harriot) the whole superstructure of Des Cartes (I doubt) had never been.* Hist. of Algebra, c. 30.

(22) This is the third improvement by Harriot beforementioned.

(23) Wallis's History of Algebra, c. 53. edit. 1685.



(24) See Sir Samuel Moreland's Letter from Utrecht, dated January 8, 1688; and Dr Wallis's Answer, dated July 4, 1692, to Mr Prestet, a French author, both inserted in Wallis's History of Algebra, &c. cap. 53. edit. 1694.

(25) La Vie de Monf. Des Cartes reduite en abrégé par Monf. Baillet, p. 240. Paris, 1691. 12mo.

(26) Idem ibid. p. 490, 491.

(27) It makes the second volume of his Works, in 3 vols in Latin, 1694. folio.

(28) Lettres de Monf. Des Cartes, let. lxxviii. Tom. III. p. 457. Paris, 1667. 4to.

(a) From his Will, and the Register of St Botolph's.

(b) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Protestant Bishops, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 128.

(1) Hist. of Colchester, by P. M. fol. 1748. book ii. p. 17, 18.

Algebra (24). And this book of Dr Wallis coming to the hands of Mr Baillet, that gentleman in his *Abridgement of the life of Des Cartes*, endeavoured to vindicate him in the following manner. 'First, He observes that both Roberval and a certain Jesuit, had objected the conformity of Des Cartes's Algebra, to that of Harriot, in order to prejudice Cartes's reputation, which he was informed of by a letter from Carcavi, but thought so unworthy a treatment from such a friend as Mr Roberval, did not deserve any answer (25). 2. Mr Baillet declares, that the matter was decided in favour of Des Cartes by Hudden, in a letter inserted in Cartesius's Geometry; as also by Schooten, in his notes upon that treatise, and by Mr Prestet, in the preface to the second edition of his *Mathematical Elements* (26). This attempt of Mr Baillet in defence of Des Cartes, being published in 1693, was perused by Dr Wallis, who took the opportunity of returning an answer to it in some additions to the preface of his History of Algebra in Latin in folio, the following year (27). Where he observes, first, 'That Des Cartes's behaviour, as represented by Mr Baillet, amounts to a confession of the charge. He was informed by a letter from Carcavi, that Roberval had objected the conformity of his method with that of Harriot. But what says he to this, does he deny the fact that he had made use of Harriot's inventions? No. What then? *Il n'y eut que l'indignité de la conduite de Roberval qui empecha M. Des Cartes de répondre sur ce point.* That is, says the Doctor, If I confesse it right, he took it heinously that it should be imputed to him by Roberval, that he had made use of Harriot's inventions, but did not deny the thing, rather chose to make no answer to it.' Carcavi, it seems, as a friend to Des Cartes, had declared to him very explicitly what had happened. His letter is dated at Paris, September 24th, 1649, where he writes thus. 'Monsieur Roberval assure me, what I would not mention to you, but that it concerns your interest to know it, that he could reproach you with what an anonymous author, who wrote a small tract in Algebra (some believe him to be a Jesuit) objects to you, that in the formation of equations, you only copy what was published in the year 1631, by an Englishman, whose name was Harriot, and who is very little known to us here, at least to me (28). In answer to the second part of Mr Baillet's apology, Dr Wallis produces the words of Hudden, which are, 'Regulam hanc de æquatione biquadratica in duas quadraticas resolvenda quam Dom. Des Cartes, p. 79, 80, 81, suæ geometriæ descripsit, meo, inquit, judicio non verisimile videtur ipsum ex ullis aliis authoribus, ut nonnulli opinantur, desumpsisse. i. e. It does not seem probable in my

opinion, that Des Cartes borrowed the rule, which he gives in the 79, 80, 81 pages of his Geometry for resolving biquadratic equations into two quadratics, from any other authors, as some imagine. Schooten likewise makes the same remark. *Hem, cries Wallis, macrum testimonium!* a slender evidence this! Hudden thought, that for one single rule, Cartesius was obliged to no body. But what says he of the rest, which he has in common with Harriot, not a syllable, *ne quid quidem.* Why am not I also summoned on the same side, who throughout the whole 55th chap. of my Algebra, contend that this very rule was not taken from Harriot, nor in Harriot's book, but (as far as I saw) was Cartesius's own invention.' As to Mr Prestet, 'tis true he speaks indeed more directly and positively, and does not stick to charge the Doctor with being infligated herein by an envious principle against the glory of the French nation in respect of mathematical learning; protesting that his accusation of Des Cartes, was raised upon idle conjectures alone, unsupported by any kind of proof, and consequently deserved not the least credit. His words as related by Dr Wallis, are, 'Invenio ibidem [in præfatione ad elementa sua mathematica] Dom. Prestet male habere, quod ego in Algebra mea Anglice edita an. 1685, Harrioto nostro assuerim. *rim* (prout res est) eorum plurima puram Algebram spectantia, quæ in Cartesii geometria comparent; quodque id (ut ait) vanis conjecturis fecerim, præque invidia et æmulatione Gallicæ gloriæ in rebus mathematicis, quodque ita renovatum iverim (prout ille loquitur) ridiculam illam accusationem (29), cui, cum ego absque ulla probatione id dixerim, non vult esse credendum.' But what this testimony contains of substance, was so notoriously false, that to wipe it away, the Doctor had nothing more to do than to appeal as he does to the several facts upon which his charge was grounded: and as to the confident air with which Mr Prestet pronounces his assertion. It may be observed, that such a face is frequently assumed, to supply the want of veracity. To conclude, In further confirmation of his point, the Doctor takes notice that Mr Baillet acknowledges Des Cartes's being in England in this very year 1631, when Mr Harriot's book was printed, and that he came to consult our famous mathematicians (30). Whence it is more than probable, that he must then have heard of the book at least, and have been also informed of the nature of it, and upon that account, if we should suppose, which is more than can be made probable, that it was not finished at the press, and published before his departure: yet it would be doing him an injury to imagine, he had not the curiosity to procure it afterwards.

(29) This expression, that Dr Wallis was going to repeat that ridiculous accusation of Des Cartes, shews, that Mr Prestet had heard of the doctor's design to publish his own works.

(30) La vie de Des Cartes, &c. ubi supra, p. 229, 230. where he also observes, that Des Cartes then made some mathematical experiments at London, and in the neighbouring parts, and learned from us the change of the variation of the needle.

H A R S N E T [SAMUEL], a learned writer in the last century, successively Bishop of Chichester and Norwich, and Archbishop of York. He was born in the parish of St Botolph, in the town of Colchester in Essex, and baptized June 20, 1561 (a) [A]. Most probably, he received his first education in the free-school of his native place. However, September 8, 1576, he was admitted into King's-college in Cambridge: from whence he removed to Pembroke-hall, of which he became scholar, and was elected Fellow of the same, November 27, 1583 (b). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1580, and that of Master in 1584 (c). About three years after, being offered the mastership of the free-school in Colchester, he accepted of it [B], and was elected in March 1586-7 (d). But, after a short tryal of little more than a year and a half, chusing rather to follow his studies at Cambridge, than the painful trade of teaching; he quitted the school [C] in November,

(c) From the University Registers.

(d) Hist. of Colchester, by P. M. book ii. p. 17, 18. and book iii. p. 14.

[A] And baptized June 20, 1561.] The day of his birth is not mentioned any where: but that he was baptized June 20, 1561, appears from the register of St Botolph's, where he is entered under the name of 'Samuel Hasnothe, son of ——— Hasnoth;' for so is the surname incorrectly written, being set down as it was vulgarly sounded. The Harfnet, or Halsnothe, family was very numerous in Colchester in the sixteenth century; many of that name being frequently mentioned in the Town-Records: but it is now quite extinct. Our learned author's father was named William, and a Baker (1).

[B] He accepted of it.] The testimonial given him by his college, upon that occasion, was in these words. 'Our commendations remembred, &c. Whereas we lately received letters from you touchinge Mr Harfnet fellow of our colledge: we thoughte good in tyme convenient to make aunswer to the same. Thes therefore may certifie you concerning those pointes

'you requested of us, namelie his sufficiencie to teache in the Latin and Greeke tongues as well proase as verse, with his honest behavioure and conversation; that we do knowe and promise in his behalfe, that he is very meet, able, and sufficient to performe those duties, as alsoe of a good name, and honest conversation amonge us. In signification whereof, We the Præsident and Fellowes of the Colledge have severallie subscribed our names to thes our letters, and so with our hartie commendations we wishe you fare well. From Pembroke hall this thirde of May 1586.' Subscribed by Henry Farr, Lancel. Andrewes,—and fifteen more of the fellows (2).

[C] He quitted the school.] When he had determined to leave it, he writ the following letter to the then bailiffs of the town, who were the electors. 'Right worshipfull, my bounden duetie remembred, I give you all mosse humble thanks for your godlie lovinge kindnesse and curtesie, which I have received

(2) From the original.



(e) From his MS. Letters, and other M.SS.

(f) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 398.

(g) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 432.

(h) Newcourt's Repert. Vol. I. p. 73, 406.

November 1588, and retired to Pembroke-hall (e), where he applied himself to Divinity, with great diligence and success. But he was well initiated in that most useful science, even before his accepting of the school, as appears by a learned and very rational sermon, preached by him at Paul's-Cross, October, 27, 1584 [D]. He was one of the Proctors of his University in 1592 (f). About five years after, he became Chaplain to Dr Richard Bancroft Bishop of London (g), by whose favour he obtained successively numerous and considerable preferments. For, he had, of his gift, the Rectory of St Margaret Fish-street, London, which he resigned in 1604 (h). On the 14th of June, 1597, he was instituted by him to the Vicarage of Chigwell in Essex, but resigned it in 1605 (i). August 5, 1598, he was collated to the Prebend of Mapeisbury in St Paul's cathedral: and January 17, 1602, to the Archdeaconry of Essex; all in the Bishop's disposal (k). The 16th

(i) Idem, Vol. II. p. 143.

(k) Idem, Vol. I. p. 170, 73.

'ceived from you all. It hath pleased God, whose pleasure is good, to chaunge the thoughts of my harte, and to dispose of my purposes, besides my purpose, unto the studie of divinitie: pardonne me right worshipfull, if I crave your pardonne and your prayer bothe, that it may be to his glorie, and the good of his Church. Nowe mine earnest suite unto your W. is that it may please you to remember the promise which with one consent you made unto me at my firste entrance, namelie to accept at myne hands a twelve monthes warninge, for which time, I beseeche you to admitte uppon triall, the man already commended unto you Mr Sadlingtonne.'—*After giving a character of whom, he goes on thus.*—'This my suite I truste is reasonable, and I knowe you are my good frendes, which I desire no further than I am a frend unto your towne, and unto my poor schollers whom I favor from your harte, and thus I shall be bound to praye alwaies unto God, that it may please him to be present in the midst of your meetings and consultations for the good of that Christian people committed to your charge. Your W. servant to command S. Harfnet. From Pembroke-hall the 28 October (3).'

(3) From the original.

[D] *Sermon preached by him at St Paul's-cross, Oct. 27, 1584.* We cannot learn with any certainty, whether this sermon was published the same year, or soon after, it was preached; or, whether it first appeared in print in 1658, at the end of three of Dr Stewart's sermons. The text is Ezek. xxxiii. 11. and the design of this excellent discourse, is, to shew the unreasonableness and absurdity of the cruel doctrine of unconditionate predestination; as appears by the following extracts, with which we shall oblige the reader; the book being now grown very scarce.——'There is a conceit in the world (says he)—*That God should design many thousands of souls to hell before they were, not in eye to their faults, but to his own absolute will and power, and to get him glory in their damnation.* This opinion is grown huge and monstrous (like a Goliath) and men do shake and tremble at it; yet never a man reacheth to David's sling to cast it down. In the name of the Lord of Hosts, we will encounter it: for it hath reviled, not the host of the living God, but the Lord of hosts. 1. It is directly opposite to this text of holy scripture, and so turns the truth of God into a lye. For whereas God in this text doth say and swear, that he doth not delight in the death of man; this opinion saith, that not one or two, but millions of men should fry in hell; and that he made them for no other purpose, than to be the children of death and hell; and that, for no other cause but his mere pleasure's sake, and so says, that God did not only say, but swear to a lye; for the oath should have run thus: *As I live* (saith the Lord) *I do delight in the death of man.* 2. It doth (not by consequence, but) directly make God the author of sin. For, if God, without eye to sin, did design men to hell, then did he say and set down, that he should sin: for without sin he cannot come to hell. And indeed, doth not this opinion say, that the Almighty God, in the eye of his counsel, did not only see, but say, that Adam should fall, and so order and decree, and set down his fall, that it was no more possible for him not to fall, than it was possible for him not to eat? and of that which God doth order, set down, and decree, (I trust) he is the author.——3. It takes away from Adam (in his state of innocency) all freedom of will, and liberty not to sin. For had he had freedom to have altered God's designment, Adam's liberty had been above the designment of God. And here I remember a little witty solution is made; that is, if we respect Adam's will, he had power to

sin, or not to sin; but if God's decree, he could not but sin. This is a silly solution: and indeed, it is as much, as if you should take a sound strong man (that hath power to walk and to lie still) and bind him hand and foot (as they do in Bedlam) and lay him down; and then bid him rise up and walk, or else you will stir him up with a whip; and he tell you that there be chains upon him, so that he is not able to stir; and you tell him again, that that is no excuse, for if he look upon his health, his strength, his legs, he hath power to walk or to lie still; but if upon his chains, indeed, in that respect he is not able to walk: I trust, he that should whip that man for not walking, were well worthy to be whipped himself.——And therefore, if God set it down for a decree, that Adam should fall, Adam had no more liberty not to fall, than the man in the chains had liberty to walk.——4. As God doth abhor a heart and a heart, and his soul detesteth a double-minded man; so himself cannot have a mind and a mind, a face (like Janus) to look two ways. Yet, this opinion maketh in God two wills, the one flat opposite to the other: an hidden will, by which he appointed, and willed that Adam should sin; and an open will, by which he forbade him to sin. His open will said to Adam in paradise, *Adam thou shalt not eat of the tree of good and evil: his hidden will said, Thou shalt eat; nay more, I myself cannot keep thee from eating, for my decree from eternity is passed; thou shalt eat, that thou mayest drown all thy posterity in sin, and that I may drench them (as I have designed) in the bottomless pit of hell.*——5. The poets had a device of their old god Saturn, that he eat up his children as soon as they were born, for fear lest some of them should dispossess him of heaven. Pharaoh King of Egypt had (almost) the same plea; for he made away all the young Hebrew males, lest they should multiply too fast: Herod, for fear our Saviour Christ should supplant him in his kingdom, caused all the young children in Galilee to be slain: those had all some colour for their barbarous cruelty. But, if any of those had made a law, designing young children to torments before they had been born; and for no other cause and purpose, but his own absolute will, the heavens in course would have called for revenge. It is the law of nations, *No man innocent shall be condemned; of reason, not to hate where we are not hurt; of nature, to like and love our own brood.* Θέογονεὶς ἑσμεν (saith the Holy Ghost) we are God's kindred; he cannot hate us when we are innocent, when we are nothing, when we are not. Now, touching God's glory (which is to us all as dear as our life) this opinion hath told us a very inglorious and shameful tale: for it saith, The almighty God would have many souls go to hell; and that they may come thither, they must sin; that so he may have just cause to condemn them. Who doth not smile at the Grecians conceit, that gave their god a glorious title for killing of flies? God's glory in punishing ariseth from his justice in revenging of sin: and for that it tells (as I said) a very sad and unpleasant tale: for who could digest it, to hear a prince say after this manner? I will beget me a son that I may kill him, that I may so get me a name: and that I may have some colour to kill him, I will beget him without both his feet; and when he is grown up, having no feet, I will command him to walk on pain of death: and when he breaketh my commandment, I will put him to death. O beloved, these glorious fancies, imaginations and shews, are far from the nature of our gracious, mercifull, and glorious God.'—

[E] Was



16th of April, 1604, he received institution to the Rectory of Shenfield in the said county; being presented to it by Sir Thomas Lucas of Colchester (l). And the year following, upon the resignation of Bishop Andrews, was chosen Master of Pembroke-hall; which place he held 'till 1616 (m) [E]. He served the honourable office of Vice-Chancellor of the university of Cambridge in 1605, and again in 1614; and in 1605 was created Doctor in Divinity (n). But, to go on with his other ecclesiastical preferments; May 16, 1606, he was admitted to the Vicarage of Hutton in Essex (o); which, though but small, he accepted, undoubtedly on account of its nearness to Shenfield. However, he resigned it in 1609, as he did also his Prebend of Mapeisbury, and Archdeaconry of Essex (p). Whereupon Dr Bancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he continued Chaplain, gave him, September 28, the Rectory of Stythead in Essex (q). As he had succeeded Dr Lancelot Andrews in the Mastership of Pembroke-hall, so did he also succeed him in the See of Chichester. For, upon that learned Prelate's translation to Ely, our author being nominated Bishop of Chichester in his room, was elected November 13, confirmed December 2, and consecrated the day following, by Archbishop Bancroft, who had undoubtedly a great hand in his promotion (r). He was allowed to hold with his Bishopric the Rectory of Stythead in commendam, 'till the year 1619, when he was translated to Norwich [F], upon the death of Dr John Overall (s). We find, that he was one of those divines, who had the ill luck of not being in the good graces of the troublesome Puritans of his time. For, in the last Parliament of King James the First, the Commons, at a conference, accused him of several misdemeanours [G]. This accusation, however, was

(l) Idem, Vol. II. p. 526.

(m) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 399, 400. and Lives of the Bishops, &c. p. 129.

(n) Ibid, p. 129, 130. His exercise for that degree was excused by a grace of the House.

(o) Newcourt, Vol. II. p. 344.

(p) Idem, Vol. I. p. 73, 176.

(q) Idem, Vol. II. p. 562.

(r) J. Le Neve's Lives, ubi supra, p. 130.

no (s) J. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 212.

[E] Was chosen Master of Pembroke-hall; which place he held till 1616.] Mr J. Le Neve says (4), That, in that year, 'Pembroke-hall petitioned the King against him, to whom they exhibited their grievances in fifty-seven articles. They wrote also to Dr Andrews, Bishop of Ely, the Earl of Suffolk, Chancellor of the University, the Lord Hay, Sir Thomas Lake, Sir George Villiers, and others, desiring their assistance in this affair. Some of the crimes in the articles objected against him were so scandalous, and the proof so evident, that the Bishop thought best to retire, and so he did, resigning the mastership in June this year.'—Mr Le Neve adds, that, notwithstanding 'all decent endeavours, he could not obtain a copy of those articles.' And, therefore, what they were, we cannot judge. They might be, for pressing too rigorously the observance of the new ceremonies, as they were then called: or, perhaps, for hurting the college revenues.

[F] When he was translated to Norwich.] His *congé d'eslire* was dated June 1, and he was elected June 16, obtained the royal assent July 20, was confirmed Aug. 28, and had restitution of the temporalities, Sept. 22, 1619 (5).

[G] Accused him of several misdemeanours.] What the substance of the accusation, and of his misdemeanours, was, will best appear by the following extract from the Journals of the House of Commons (6), 17 May 1624. 'The Committee met at Sir Edward Cooke's chamber to examine and consider of the heads of the charge, to be presented against the Bishop of Norwich. — 19 May, Sir Edw. Cooke reports from the Lords about the Bishop of Norwich. — Have related the whole charge to the Lords, consisting of six heads. 1. Putting down of preaching. 2. Setting up of images. 3. Praying to the east. 4. Punishing some, for coming to hear their own minister, after evening prayer, catechise, and sing psalms. 5. Extorting of undue fees. 6. Not registering institutions and inductions.'—From the Lords, 'Answer was, that they would take such order herein, as should appertain to justice, and our satisfaction.'—But this being set forth more at large in the Parliamentary History, we shall give the following extract of it.

'May 8, 1624. The Commons desired a conference with the Lords, touching some accusation against the Lord Bishop of Norwich, unto which his Lordship has not yet been heard. The 14th of the same month, the Bishop besought the Lords to remember the abovesaid message from the Commons, and to appoint a time for hearing his accusation. The 19th, after a conference with the Commons, the Archbishop of Canterbury reported the charge against the Bishop, exhibited by the citizens of Norwich; which consisted of these six articles. 1. That he inhibited or disheartened preachers on the Sabbath-day in the forenoon. 2. That images were set up in the churches, and one of the Holy Ghost fluttering over the font; that a marble tomb was pul-

led down, and images set up in its room, and the Bishop blessed them that did it. 3. That he punished those who prayed not towards the east. 4. That he punished a minister for catechising his family, and singing of Psalms. 5. That he used extortion many ways. 6. That he did not enter institutions, to the prejudice of patrons.—The Bishop answered these articles distinctly, after having made the following previous observations. He protested he was no way guilty of the first part of his accusation; if he were, then he was unworthy to bear the name of a Clergyman. He shewed the unworthiness of such as should dishearten preachers from preaching the word of God. That whilst he was Vicar and Parson, he preached every Sabbath in the morning, and catechized in the afternoon; and that he continued the like preaching whilst he was Bishop of Chichester: that in Norwich he never missed the public place, and ever preached there against Popery.—As touching preaching and non-residence, he had been reckoned more than half a Puritan; he left the Archbishop of Canterbury's service that he might go to his cure. He wondered why he should be thought a Papist; he thought it might be owing to his disputations, and his sermons at Paul's-Cross, on Predestination negative, unadvisedly preached by him for which he was checked by Archbishop Whitgift, and commanded to preach no more of it; and he never did, though Dr Abbot, late Bishop of Sarum, hath since declared in print that which he then preached to be no Popery. That Popery is a fire that will never be quiet; he hath preached a thousand sermons, and nothing of Popery can be imputed to him out of any of them. That there were divers obstacles to keep him from Popery: four of which he mentions; namely The usurpations of the Pope of Rome; their religion dyed in blood; their juggling and feigned miracles, of which he had writ a book against them; and their equivocations. He concluded, with acknowledging the Church of England to come nearest to the primitive; and that we fetch not our reformation from Wickliff, Huss, and Luther, of latter times, but from the first 400 years next after Christ.

Then he proceeds to answer the several articles of his accusation. As to the first, he confessed, that six or seven of the abler sort of ministers in Norwich used to expound, in their own churches, before the sermon began in the cathedral church; and many resorted from other places to these expositions, and in the afternoon to their sermons. The preachers themselves found fault with this, being willing to be rid of the pains, for they were to preach in the afternoon and on the week days, and shewed him many disorders therein; as the cutting off part of the prayers, or beginning them too early; and they besought his Lordship to remedy it, because they, being stipendiary men, were loth to do it, for fear, belike, to lose their stipends: whereupon he sent for them by an officer, and willed them to omit these expositions in the forenoon; and yet he had since taken order for the erecting of three sermons in the most remote parts of the city from the cathedral

(4) Lives of the Bishops, &c. as above, p. 130, 131.

(5) Continuation of Rymer's *Acta Regia* by Sanderson, Vol. XVII. p. 163, 176, 180.

(6) Vol. I. p. 789, 790.

† Parliamentary History of England, Vol. VI. p. 255.



no hindrance to his further advancement. For, upon the death of Dr Montaigne, he was translated, in his room, to the Archbishopric of York [H]; being elected November 26, 1628, and confirmed the 23d of January following (t). November 10, 1629, he was sworn of the Privy-Council (u). He enjoyed his Archiepiscopal dignity but a little while: For, he died at Morton-in-the-marsh in Gloucestershire, the 25th of May 1631 (w), on his return from Bath to his manor of Southwell in Nottinghamshire (x): and was buried in Chigwell-church in Essex, according to the direction he had given in his will (y) [I]. A year or two before his decease, he had founded and endowed a free-school in that parish, wherein are to be two masters, one to teach Latin and Greek, and the other writing and cyphering; and also some alms-houses (z). By his will, he gave his library to the corporation of Colchester, for the use of the clergy there; and legacies to several places [K]. Besides his Sermon abovementioned, he had a controversy with one John Darrell about the casting out of devils, of which an account is given in the note [L]. He was one

(t) J. Le Neve's Lives, as above, p. 132.

(u) J. Stowe's Annals, edit. 1631. p. 1055.

(w) J. Le Neve's Lives, &c. p. 132.

(x) Wood Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 731.

(y) J. Le Neve, ubi supra.

(z) Newcourt, Vol. I. p. 73.

cathedral church; and he had also erected many lectures in several places of the country. 2. As touching the images in a church: what was done, was done without his knowledge; it was meant by St Peter's church. He never saw that church 'till one evening as he came by: when going in, and perceiving the parishioners had bestowed very great cost, and not seeing or knowing of any image at all set up there, he said, 'God's blessing on their hearts that had bestowed such cost on God's house.' 3. As touching prayers to the east: he never enjoined it, nor heard of it 'till now. 4. The minister he punished, with doing of penance, was sent to him by the Justices of the Peace, and had formerly been convicted of simony and conventicling, and of infecting the parish with strange opinions. 5. His Lordship absolutely denied that he imposed any fees, and affirmed that he had not any of those fees which were complained of; only the fees for institution, which he took as his predecessors did. 6. His Lordship affirmed, that he had registred all the institutions \*.—Upon the whole therefore, the sum of these accusations was no other, than the common clamours of the Puritans of those times. Now, at this day, when the world can reflect coolly upon such matters, we cannot, on the one hand, wonder enough at the weakness and presumption of those men, who pressed too earnestly such points; when they were quite disagreeable, and gave so great offence to the generality of the nation. And, on the other hand, how great was the obstinacy, ill behaviour, and I may truly say, dishonesty, of the Puritans; to raise vehement outcries about such trifles; and to treat those who stood for them as Papists, or popishly affected, when they were in the main as sound Protestants as themselves their accusers, and better sons of the Church of England! We ought therefore to look down with pity upon the contentions of both sides about such insignificant matters. Unworthy they certainly were of the cognizance of Parliament: but what would not such a sour ill-tempered man as Sir E. Coke, then in disgrace, not do, to be revenged of the Court; which favoured Dr Harsnet, and other divines of his persuasion?—To which must be added, that, for some of the articles above set down, particularly for the last, the doctor was not accountable. For the registering of institutions and inductions belongs to the Register of each diocese, not to the Bishop.

[H] He was translated to the Archbishopric of York.] This high dignity was procured him by Thomas Earl of Arundel, who had a great esteem for him, and had committed his younger son to him for education (7).

[I] According to the direction he had given in his will.] Namely, in the following words, 'My body I will to be buried within the parish church of Chigwell without pomp or solemnity, at the foot of Thomezine late my beloved wife, having only a marble-stone laid upon my grave, with a plate of brass molten into the stone an inch thick, having the effigies of a Bishop stamped upon it, with his mitre and crozier-staff, but the brass to be so rivetted and fastened clear through the stone, as sacrilegious hands may not rend off the one, without breaking the other. And I will that this inscription be engraven round about the brass: *Hic jacet Samuel Harsnet, quondam Vicarius hujus ecclesiae; primò indignus Episcopus-Cicestrensis, dein indignior Norwicensis, demum indignissimus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis.*' Which was accordingly performed with these additional words, *Qui obiit 25 die Maii, A. D. 1631. Quod ipsissimum Epitaphium ex*

*abundanti humilitate sibi poni curavit testamento Reverendissimus Praesul* (8).

[K] And legacies to several places.] The words of his will are, 'I bequeath to twelve poor widows of Chigwell, who shall attend my hearse from my house at Chigwell unto my burial, twelve black gowns.—Ten pounds for a sober civil banquet for as many of the parishioners as shall please to accompany my body to the earth.—To the Prebendaries of Southwell 50l.—to furnish their Communion table with plate.—To the building of the poor-house at Cawood, in case I live not to finish the same myself, 100l. together with the bricks, timber, and stone, that I have provided for the same.—To the poor of St Botolph's in Colchester, where I was born, 10l.—of Shenfield in Essex 10l.—of Stisted in Essex 10l.—To the poor prisoners in the King's-Bench 20l.—in Ludgate 20l.—in the White Lion in Southwark 20l.—Besides legacies to his servants. He left no issue. Therefore his nephew Samuel Harsnet was his sole executor.

[L] He had a controversy with one John Darrell about the casting out of devils.] Take an account of this Darrell, and his practices, in the words of the industrious Mr Strype (9). 'When the open practices of the Puritans for settling the new discipline would not prevail, there was a more secret method made use of by some of their ministers, of doing something that looked little less than miraculous; namely, The casting out devils from persons pretending to be possessed by them: that so the amazed multitude, having a great veneration for these exorcisers of devils by the power of their prayers and fastings, might the more readily and awfully submit to their opinions and ways. (Which likewise was a practice borrowed from the Papists, to make their priests revered, and to confirm the laity in their superstitions) (10).' One of them was John Darrell, B. A. who about the year 1586, at the age of three or four and twenty, before he was a minister, did take upon him to cast out first one devil, and afterwards (upon a pretended repossession) eight devils, out of a maid near seventeen years old in Derbyshire, named Katherine Wright. The history of this feat he himself writ, and gave one copy of it to the Lady Bowes. From that time 'till the 28th of March, 1596, the said Mr Darrell (now become one of the ministers at Nottingham) was out of work; notwithstanding he omitted few occasions to intimate what he had done about Kath. Wright: besides the printing of his book. But in the year 1596, his glory enlarged itself, when it was pretended that he cast a devil out of one Thomas Darling, a boy in Burton, aged about 14 years; of which an account was published by one Mr Denison, after it had been seen and allowed by Mr Darrell and Mr Hilderham. Upon the fame of this mighty exploit, Darrell was sent for into Lancashire, by one Mr Starkie; and on the 17th of March 1596-7, he dispossessed, in the said Mr Starkie's house, seven persons at one clap; viz John Starkie, Anne Starkie, Margaret Hardman, Elianor Hardman, Ellen Holland, Margaret Byrom, and Jane Ashton: [which last falling into the hands of certain seminary priests, was carried by them up and down the country, and by her cunning counterfeiting of fits, got her craft-masters no small gain and credit.] Those nine persons abovementioned cost Mr Darrell but little trouble; for he dispatched them in two or three days. But one William Somers of Nottingham, supposed to be possessed, and-whom he took in hand in November 1597, stuck in his fingers almost five months: however, he conquered the devil

\* Parliamentary History, as above, p. 311, 312, &c.

(7) J. Le Neve's Lives of the Bishops, &c. p. 132.

(8) Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. by Br. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 55.

(9) Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 492. and his Annals of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 432.

(10) What follows is taken from S. Harsnet's Discovery, p. 1, &c.



one of the best and clearest writers in his time; and the first, according to Mr Fuller (a), who used the expression of Conformable Puritans, to denote those who conformed out of policy, and yet dissented in their judgments.

(a) Church History, book xi. p. 144.

devil at last. But Somers, after having counterfeited himself to be possessed, dispossessed, and repossessed, and held on that course successively, for the space of about three months; he did at the last, being got out of Mr Darrell's hands, confess and avow, that all he had done that while was but dissembled, and as he had been trained and instructed by Mr Darrell: shewing to the Mayor and Aldermen of Nottingham, how he had acted all his former fits. Whereupon Darrell being called before the High-Commission-Court at Lambeth, was condemned for a counterfeit; and he, with George More a minister and his confederate, deposed from the ministry, and both committed close prisoners.—To expose this wicked and senseless imposture, our learned author Mr Harsnet, who was then Chaplain to Bishop Bancroft, published, I. *A Discovery of the fraudulent practices of John Darrell Batcheler of Artes, in his proceedings concerning the pretended possession and dis-possession of William Somers at Nottingham: of Thomas Darling the boy of Burton at Caldwell: and of Katherine Wright at Mansfield and Whittington: and of his dealings with one Mary Couper at Nottingham, detecting in some sort the deceitful trade in these latter dayes of casting out devils.* Lond. 1599. 4to. A passionate answer to which was published by Mr Darrell, under this title, *A Detection of that sinful, shameful, lying, and ridiculous Discours, of Samuel Harsnet. Entitled: A Discoverie of the fraudulent Practices of John Darrell.* Wherein is manifestly and apparently shewed in the eyes of the world. Not only the unlikelihoode, but the flat impossibilitie of the pretended counterfaying of William Somers, Thomas Darling, Kath. Wright, and Mary Couper, together with the other 7 in Lancashire, and the supposed teaching of them by the said John Darrell. 4to. 1600. The same year, Mr Darrell published also, *A true Narration of the strange and greivous Vexation by the Devil, of 7 persons in Lancashire, and William Somers of Nottingham.* Wherein the doctrine of Possession and Dispossession of Demoniakes out of the word of God is particularly applyed unto Somers, and the rest of the persons controverted: together with the use we are to make of these workes of God. By John Darrell

Minister of the word of God. 4to. Both visibly printed abroad.—During his imprisonment, he published likewise, *An Apology or Defence of the possession of William Somers, &c.* Wherein this work of God is cleared from the evil name of counterfeiting. And thereupon also it is shewn, that in these days men may be possessed with devils; and that being so, by prayer and fasting the unclean spirit may be cast out. (11)—His confederate George More seconded him, in, *A true Discourse concerning the certaine possession and dispossession of 7 persons in one familie in Lancashire, which also may serve as part of an Answer to a fained and false Discoverie which speaketh very much evil, as well of this, as of the rest of those great and mightie workes of God, which be of the like excellent nature.* 1600. 8vo.—Mr D. Neal, in whose eyes a Puritan is always innocent, has endeavoured to defend, at least to palliate, these extraordinary proceedings; by saying, 'One would think here was a plot of some cunning, designing men, to conjure the people into the belief of the discipline; but all vanishes in the peculiar principles of A weak and (as Mr Strype confesses) honest man, whose name was Darrell, &c. (12).' [N. B. Mr Strype's words are (13),—*This weak but honest man (shall I call him?)*—Which is doubting, not confessing.] Had Mr Neal given himself the trouble to peruse Darrell's writings, he would have found, that he was not the one and only man concerned in this affair, For there were no less than sixteen preachers, (as wise as himself) after an exercise at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, that advised and pressed him to go to Mr Starchy's, when he was sent for (14). Several ministers also were concerned in the dispossession of Somers (15). Consult, moreover, Mr George More's Discourse—The affair of the Surey Demoniack in the last century, may be called the second part of Mr Darrell's pranks (16). II. Besides the Discovery of Darrell's fraudulent practices, Dr Harsnet writ, *A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to withdraw the Hearts of her Majesty's Subjects from their Allegiance, &c. under the pretence of casting out Devils, practised by Edmonds, alias Weston, a Jesuit.* Lond. 1603. 4to.

(11) In these pieces Mr Darrell plainly appears to have been a man of a weak head, or a very bad heart.

(12) Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. edit. 1732. p. 585.

(13) Life of Whitgift, p. 495.

(14) Detection of S. Harsnet's Discovery, p. 26.

(15) See Life of Whitgift, p. 493.

(16) The Surey Demoniack in Lancashire, was published in 1695, and the Answer to it by Zach. Taylor, in 1697. 4to.

HARVEY [WILLIAM], an eminent Physician, who first discovered the circulation of the blood; was eldest son of Thomas Harvey, Gentleman (a), of Folkstone in Kent, where he was born April 2, 1578. At ten years of age he was put to the grammar-school at Canterbury, and thence at fourteen removed to Gonvil and Caius-college in Cambridge, in the view of breeding him to Physic. Having spent five years there in the study of his art, he went at the age of nineteen, for further improvement, through France and Germany to Padua (b) in Italy; and having pursued his studies under the best masters, particularly the famous Hieron. Fabricius ab Aquapendente (c) [A], for five years more, he was created Doctor of Physic and Chirurgery in that university in 1602. Soon after this he returned to England; and taking his Doctor of Physic's degree at Cambridge, he went to London, entered upon the practice of his profession there, and married (d) [B].

(c) *Nouvelles de la Republique des lettres pour Mois de Juin 1684.* Art. 2.

(d) Wood, ubi supra; and Goodall's Historical Account of the proceedings of the College of Physicians in London against Empirics, &c. in the dedication. Lond. 1684. 4to.

In

[A] He was instructed by Fabricius ab Aquapendente. Besides Fabricius, Mr Wood mentions (1), our author's studying at Padua under two other masters, Eustacius Radius, and Joh. Tho. Minodaus, which indeed is not at all improbable; but Fabricius was the person whose lectures he seems to have attended the most diligently, as being most agreeable to him. 'Tis certain he had a particular regard for this master, whom he often quotes, and in terms of the highest respect (2), and even declares that he was the more willing to publish his book *de motu cordis*, &c. because this master who had learnedly and accurately delineated in a particular treatise, almost all the parts of animals, had left the heart alone untouched (3).

[B] And married.] We have not met with any account either of the name or family of his lady, but whoever she was, it seems the Doctor had no issue by her (4); and 'twas probably for want of children to employ her time and care, that she became very fond of, and amused herself often with an excellent talking parrot, whose extraordinary fate furnished her husband with the first experiment in support of his doctrine,

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that the female bird has a power of conceiving perfect eggs (5) without the help of the male. The following account of this event is inserted in the Doctor's own words, as a sample of his elegant Latin style. *'Imo vero usque adeo libidinose interdum aves sunt, ut si dormum earum manu solum leviter tangeris, statim procumbant, orificiumque uterinum nudent et exporrigant: quod si blande digito demulseris, vago murmure alarumque gesticulatione gratam Veneris dulcedinem expriment. Quineviam famellas ova inde concipere, et Aristoteles auctor est, & ipsemet in turdo, merula, aliisque expertus sum: idque olim primum fortuito, meoque damno didici. Psittacum nempe insignem doctaque garrulum, uxor mea diu in deliciis habuit. Erat is adeo familiaris, ut quocunque vellet, libere per ædes vagaratur; absentem dominam inquireret; inventæ hilari voce ablandiretur; vocanti etiam respondere; advolare; vestemque nostro pedibusque vicissim comprehendens, ad summum humerum scanneret; indeque per brachium descendens super manum semper se sisteret. Jussus loqui aut cantare etiam noctu & in tenebris morem gessit. Sæpe ludibundus*

(5) His words are, *ova unigue perfecta licet subventanea, & ob defectum maris infœcunda.* De Generatione Animalium Exercit. IV.

(a) His mother's name was Joan Halke. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 6.

(b) He went also occasionally to Venice. Exercit. de Generatione Animalium, Exercit. 46.

(1) In his Fasti, Vol. II. col. 6.

(2) Particularly in the preface to his Exercit. de Gener. Animal. he professes to follow Aristotle among the Antients and Fabricius among the Moderns: *illum tanquam ducem; hunc ut præmonstratorem.*

(3) De Motu Cordis, &c. Exercit. I. cap. i.

(4) The inscription upon his monument in the church of Hemsted in Hartfordshire, concludes in these terms, *Quum totum circuit Microcosmum, Medicinæ Doctor & Medicorum Improbus obdormivisset.*



\* Ibidem ibid.

† From the College Register.

In 1604 he was admitted candidate of the College of Physicians; and three years after elected Fellow. In 1615 he was chosen Lecturer of the Anatomy and Surgery Lecture, founded by Dr Richard Caldwell \*; and he began his first course of Lectures in Anatomy in April the following year, when he first opened his famous discovery of the circulation of the blood, which he continued to explain in his subsequent lectures, and a few years afterwards [C] finished his treatise upon that subject. - It was probably about this time that he became Physician to King James I. and that he was continued in the same character by K. Charles I. from the beginning of his reign [D]. Dec. 3, 1627, he was appointed one of the Elects of the College of Physicians †, and his *Exercitatio Anatomica de motu cordis & sanguinis*

'bundus et lascivus sedentis gremium adibat; ubi caput sibi attractari dorfumque demulceri gestiebat, & blando strepitu summam animi lætitiā testabatur. Ego hæc omnia ab usitata pridem familiaritate & obsequio proficisci interpretabar; marem enim sum arbitratu ob loquelæ & cantus eximiam præstantiam. Quippe inter aves fœmellæ raro cantillare, aut voce invicem provocare solent: sed mares solum suavi vocis modulamine fœmellas delinire, & ad veneris obsequium pellicere, animadvertimus.' The Doctor then cites Aristotle and Virgil to confirm this observation, and proceeds thus. 'Non diu autem post blandas has contrectationes pſittacus, qui multos jam annos sanus vixerat, ægrotavit, crebrisque tandem convulsionibus obortis, in dominæ suæ gremio, ubi toties luserat, animam, plurimum desideratus, expiravit. *Dissectio itaque cadavere (ut mortis causam inquirerem) ovum fere perfectum in utero reperi; sed ob defectum maris corruptum quemadmodum aviculis in caveis reclusis sæpe accidit, quæ maris consortium desiderant* (5).'

(6) Ibid.

[C] He first opened the discovery of the circulation of the blood, and drew up his treatise upon that subject a few years afterwards.] That he then first opened this discovery appears from the original manuscript of these lectures, which is preserved in the valuable Museum of the late Sir Hans Sloane, purchased by the Parliament. It is intitled, *Prælectiones Anatom. Universal. per me Gulielmum Harveyum, Medicum Londinensem, Anato. & Chirurg. Professore, An. Dom. 1616. Anno ætatis 37. Prælect. Apr. 16, 17, 18.* That he continued to explain the circulation in the subsequent lectures, is evident from the dedication of his book (7) upon this subject, which begins thus. '*Meum de motu & usu cordis & circuitu sanguinis sententiam, excellentiss. D. D. antea sæpius in prælectionibus meis anatomicis aperui novam, sed jam per novem & amplius annos multis ocularibus demonstrationibus in conspectu vestro confirmatam, &c.*—Hoc libello in lucem produximus.' My new opinion concerning the motion and use of the heart, and the circulation of the blood, which was frequently declared before in my anatomical lectures, being now confirmed by ocular demonstration before the college for more than nine years, I have thought fit to publish to the world in the following treatise. The same dedication furnishes the proof in part, that this treatise was finished not many years after the reading of his first anatomical lectures in 1616. For there he expressly declares, that it had been finished some years before [1628]. *Libellum hanc per aliquot abhinc retro annos perfectum.* But we are able to determine the time of our author's writing this treatise, something nearer the truth by what follows. Johannes Leonicensis having asserted that Father Paul, author of the *History of the Council of Trent*, discovered the circulation of the blood, as well as the valves of the veins, observes, that he durst not make that discovery public for fear of exposing himself to trouble, since he was already suspected, and there wanted only such a paradox to transform him into a heretic in a country where the Inquisition prevails. For this reason he trusted the secret to Aquapendente alone, who being cautious of rendering himself obnoxious to the rage of a great many persons, who would treat such a notion as a capital offence against the Ancients, never opened the secret intrusted to him by Father Paul to any, but men of whom he had not the least suspicion; and waited till that father's death before he would suffer his treatise of the valves of the veins to be presented to the Republic of Venice. But because in that country the slightest novelties are apt to terrify the minds of people, this treatise was repositied privately in the library of St Mark. But as Aquapendente had discovered the secret to a curious young English gentleman, whose name was Harvey, and who studied under him at Padua; and at the same time Father Paul made

(7) To Dr Argent the President, and the rest of the College of Physicians in London. There is another dedication to the King.

the same discovery in confidence to the Englishmen upon their return home, being in a country of freedom published it; and having confirmed it by a variety of experiments, claimed the whole honour to themselves (8). From the same story, the discovery of the circulation of the blood was ascribed also to Father Paul, by Charles Fracassati, in his preliminary epistle to Malpighi, and by John Wæleus, in his first epistle to Bartholine. These attempts to deprive our countryman of the honour justly due to him for making that discovery, being observed by his intimate friend Dr George Ent, he to confute these pretences remarks, that Dr Harvey had long before related to him the occasion of this story, which was as follows. The Venetian ambassador upon his return home, having been presented by the Doctor with his book concerning the circulation of the blood, lent it to read to Father Paul, who transcribed a great many things out of it, in order that he might remember them; these transcripts after his death came into the hands of his executors, gave occasion to several persons to imagine that he was the author of those transcripts. And Dr Harvey had letters from Fra. Fulgentio, Father Paul's most intimate friend, which set the affair in a clear light (9). From the whole, it appears that Dr Harvey's book must have been finished some time before the year 1623, since Father Paul died January the 14th in that year (10). Perhaps we shall not be far wide of the truth, in fixing it to the year 1618 or 1619; that is nine years before it was published, which, upon reviewing what has been said of it, seems not altogether improbable to be suggested by him in the words already cited from the beginning of his dedication.

[D] It is probable about this time he became physician to King James I. and was in the same post under King Charles I. from the beginning of his reign.] That he was physician to the first of these crowned heads all agree, but as to the year, no time is fixed by any author when he was called to that honour, they are all silent. This defect then can only (if at all) be supplied by circumstances, and what circumstance bids fairer to ground a probability upon, than that of his finishing his treatise of the circulation of the blood, and presenting the copy of it in manuscript to the Venetian ambassador upon his return home. Before that time the Doctor had scarcely attained his fortieth year, and was too young a practitioner to be eminent enough for such a distinction; but his discovery of the circulation of the blood, sufficiently demonstrated by experiments, and drawn up in an elegant Latin stile, into a compleat treatise, must unavoidably bring him into the eye of the Court, and entitled him to the honour of the King's Archiater, and that the same honour was continued to him in the succeeding reign, seems evident from the following passage in his book *De Generatione Animalium*, &c. where he takes notice, that King Charles's using the exercise of stag or buck hunting almost every week in each season after he came to man's estate, gave him [the Doctor] abundant opportunities of dissecting what number he pleased of both the sexes of these animals. '*Serenissimo Regi Carolo, quam primum excessit ex ephebis, mos erat, animi a curis gravioribus laxandi frimandæque valetudinis gratia, singulis fere septimanis feras venari; præcipue cervos & damas; cujus generis nemo in orbe princeps plures vel in saltibus sylvisque errantes, vel intra septa ac vivaria conclusos in hunc finem aluit. Tribus quidem æstivis mensibus mares jam obesos, esuique jucundos, autumnus vero & hyeme pari temporis spatio fœmellas venabatur. Hinc mihi (quo tempore fœminæ libidinantur maresque admittunt, concipiunt, & utero novellos sætus gerunt) eas dissectandi quotidie facta est copia; partesque omnes, præsertim genitales intueri atque observare quoties vellem libere licuit* (11).'

(8) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for June 1684. art. 2.

(9) Letter to Dr Harvey, prefixed by Sir G. Ent to his *Apologia pro Circulatione Sanguinis*. Lond. 1611. 4to.

(10) Vita del Padre Paolo, a Fra. Fulgentio.

(11) *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*, Exercitat. lxiv. N. B. His Majesty's frequent hunting furnished the doctor with so many opportunities of dissecting these animals, that he has made nature's process in their generation the subject of this and the 6 following Exercitations, the whole being superadded with this title, *Historia Generationis Cervorum & Domarum, cum reliquorum viviparorum exemplar, positum: factique ratio additur.*

[E] His



*guinis in animalibus*, was printed the following year at Francfort in 4to [E]. This piece being

[E] *His Exercitatio Anatomica de motu Cordis & Sanguinis circuitu.*] The best account of the nature of Dr Harvey's discovery, is seen in the following recapitulation of it by himself, which will be so much the more satisfactory, as it was drawn up expressly with a view of clearing it from the various misrepresentations which he had observed to have been given of it by others (12). 'Because, says he, I see men doubtful of the circulation, and some men oppose such things which understand them not aright as I intended them. I shall briefly rehearse, out of my book of the motion of the heart and blood, what I did there intend. The blood which is contained in the veins (as in it's own hold) there where it is most abundant (viz. in the vena cava) near the basis of the heart, and the right auricle growing hot by degrees from it's own internal heat, and being attenuated, it swells and rises like leaven, whence that auricle being first dilated, and afterwards contracting itself by it's pulsific faculty, straitways drives it out into the right ventricle of the heart, which being filled in it's systole, and thereby consequently freeing itself from that blood which is driven into it, as the valvulae bicuspidales hinders it's regress that way, it impels the same blood into the *vena arteriosa*, where the passage is open and distends it. Whence not being able to return against the *valvulae sigmoides*, it finds through the lungs (which are extended, amplified, and restricted, both by inspiration and expiration) a passage to the *arteria venosa*, and from thence into the left auricle, which performing it's office with a motion the same, and in the same order to that of the right auricles, impels the same blood into the left ventricle, as the right auricle drove it into the right ventricle, whence the left ventricle, in like manner and at the same time with the right (the passage back to the left auricle being stoppt by the valves) forces it into the trunk of the aorta, and consequently into all the branches of that artery, so that the arteries being filled with the sudden impulse, and not able so suddenly to disburthen themselves, are distended, impelled, and suffer a diastole. Whence, since the same motion is reiterated continually and incessantly, I collect, that the arteries, both in the lungs and in the whole body, by so many strokes and impulses of the heart, would be so distended and stuffed with blood, that either the impulsion must entirely cease, or else the arteries must burst, or be dilated so much as to contain the whole mass of blood exhausted from the veins, unless they were unloaded by an efflux of the blood somewhere. The same reasoning holds likewise with regard to the ventricles of the heart, which being filled and stuffed in like manner with blood, would at last be distended and destitute of all motion, unless the arteries somewhere disburthened themselves. This consequence of mine is demonstratively true, and follows of necessity, if the premises be true, but the truth or falsehood of these must be had from our senses, and not from any received ways of reasoning; not from the operation of the mind, but from ocular testimony. I affirm likewise of the blood in the veins, that it does always and every where run out of the lesser into the greater, and hastens from all parts towards the heart; whence I collect, that the whole impelled quantity of blood which the arteries receive from the veins, returns and flows back thither from whence it was first driven, and in this manner the blood moves in a circuit in a flux and reflux from the heart by impulsion, the force of which carries it into all the fibres of the arteries, and that being absorpt and exhausted thence from all parts into the veins, it afterwards returns by a continual flux through them to the heart. Our senses teach us these truths, and necessary deductions drawn from things obvious to sense leave no room for a doubt. Upon the whole, this is what I endeavoured to declare and make manifest by observations and experiments, and I chose to prove it not by reasoning from causes and probable principles, but to establish it by the greater authority of sense and experience in an anatomical way. This account is inserted at length for the sake of the following remarks. (1.) It is observable, that our author here has expressed himself very cautiously in general terms only, concerning the passage (absorption or exhaustion) of the blood from the extremities of the arteries to the veins. This caution appears to be the genuine effect both of his modesty and fidelity. In his first exercitation (13), he had expressed

it, that the blood passes from the arteries into the veins, either immediately by anastomosis, or immediately through the porosities of the flesh, or both ways. He had declared before (14), that no man had then said any thing right concerning the *anastomosis*, where it is, how it is, or for what cause; I am at present upon that inquiry; and what was the result of this inquiry, we find in his third *Exercitation* \*, where he openly declares his opinion against that way of communication or connection of the arteries to the veins, and disputed the reality of them with Riolanus upon his grand principle, that neither he himself, nor any body else, could shew their existence anatomically; however, his modesty and good sense appears in this, that he does not pretend positively to defend the question, but rather recommends it as a proper subject for further enquiries. (2.) We find the Doctor in this last revival of his hypothesis, maintaining as he had done at first, the synchronal motions of the two auricles and the two ventricles of the heart, asserting that the passage from the ventricles through the arteries and veins of the lungs, and those of the rest of the body into the auricles, is caused wholly by the impulse of the ventricles of the heart, without any help from the arteries, and performed in the same time with the passage from the auricles into the ventricles, and this order, he says, is even perceptible to the sense in touching the heart; and for a further support of this doctrine he maintains, that the arteries have no proper pulsific faculty, and therefore their diastole being intirely occasioned by the impulse of the blood from the heart, when free from that impulse they collapse, and that no time intercedes between the constriction of the heart and the dilatation of the arteries, not even of those that are furthest distant from it, but these two motions are simultaneous \* †, whence the two auricles beat together, and alternately to the two ventricles, which also beat together. This opinion of the office of the arteries in carrying on the circulation, not being approved by Dr Frank Nicholls, Physician to his present Majesty, and formerly Professor of Anatomy at Oxford. That gentleman ascribing, with other anatomists, a systole and diastole to the two arteries, equal in their effects to the systole and diastole of the auricles and ventricles of the heart, in consequence thereof, supposes the circulation not to be performed without six distinct steps or impulses; whence it follows, contrary to our author's doctrine, that the two auricles, the two ventricles, and the two arteries, are relaxed and contracted alternately, i. e. the systole and diastole of the right auricle, the pulmonary artery, and the left ventricle are synchronous to each other, and alternate to the systole and diastole of the right ventricle, the left auricle, and the aorta, which consequently are synchronous also among themselves. In support of this opinion, the Doctor maintains that the coats of the arteries, though not muscular, are elastic, and therefore must have in themselves a contractive force, or pulsific faculty. He thinks his opinion is likewise confirmed from the following consequences of it, which seem necessary for carrying on the circulation. First he observes, that the whole heart, and so much of the two great arteries as is included within the pericardium taken together, as also the two auricles taken together, and the two ventricles taken together, and likewise both the auricles and both the ventricles taken together, will by this means always make up an equal bulk, and fill an equal space in every step and state of the circulation, and thereby that motion and friction, which he conceives must attend Dr Harvey's thesis, and would greatly disturb the œconomy, will be avoided. In the same view, another consequence favouring this latter position is, that the *canalis arteriosus*, and the *foramen ovale*, will thereby be found to produce a circulation, in which the inferior artery beats alternately to the superior artery, and the blood of the *inferior cava*, will wholly and solely pass through the *foramen ovale* into the left auricle, and the blood of the *superior cava*, will wholly and solely pass through the right auricle and the right ventricle into the pulmonary artery, to be distributed partly into the pulmonic branches, and partly through the *canalis arteriosus* into the *aorta inferior*, and thereby the circulation will be carried on in such a manner as is peculiarly necessary to the fetus, which does not breathe; and upon these principles likewise, the alteration of those passages becomes the necessary consequence

(14) Ibid. cap. ix.

\* *Exercitatio de Motu Cordis, cap. iii. & Exercitatio. iii. in parte prima.*

\* Our author's words are *fiant simul*.

† Though this position is constantly maintained by him, yet he accounts for the dilatation of the great arteries, from their not being able to eject or discharge themselves of the blood so suddenly [tam subito] as it is impelled into them by the heart. *Exercitatio. iii.*

(12) *Exercitatio Anatomica. iii. published in 1649.*

(13) Cap. xi.



being attacked in different views by several authors [F], and particularly by Jo Riolanus, a celebrated

\* N. B. The reader will take notice, that we have inserted purely what was communicated by Dr Nicholls, without interposing our own opinion. Indeed we do not see the grounds for objecting the want of these consequential advantages to Dr Harvey's thesis.

consequence of that protrusion of the heart, and stretch of the *canalis arteriosus*, which immediately follows upon the first respiration of the infant \*. The Doctor thinks that the truth of his position, as grounded upon this reasoning, is clearly more than probable, and if he has not been able, by reason of the almost insuperable difficulty thereof, to make such anatomical experiments in this case as come up perfectly to the point, and can safely be relied on, in order to establish it upon that sure foundation: so neither does he apprehend, that the opinion of Dr Harvey in this particular, notwithstanding it's universal reception, can be fairly said from any experiments produced by himself or by others for him, to have a just claim to such an establishment. Upon the whole, it is now a long time since Dr Nicholls has laid aside all researches of this kind, and he hopes it will not now be expected that he should resume them. He acknowledges there are many things in the circulation not yet satisfactorily explained, and therefore he would recommend the further inquiry into the true manner thereof, as a proper subject to employ the industry of every studious anatomist.

[F] *His discovery was attacked by authors in different views.* The Doctor's adversaries on this occasion may be divided into two parties, by whom he was attacked on different sides and by very different arguments, though probably both were urged thereto by the same principle of envy. Of these, one party denied the truth of his discovery, while the other party acknowledging that, gave away the honour of it from him to his predecessors in anatomy. The first he answered himself, as far as they deserved an answer, an account of which will be the subject of the next remark. But of the other he was more regardless, either not being apprehensive of any danger to his fame from that quarter, or else (which we may judge from his writings, was indeed the case) he was more solicitous to shew the important use of the discovery, since it was made, to the practice of physic, than anxious about his right of being the first discoverer; and this is confirmed by his conduct already mentioned, in respect to Fracassati and Walæus, who had ascribed the discovery to Father Paul Servita the Venetian. He contented himself, we see, with relating to his friends in private discourse, the grounds of that mistake, by which it appeared that Servita had the discovery from himself (15). He had, 'tis true, in the proem to his book, demonstrated his own right consequentially, in demonstrating, that whatever had been said by any author before him concerning the motion and use of the heart and arteries, was either absurd, incongruous, obscure, or impossible; and in the same view we find him at the entrance upon his treatise, very aptly applying the following words of the poet to himself.

*Nunquam quisquam ita bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit,*

*Quin res ætas usus aliquid apportet novi,*

*Aliquid admoneat, ut quæ te scire credas, nescias,*

*Et, quæ tibi putaris prima, in experiunda repudies* (16).

(16) Terence.

But this, though sufficient as it was for the satisfaction of all such as would give themselves leave to consider the matter thoroughly and impartially, yet did not prove sufficient to secure his fame from the attacks of several persons besides those already mentioned. For instance, Mr Wood tells us, that Dr Morley, Bishop of Winchester, and Dr John Pell, used to say, that Warner, mentioned in a preceding article (17), made it appear in a manuscript of his composition, that the blood in a body circulates; which he communicating to Harvey, the Doctor took his first hint thence concerning that matter, who afterwards published it as the first inventor (18). But this is too imperfect a story to deserve any notice. Honoratus Faber likewise made some pretensions to the first discovery, which are confuted by his own account, as is shewn by Borelli, who on this occasion handsomely exposes Faber's vanity (well known in the mathematical republic) as follows. *Cum vero sit omnino incredibile & impossibile hominem nobilem, religiosum & pium [Harvæum sc.] ea, quæ vera non sunt, asserere voluisse, nil aliud in ejus [Fabri] excusationem dicendum restat, nisi quod, cum ingenio velocissimo præditus sit, a celeritate ipsa qua*

*aliena legit, & propria scribit, multoties decipiatur. Quod alias ei contigisse non erit supervacaneum ostendere, ut inde pateat solenne ei esse authores alicujus nominis furti insinulare, hac solummodo de causa, quia cursim & oscitanter eorum opera legit, si enim patienter & debita attentione dignatus fuisset legere ea, quæ spatio 38 annorum edita fuerant, & vulgatissima per universam Europam erant, proculdubio non scripsisset, anno 1666, Lib. primo de Humine, Prop. 2. se circulationem sanguinis invenisse & docuisse ab anno 1638, antequam Gulielmi Harveii, Exercitatio Anatomica de motu Cordis prodiret (19), quem pariter multa Fabri inventa in suis exercitationibus inseruisse affirmat: omnes enim sciunt Harveium, An. Dom. 1623, Francofurti, typis Gual. Firzeri, suam exercitationem primum edidisse; scilicet decem annos antequam Cl. Faber sanguinis circulationem docuisset (20). These were feeble attacks and easily repelled. But others went further, Vander Linden, publishing an edition of Hippocrates in Holland, about 1664, took a great deal of pains therein to prove, that Hippocrates knew the circulation of the blood, and that Dr Harvey only revived it; and many years afterwards Mr Bayle, in his Dictionary (21), very confidently asserts, that 'it would be robbing Cæsalpinus of a very great honour, to pass over in silence that he knew the circulation of the blood, the proofs of which, says he, are so clear, that they cannot be eluded by any evasion.' These proofs are two passages from two pieces of that author, one of which is cited at length (22), and the other referred to in a marginal note (23). However, we have the satisfaction to observe, that these and other injuries and insults offered to Dr Harvey's memory, have been clearly wiped away by some of his countrymen, and as it is done by no body that I know of so pertinently and so much to the mind of Dr Harvey, as by Dr Freind, we shall lay his account of the matter before the reader, and the rather, because the true merit of this most important discovery is there set in the most conspicuous light, and expressed also in that genteel, proper, and easy language, which distinguishes the gentleman united to the scholar. The Doctor traces the subject as high as to the end of the fourth century, when Nemæsius, Bishop of Edessa, wrote a treatise concerning the nature of man, which being published at Oxford in 1671, 8vo. the editor had therein contended, that the circulation of the blood, an invention, says the Doctor, the most considerable that ever was made in physic, and which the last century so much bragged of, was known to Nemæsius, and described by him in very plain and significant terms, which are these. *For the motion of the pulse takes it's rise from the heart, and chiefly from the left ventricle of it: the artery is with great vehemence dilated and contracted by a sort of constant harmony and order; while it is dilated, it draws the thinner part of the blood from the next veins, the exhalation or vapour of which blood is made the element for the vital spirits; but while it contracts, it exhales whatsoever fumes it has through the whole body and by secret passages; so that the heart throws out whatever is fuliginous, through the mouth and the nose by expiration †.* Upon this single slender proof, continues the Doctor, does he [the Oxford editor] attribute this great discovery of the circulation to Nemæsius; and those who have insisted that it was known both to Hippocrates and Galen, have full as good arguments on their side. I shall only say this, that from this very description, and from what the same author says of the liver in the same chapter, that it ministers nourishment to the body by the veins, one may demonstrably infer, that Nemæsius had no idea of the manner in which the circulation of the blood is performed, 'I shall not enter into a dispute upon this head, but shall now content myself with observing, that the true circulation was not at all rightly understood by a much later writer, and that a very elegant and accurate one, Columbus; who, as he was an excellent anatomist, about one hundred and fifty years ago with the nicest exactness explained not only the structure, but the use too of every part belonging to the heart, except a little mistake about some of the vessels; and does in as clear a manner as words could express shew, how by the contraction and dilatation of the heart, and mechanism of the vessels, the blood circulates through the lungs from the cava to the aorta (no body, as he says himself, having either observed*

(19) Faber doubtless was drawn into this ridicule, by seeing the answer of Parisianus, mentioned in remark [G], printed in 1649, who in the dedication intimates, that Harvey's book had reached Venice only some months before. His words are, *Superioribus elapsis mensibus hic Venetias Harveii Exercitatio appulit.*

(20) *Meteorologia Ætnæa, sive Historia & Meteorologia incendii Ætnæi, anni 1669, &c. Regio Julio, 1670. 4to.*

(21) Under the article CÆSALPINUS.

(22) From his *Questiones Peripateticæ*, lib. iv. cap. vii. fol. 125.

(23) Idem, *Quæstion. Medicar.* lib. ii. c. 17. fol. 234. edit. 1593. N. B. A Scotch author also speaking of this discovery, has these words, *Par deum manet & illum (Cæsalpinum) qui primum invenit, & (Harvæum) qui postremum perfecit.* Bibliogr. Anat. Specimen, p. 140. a Jacob. Douglas, &c. edit. 1715. 8vo.

† Ch. xxiv. de pulsibus.

(17) Remark [G], in the article HARRIOT [THOMAS].

(18) Ath. Ox. Vol. I. col. 461.



(29) Freind's  
History of Phy-  
sic, ubi supra.



\* Mr Wood tells us, he was made King's Physician the preceding year. Fasti, ubi supra. Whereas he styles himself *Medicus Regius* in the title-page of his book *de Motu Cordis*, &c. printed in 1628. See *Specimen Bib. Anat.* p. 226.

† Wood, *ibid.*

surer of the college, and seems to have attended his Majesty King Charles I. as King's Physician, in his journey to Scotland in 1633\* [H]. And adhering to the royal cause upon the breaking out of the civil war, he attended his Majesty at the battle of Edge-hill, and thence to Oxford, where he was incorporated Doctor of Physic December 7, 1642, and by virtue of the King's letter, he was elected Warden of Merton-college in that university in 1645†. But this preferment, which he had so well merited of his Majesty [I], he was not suffered to hold long; for, upon the surrendry of Oxford to the Parliament, the following year the doctor resigned (f) his wardenship, and retired to London. But passed his time privately in the neighbourhood of that city, greatly lamenting the iniquity and calamity of the times (g). However, he took this opportunity of pursuing his favourite study, with all the diligence which affection naturally inspires; and finished his *Exercitationes de generatione Animalium* [K], which was published in 1651, in 4to. at the request

(f) On this change Sir Nath. Brent returned to Oxford, and was reinstated in the Wardenship. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 161.

(g) See the dedication of his *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*.

\* It is probable that he also attended the King thither in 1639.

[H] He attended the King to Scotland in 1633.] This is collected from the following passage in his *Exercitationes de generatione*, which shews that he had been in Scotland, and there seems to be no time in the course of his life so likely to fix the journey thither, as the occasion here mentioned\*. The passage exhibits a most picturesque view of the Basse, a rock or small island so called in that country. 'In *Scotiæ insulis orientalibus desertis tanta omnis fere generis avium marinarum copia reperitur, ut si quæ a fide dignis accepi retulero; vereor ne fabulas majores narrare videar, quam quas authores varii de anseribus Scotiis, ex arborum quarundam fructibus (quos nunquam viderunt) in mare delabentibus, prognatis tradiderunt. Quæ ipsemet vidi, bona fide edisseram.*

'Est insula parva, Scoti Basse nominant, (ex hac una, lector, nosce omnes) non procul a littore in alto mari sita, abrupto & confragoso clivo editissima, (verius saxum ingens sive scopulum dixeris) haud amplius mille passuum circuitu amplitudo ejus clauditur. Hujus insulæ superficies (mensibus Majo & Junio) nidis, ovis, pulisque propemodum tota instrata est; adeo ut vix uspiam, præ eorum copia, pedem libere ponere liceat: tantaque supervolitantium turba, ut (nubium instar) solem cælumque auferant; tantusque vociferantium clangor & strepitus, ut prope alloquentes vix audias. Si subjectum mare inde (tanquam ex edita turri & altissimo præcipitio) despexeris, idem quoquoeverum infinitis diversorum generum avibus natantibus prædæque inhiantibus opertum videas; quemadmodum verno tempore stagna alicubi ranis refertissima cernuntur, & aprici colles montesque acclives frequentissimis ovium caprarumque gregibus obfessi eminus spectantur. Si circumnavigando eminentem clivum suspicere libuerit, videas in singulis prærupti loci crepidinibus & recessibus avium cujuslibet generis & magnitudinis ordines innumerabiles; plures sane quam illi nocte & sereno cælo stellæ conspiciuntur; si advolantes avolantesque eminus adspexeris, apum profecto ingens examen credas. Haud facile dixerim quantus redditus quotannis ex plumis & nidorum (foco utilium) reliquiis, ovorumque costorum commercio possessori accedat; adeo, quod ipse mihi narravit, fidem exuperat. Hoc unum, quod ad propositum nostrum propius spectat, potissimum mihi memorabile videtur, estque præfatæ multitudinis clarum indicium. Tota hæc insula adventantibus candido nitore micat, clivique tanquam ex albisima creta, fulgent; saxi tamen nativus color obscurus & niger est. Insulam albam & splendentem reddit crusta ei adhærens albisima, friabilis, ejusdemque cum ovi cortice consistentiæ, coloris, & naturæ: adeo omnia ejus latera integumento duro, testaque friabili superinducta, trullifata sunt. Pars ima quam reciproca maris unda quotidie abluit, nativo suo colore conspicua, luculenter docet albedinem illam in summo fucatam esse, & a liquidis avium excrementis (quæ cum alvi fecibus elidunt) proficisci; quibus tanquam ovi testa alba, dura, & friabili saxum obtegunt, & (accedente aëris ambientis frigore) incrustant: eodemque modo Aristoteles quoque & Plinius ovi testam fieri voluerunt. Hæc avium nullæ istius loci inquilini sunt, sed pariendi causa advæz, per aliquot duntaxat septimanas ibidem, tanquam in diversorio, morantur. Tamen alba illa crusta, adeo solida, firma, & profunda adhæret, ut genuinam illius soli naturam crederes (30).'

(30) *De Generatione Animalium, Exercitat. xi.*

[I] He had merited of his Majesty the wardenship of Merton-college.] This merit did not only consist in his constant and diligent attendance upon the King, for whom he takes all occasions of expressing the most profound respect, and to whose cause he faithfully adhered;

he had also another and more particular claim to this bounty. Notwithstanding he had both leave, and an express order from the Parliament, to attend his Majesty upon his leaving Whitehall, yet his house in London was in his absence plundered of all the furniture, and his Adversaria, with a great number of anatomical observations, especially relating to the generation of insects, were taken away; a loss which he laments several years afterwards, as it must needs touch him most sensibly, in the following pathetic words, 'Atque hæc dum agimus, ignoscat mihi ni vix animæ, si (summarum injuriarum memor) levem gemitum effudero. Doloris mihi hæc causa est: cum inter nuperos nostros tumultus, & bella plusquam civilia, serenissimum Regem (idque non solum Senatus permissio sed & jussu) sequor; rapaces quædam manus non modo ædium mearum suppellectilem omnem expilarunt, sed etiam (quæ mihi causa gravior querimoniarum) Adversaria mea multorum annorum laboribus parata, e musæo meo summanarunt. Quo factum est, ut observationes plurimæ (presertim de generatione insectorum) cum reipublicæ literariæ (aestim dicere) detrimento perierint (31).'

We have observed in another place (32), that Mr John Greaves, who was then Fellow of Merton-college, had a share in this promotion of Dr Harvey to the wardenship, in which he succeeded Dr Nathaniel Brent, who, as Wood observes, though he had received the honour of knighthood from his Majesty, at Woodstock, in 1629; yet sided with the Presbyterians afterwards, became a frequent witness against Archbishop Laud, and left his college when the King garrisoned Oxford (33). It may also be observed, that Dr Harvey very probably rendered himself more acceptable to the King by his courtly address, wherein he was no ordinary adept, as is evident from the genteel and prudent caution with which the account of his being plundered is expressed; and that he was a very universal scholar, appears by the several parts of his writings. But we are told also, that he was particularly well skilled in the history and politicks of both the ancient and modern times; and that upon that account he is introduced under the title of the Physician, in the dialogue called *Plato Redivivus*, written by Mr Henry Nevil (34).

[K] *Exercitationes Anatomicae de Generatione Animalium*\*, &c.] The Doctor had given the public some expectation of seeing this work, and also raised it's curiosity thereto, in his treatise *De Circulatione Sanguinis* (35); where speaking of the opinion of Aristotle, who maintained the heart to be the principle of attraction, and the generation of the blood and spirits, he says, 'If I may speak freely, I do not think that these things are so, as they are commonly believed; for there are many things which persuade me to that opinion, whereof I will take notice in the generation of the parts of animals, which do not properly belong to this place; but it may be things more wonderful than these, and such as will give more light to Natural Philosophy, shall soon be published by me. Aperte si loquar, hæc ita esse (ut vulgo recepta sunt) non opinor: multa enim sunt, quæ me in aliam sententiam ire suadent in generatione partium observanda, quæ hic recitare non expedit; sed propediem forsitan miraculose, ra, majoremque lucem naturali philosophiæ allatura, a me in publicum dabuntur ||.' But notwithstanding this promise, we find he was with-held some time from performing it, by the opposition and trouble which his first work had brought upon him; and it was at last owing to the persuasions of Sir George Ent that he consented to the publication †.

We have the following account of this work by Dr Goodall. After the anatomy of the parts serving for generation

(31) *Id. Exercit. lxxviii. ad finem.*

(32) In the article of GREAVES [JOHN].

(33) *Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 161.*

(34) Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Moyle, prefixed to his Posthumous Works, 1723.

\* The whole title is, *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*, quibus accedunt quædam de partu: de membranis ac humoribus uteri: & de conceptione. There have been several editions of it, and it has been also translated into English. The last edition in Latin, both of this and the *Exercit. de Cordis Motu*, was printed at Leyden in 1737. 4to.

(35) *Exercit. iii. ad Riolanum, p. 274. edit. Rotterdam, 1661. 12mo.*

|| This being printed at Cambridge, and also at Rotterdam in 1649, 12mo. shews that our author's promise was performed sooner than the account of it given by the editor in his dedication, and transcribed by Dr Goodall, ubi supra, would induce one to believe.

† See the dedication.



(b) *Ibid.*(i) Goodall, *ubi supra*.

(k) From the college Register.

\* See remark [M].

(l) See below in remark [M].

(m) He was succeeded therein by Sir Charles Scarborough. *Goodall, ibid.*

of Dr George Ent (b), who dedicated it to the President and College of Physicians. In 1654, on Michaelmas-day, Dr Harvey was chosen President of the college in his absence, and apparently without his knowledge; but coming thither the day after, he acknowledged his great obligation to the electors, for chusing him into a place of the same honour and dignity, as if he had been elected to be *Medicorum omnium apud Anglos Princeps*; but that his age and weakness were so great, that he could not discharge the duty incumbent upon that great office: and therefore requested them to chuse their learned President Dr Prujean, who had been highly serviceable to the college in his former discreet and prudent government (i). And as he had no children, he made the college heirs to his paternal estate, for which purpose, he settled that estate, which lay in Kent, upon the college, on the 28th of July following (k). He had three years before built them a combination room, a library, and a musæum; and in 1656 he brought the deeds of his estate, and presented them to the college; at which time he was present at the first feast instituted by himself [L], to be continued annually, together with a commemoration speech in Latin, to be spoken on the 18th of October, in honour of the benefactors to the college; having appointed a handsome stipend for the orator\*, and also for the keeper of the library and musæum, which still are called by his name. For the supply of which, and also for keeping the college-buildings in repair, the annual produce of his estate, which amounted to fifty-six pounds, was appropriated by him (l). Having thus compleated these munificent benefactions upon the verge of his eightieth year, he resigned his Lecturer's place (m); and gave way to fate in June 1657 (n). His body wrapped in lead was carried to Hempsted in Hartfordshire, and interred in a vault in that church, where there is a monument erected to his memory (o); and not long afterwards, a character of him was drawn up, and engraved on a copper plate, which was put under his picture at the college [M]. It appears from several passages in the two books which were printed by him, that he had materials for several

(n) On the third day, according to the inscription upon his monument, which may be seen in the Gen. Dict. with which agrees the inscription under his picture in the college. But Mr Wood, in *Fæsti*, Vol. II. col. 6. says, June 30. as does also the author of the *Lives of several Illustrious Persons*, &c. in 1745. fol. in the article of Dr HARVEY. But Peck, in *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II. ch. xv. p. 29. fixes it on June 22.

(o) Wood, where last cited.

generation in the hen, our author acquaints us with the formation and growth of the egg, and then with the several parts whereof it consists. This done, he proceeds to give an account how the chick is formed, which he observed by a daily inspection of the eggs during the time of incubation; and was the first who discovered, that the original of the chick was from the *cicatricula*. He then gives an account in what order the several parts appear, and confutes a multitude of errors delivered by former writers; proving that the *punctum saliens* is the heart; that the blood is not formed by the liver, because it's *parenchyma* is formed after, and of, the blood, and grows to the blood-vessels; nor yet by the heart, because that is not in being 'till some time after the blood. He shews that all the *viscera*, at their first formation, appear white; that the veins are the first conspicuous foundation, as it were, of the whole body; that the division of the parts into spermatical and sanguineous is ridiculous, since all come from the same original. He delivereth an account of the parts serving for generation in a deer, and how the fœtus is formed; he acquaints us that nothing is to be found *in utero* for a considerable time after coition; and how analogous conception is to an egg; and that it is some time *in utero* before it is affixed to it. He takes notice of several memorable things concerning the generation of other animals, both oviparous and viviparous. In speaking of the formation of the human fœtus, he delivers several curious observations made on abortions of several ages; as also instances of superfœtation, hermaphrodites, of a fœtus found in *tuba uteri*, &c. When he treats *de partu*, he gives very curious and memorable instances to shew how the fœtus conduces to it's own birth. Besides these, there are several remarkable observations occasionally interspersed through the whole book; as *de partu difficili*, *de gravidatione falsa*, *de ulcere uteri*, *de uteri procidentia*, &c. as also *de uteri membranis*, *humoribus*, *placenta*, *de conceptione*, *de calido innato*, *de humido primigenio*, &c. and of his cure of a *sarcocoele*, of that primigenis, that none durst undertake the cure, either by cutting or otherwise; which he happily performed by tying the artery, and thereby depriving it of nourishment; by which means it was afterwards easily extirpated. To this account of Dr Goodall we shall add, that in this book our author brings the following remarkable instance to confirm his doctrine of the circulation. A young nobleman of the Montgomery family having the misfortune to break the ribs of his left side, was perfectly cured, and so as to be restored to his former health; but, however, not without a large aperture remaining in his breast, through which, upon removing a thin plate of metal, which he usually wore upon it, the cone of his heart was laid immediately open to the sight. By which means the

doctor laying his finger to the wrist, could perceive that the systole of the heart was exactly synchronous with the diastole of the artery ||. Whence it follows (though he does not indeed make the inference here, having done it before in his former book) that the diastole of the right auricle is immediately subsequent to the systole of the left ventricle. And, as by parity of reason, the diastole of the left auricle is immediately subsequent to the systole of the right ventricle. The conclusion becomes unavoidable, that the two auricles are relaxed and contracted together, and alternately to the relaxation and contraction of the two ventricles, which are in these also synchronous to each other, according to the opinion constantly maintained by Dr Harvey †.

[L] He was present at the first feast and annual speech instituted by himself.] The reader will be pleased with the following account of this matter in the elegant words of Dr Freind. Having spoken of Dr Harvey's writings, he proceeds thus. *At parum fuit Harvæo donare Collegium scriptis, nisi ædes ipsas locupletaret ornaretque, nisi cœnaculum & musæum conderet, nisi bibliothecam suo sumptu instrueret, nisi demum exemplo plusquam Attalico & prope inaudito, ipse alacer pleno in sodalium confessu, & ut admodum senex cum adesset sponte suo se exueret patrimonio, ad nos ut pertineret illa, ipso vivente, hæreditas. Omitto minora instrumenta Chirurgiæ, Professorem usibus, destinata. Convivium mensuris Censorum comitiis instructum: licet, cum in beneficiis æstimandis id præcipue attendi debeat, quo ea quisque animo, studio, atque voluntate fecerit, etiam levissima munuscula utunque parum habeant gloriæ atque splendoris, tamen neque gratia sua carent neque dignitate. Illud vero præterire nefas esse arbitror, epulum hoc hodiernum, & nunc tandem, uti auguror, futurum prout esse debuit annuum, (36) non magnifice magis quam prudenter fuisse institutum. Videre videor qua vultus hilaritate, qua animi lætitia munificentissimus ille senex suo interfuerit convivæ convivio: quam fausta omnia de hoc sodalio ominatus sit, cum senserit id, quod in omni societate maxime valet, se esse consecutum, ut hac convictus sermonumque liberalium jucunditate recreati, ad vitæ morumque comitatem, ad concordiam atque amicitiam traheremur. Hunc ipsum in finem, & fortasse etiam ut epulo suo aliquid condimenti accederet, annuum & honestis præmiis ornatum oratorem constituit, qui virorum de nobis nostrisque rebus optima merentium res gestas memoraret. Quorsum enim hoc? nisi ut animis nostris eorum, qui in hoc nos curriculo præcessere, fama gloriæque accensi, ad omnem scientiæ laudem, ad omnia humanitatis officia provocentur (37).*

[M] A character upon a copper plate under his picture.] This character, containing several particulars of his life, not to be found else where, is thought proper to be inserted here as follows.

|| *De Generatione Animalium*, Exercitatio lii.

† This position is the main difficulty that attends his thesis of the manner in which the circulation is performed; since it supposes the blood to pass from the ventricles through the whole length of the arteries, and by the veins into the auricles, as suddenly as it passes from the auricles immediately into the ventricles.

(36) By reason of some disorder in the college finances, this speech was discontinued for many years, but revived in 1719, when the first speech was spoken by Dr Pellet, afterwards President of the college.

(37) *Oratio Anniversaria*, &c. a Johanne Freind, M. D. Oct. 18. 1720.



several other treatises, and that he had sometimes thoughts of making them public. Of these we have the following catalogue by Dr Goodall. (1.) *A Practice of Physic, conformable to his Thesis of the circulation of the blood* [N]. (2.) *Traſſatus de pulmonum usu & motu, de eventilatione omni aëriſque neceſſitate & usu; de variis & differentibus organis hujus cauſa in animalibus factis.* (3.) *Traſſatus de quantitate ſanguinis in unoquoque, aut ſingulis pulſionibus protrufa, & quando plus, & quando minus, & qua de cauſa; itidem de circuitus cauſis utilitatibus, & ſanguinis arcanis.* (4.) *Observationes de uſu lienis.* (5.) *Exercitationes de reſpirationis cauſa; itidem de circuitus cauſis utilitatibus, & ſanguinis arcanis.* (6.) *Observationes de uſu lienis.* (7.) *Exercitationes de reſpirationis cauſis organis & uſu.* (8.) *Observationes de motibus organis animalium, & de muſculorum fabrica.* (9.) *Traſſatus de animalium amore, libidine, & coitu.* (10.) *Observationes medicinales de herniæ carnoſæ curatione, aliſque*

Gulielmus Harvæus  
 Anglus natus, Galliæ, Italiæ, Germaniæ, hoſpes,  
 Ubique Amor & Deſiderium.  
 Quem omnis terra expetiſſet Civem,  
 Medicinæ Dr Coll. Med. Lond. Socius & Conſiliarius  
 Anatomæ, Chirurgiæque Profeſſor,  
 Regis Jacobi Familiæ Caroloque Regi Medicus  
 Geſtis clarus, omniſiſque, honoribus,  
 Quorum alios tulit, oblatos renuit alios,  
 Omnes meruit.  
 Laudatis priſcorum ingeniis par;  
 Quos honoravit maxime imitando,  
 Docuitque Poſteros exemplo.  
 Nullius laceſſivit famam, veritatis ſtudent magis quam  
 gloriæ,  
 Hanc tamen adeptus  
 Industria, ſagacitate, ſucceſſu nobilis  
 Perpetuos ſanguinis ætus circulari gyro  
 Fugientis, ſequæ ſequentis,  
 Primus promulgavit mundo.  
 Nec paſſus ultra mortales ſua ignorare primordia,  
 Auream edidit de ovo atque pullo librum,  
 Albæ Gallinæ Filium.  
 Sic novis inventis Apollineam ampliavit artem  
 Atque noſtrum Apollinis Sacrum Auguſtius eſſe  
 Tandem voluit;  
 Suaſu enim & cura D. D. Dni Franciſci Prujeani Præſidis  
 Et  
 Edmundi Smith Eleſtoris  
 An. MDCLIII,  
 Senaculum, & de nomine ſuo Muſæum horto ſuperſtruxit  
 Quorum alterum plurimis libris & Inſtrumentis Chirurgi-  
 [gicis  
 Alterum omnigena ſupelleſtile ornavit & inſtruxit  
 Medicinæ Patronus ſimul & Alumnus.  
 Non hic anhelat ſubſtitit Herois Virtus, Impatiens vinci  
 Acceſſit porro Munificentiæ decus.  
 Suaſu enim & Conſilio Dni. Dni. Edv. Alſtoni Præſidis  
 Anno MDCLVI.  
 Rem noſtram anguſtam prius, annuo LVI. l. reditu  
 Auxit.  
 Paterni Fundi ex aſſe hæredem collegium dicens;  
 Quo nihil Illi charius Nobiſve honeſtius.  
 Unde ædificium fartum teſtum perennare,  
 Unde Bibliothecario Honorarium ſuum, ſuumque Ora-  
 [tori  
 Quotannis pendi \*;  
 Unde omnibus ſociis annuum ſuum convivium,  
 Et ſuum denique (quot meſes) conviviolum Cenſoribus  
 [parari,  
 Juſſit.  
 Ipſe etiam pleno theatro geſtiens ſe hæreditate exuere,  
 In manus Præſidis Syngrapham tradidit.  
 Interfuitque Orationi veterum Benefactorum, novo-  
 [rumque Illicio,  
 Et Philoteſio Epulo.  
 Illius auſpiciis, & pars maxima;  
 Hujus Conviva ſimul, & Convivator.  
 Sic poſtquam ſatis ſibi, ſatis nobis, ſatis gloriæ,  
 Amicis ſolum non ſatis, nec ſatis patriæ, vixerat,

\* The orator's  
 premium is ten  
 pounds.

Calicolum Atria ſubiit †  
 Jun. III<sup>o</sup>. MDCLVII.  
 Quem pigebat ſuperis reddere, ſed pudebat negare:  
 Ne mireris igitur Lector,  
 Si, quem marmoreum illic ſtare vides,  
 Hic totam implevit tabulam.  
 Abi, & merere alteram.

[N] *A practice of phyſic conformable to his theſis of circulation.* This piece is particularly taken notice of by Dr Freind (38), who obſerving that the deſign was a noble one, recommends it to the Faculty, as highly deſerving to be finiſhed, and for an encouragement to the undertaking, has given a ſpecimen of ſuch a work. Here follow his words: From this doctrine of our great countryman, many improvements even in the cure of diſtempers might be made. He had thought of compoſing ſuch a work himſelf, to ſhew the advantage of his doctrine in relation to practice, but was prevented by ſickneſs and death. The deſign of the architect was very noble, and I wiſh ſome of his ſucceſſors might finiſh it. At preſent I will hit only at two or three particulars, which will convince us of what uſe a perfect notion of the circulation may be to us, if rightly applied in the practical part of our profeſſion. The Doctor produces four inſtances, of which the firſt is the practice now univerſally uſed of tying up the arteries in amputations, which he obſerves, though invented by Parey (39), before the diſcovery of the circulation; yet for want of it's proper eſtabliſhment from that diſcovery, was but little uſed even in France (40); leſs ſtill, if at all, in Germany (41); and in Holland utterly rejected (42); for a long ſeries of years: nay, was but of late revived, or rather introduced among ourſelves by a conviction of it's reaſonableneſs, from a right underſtanding of the circulation. The next inſtance likewiſe regards amputations; wherein, when the trunk of the artery is cut off, this doctrine explains how the courſe of the blood is univerſally preſerved, a problem which the Doctor obſerves, can never be ſolved upon any other principles than thoſe of the circulation, and is ſo far from being an objection, as ſome ignorant writers make it, againſt this doctrine, that it is one, and not the leaſt demonſtrative, proof of it. For a third inſtance he obſerves, that this doctrine at firſt ſight ſhews, the true method of treating an aneurism which ariſes upon a puncture, viz. not to uſe compreſſion, but after proper ligatures to divide the veſſel, and tie the artery both above and below the puncture; a practice which though followed by our ſurgeons, yet that of other nations is very defective in this point. The Doctor concludes with the inſtance of the doctrine of reſuſcion, upon which there was for almoſt two centuries, as warm a diſpute as ever was in phyſic, whether in a pleuriſy a vein ſhould be opened on the ſame or the oppoſite ſide; neither was this point underſtood by the Ancients, whatever ſome ignorant zealots for them would pretend; but the whole affair was entirely ſettled by the circulation; which alſo, as to bleeding in general, quite confounded and ſuperſeded all thoſe rules, which had been before with ſo much pains laid down, as to opening in particular caſes this or that vein: and though the ignorant part of the Faculty have loſt a good pretence of driving on this way a trade in phyſic, and of making a myſtery, where there is none: Thoſe ſurely who underſtand their profeſſion muſt acknowledge, that they have this advantage at leaſt from the circulation, of knowing exactly how indifferent it often is, which vein is made choice of, or if there be any preference, of judging without any hesitation, which vein to chuſe.

† It has been  
 ſaid by the late  
 Dr Mead and  
 others, that upon  
 the total loſs of  
 his ſight he drank  
 a draught of  
 opium, and expired  
 ſoon after it.

(38) In his Hi-  
 ſtory of Phyſic,  
 and alſo in his  
 Harveian ſpeech,  
 ubi ſupra.

(39) Opera, lib.  
 x. c. 24. where  
 he ſays, it came  
 into him by in-  
 ſpiration, as it  
 were, upon  
 reading Celfus.

(40) See an ac-  
 count of it's re-  
 ception there in  
 Viguierius's Sur-  
 gery, p. 39.

(41) Hildanus,  
 de Gangrena,  
 ſpeaks ſlightly of  
 it.

(42) Nock's Ex-  
 perim. Chirurg.  
 p. 49.



aliisque curationibus præter vulgi sententiam & methodum feliciter peractis. (11.) De nutritionis modo. (12.) Historia multorum animalium, præsertim insectorum ab inconspicuis præ exiguitate principiis (p), & seminibus quasi atomis in aëre volitantibus, a ventis huc usque sparsis ac disseminatis, ortorum. (13.) Anatomia Medica ad Medicinæ usum maxime accommodata, ubi ex multis dissectionibus corporum ægrotorum gravissimis & miris affectionibus confectorum; quomodo & qualiter partes interiores in situ, magnitudine, constitutione, figura, substantia, & reliquis accidentibus sensibilibus a naturali forma & apparentia permulentur, & quam variis modis & miris afficiantur, enarrare susceperet. As to our author's character, it is a little unaccountable, that in the elogium of him, under his picture at the College of Physicians, no notice is taken either of his piety in regard to religion, nor of his modesty and prudent caution in philosophizing, for both which he was eminently and most amiably distinguished. It has been observed, that he lived to see his doctrine of the circulation universally received, and was the only person that ever had that happiness (q). And nothing perhaps contributed so much to effect it as these two marks of his character. We have seen (r) the first applied to that purpose by an eminent Italian author not a great many years after his death [O], and of the latter an instance has been already produced \*. But it would not be doing him justice to omit another most remarkable one, wherein both these excellent qualities are seen together, and by that means each reflect a lustre upon the other. We shall therefore insert it below [P].

(p) We have already related how the materials for this piece were lost, in remark [I].

(q) Hobbs, in præfat. ad Element. Philos. sect. 1. de corpore.

(r) In remark [F].

\* In remark [E].

[O] Of the first we have already given an instance.] Besides that of the anastomoses, there is another equally remarkable in the same Exercitation iii. referring to his treatise *De motu Cordis*. It respects the existence and action of the *calidum innatum*, which he makes to be the principle and cause of the diastole of the heart and arteries; moved thereto, as he professes, by the authority and reasoning of Aristotle, which is produced by him; yet notwithstanding the profound veneration he constantly pays to that master, not being sufficiently convinced of this principle by experimental proofs, he concludes in these terms: 'After this manner do I believe that the native heat, or the *calidum innatum*, as being the common instrument of all operations, is also the first efficient cause of the pulse. This however I do not confidently and assuredly aver, but propound it as a thesis, and should be glad to hear what may be objected to it by men of learning and probity, without scurrilous language, calumnies, or reproaches; and I should be exceedingly pleased if any such persons would undertake the matter. *Atque hoc modo autumo calorem nativum sive calidum innatum, ut omnium operationum commune instrumentum, sic pulsus quoque efficiens primum esse. Hoc non adhuc constanter assevero, sed tantum pro thesi propono. Quid in contrarium obijciatur a viris doctis & probis, sine verborum scurrilitate, contumeliis, vel contumeliis, scire libenter velim, & si quis hanc rem susceperit, pergratum mihi fecerit* (43).'

[P] We shall insert it below.] It is in his book *de generatione animalium*, where speaking of the efficient cause of animals, he maintains against Sennertus, that whether the generation of the pullus be effected wholly by the male, or that the female has also her share in it; whether it be produced by the virtue of the seed or of the egg; yet none of these are any thing more than the instrumental and not the primary efficient cause of the animal, as is evident from the art, intellect, and providence, which shews itself conspicuously in every part and state of the production. In proceeding, he examines that opinion which ascribes this business to the sun as the principal cause, and having shewn in what sense it may be allowed, that *Sol & homo generent hominem*, he expresses himself thus. 'Ideoque vere vigent vernantque omnia; appropinquante sc. sole, (qui communis pater est & genitor; vel saltem summi creatoris in generatione immediatum & universale instrumentum) non solum plantæ sed etiam animalia, nec minus illa quæ sponte proveniunt, quam quæ maris fœminæque mutua opera progenerantur. Tanquam adveniente nobili hoc astro, de cælo delaberetur Alma Venus, Cupidinis charitumque choro stipata, cunctaque vivencia blando amoris æstro ad perennitatem sui exstimularet. Vel (ut est in fabulis) quasi eo tempore, Saturni genitalia in

mare projecta spumam excitarent, undeque nasceretur Aphrodite. Nempe in generatione, animalium, superat (ut poëta ait) tener omnibus humor, spumant turgentque semine genitalia.' In the next place he refutes the opinion, that the vegetative soul is the primary efficient cause of the animal, wherein observing that this doctrine, when applied to the generation of man, makes the vegetative faculty to be more excellent, and a more express image of the Deity than the rational soul, he describes the difference between instinct and intellect, and shews that man's part in generation is merely the effect of an instinctive impulse, and not the work of his intellect, the utmost power of which is excelled by the skill and providential contrivance seen in the animal produced by generation, as much as the art of nature exceeds the nature of art. 'Ideoque, pergit ille, ad artificialia qui respiciunt, haud æqui rerum naturalium æstimatores habendi sunt. Siquidem potius vice versa sumpto a natura exemplari de rebus artefactis judicandum est. Artes enim omnes imitatione quadam naturæ comparatæ sunt, nostraque ratio sive intellectus, ab intellectu divino in operibus suis agente profuxit. Qui cum habitu perfectio in nobis existit, quasi altera anima adventitia & acquisita, summi ac divini agentis imaginem suscipiens, operationes sive effectus similes produxit.' He then concludes the whole remark with the following most pious strain. 'Quapropter rem recte pieque (mea quidem sententia) reputaverit; qui rerum omnium generationes ab eodem illo æterno atque omnipotente numine deduxerit, a cujus nutu rerum ipsarum universitas dependet. Nec magnopere litigandum censeo, quo nomine primum hoc agens compellandum aut venerandum veniat (cui nomen omne venerabile debetur), sive Deus, sive Natura naturans, sive Anima mundi appellatur, id enim omnes intelligunt, quod cunctarum rerum principium sit, & finis, quod æternum & omnipotens existat, omniumque autor & creator, per varias generationum vicissitudines, caducas res mortalium conservet, ac perpetuet; quod ubique præsens singulis rerum naturalium operibus non minus adsit quam toti universo; quod numine suo, sive providentia, arte, ac mente divina, cuncta animalia procreet.' Whence taking occasion to run over all the various ways of generation in different creatures, rational, animal, or vegetable, he closes all in the following words. 'Omnia vero corpora naturalia summi ejus numinis & opera sunt, & instrumenta; suntque hæc vel naturalia solum, ut calor, spiritus, aëris, putredinisve tepor, &c. vel simul etiam animata: quippe animalium quoque vel motu, vel facultate, vel anima, aliquo modo utitur ad perfectionem Universi, & animalium procreationem (44).'

(44) De Generatione Animalium, Exercit. L.



HAWKINS [Sir JOHN], an able seaman, an excellent officer, and one of the most celebrated commanders of the English fleet in the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth, the mother of her subjects, the terror of their enemies, and the foundress of our navy. He descended from a good family in Devonshire, distinguished both by merit and fortune. His grandfather was John Hawkins, Esq; of Tavistock, who married Joan, the daughter of William Amidas in the county of Cornwall, Esq; His father was William Hawkins, Esq; a gentleman of a good estate; some part of which he had acquired by his great industry, admired prudence, and singular good fortune at sea; which raised him a very high and just reputation in the reign of Henry the Eighth, with whom he stood in much personal favour, for bringing over a Brazilian Prince (a) to visit him, which, with some other curious particulars relating to this worthy person, the reader will find farther explained in the notes (b) [A]. His mother was Joan Trelawney, daughter of William Trelawney of the county of Cornwall, Esq; This worthy person was their second son, born at Plymouth (c), but in what year cannot with certainty be known; however, from circumstances we may gather it could not be well later than 1520. He was from his youth addicted to Navigation, and the study of the Mathematics, as indeed were all his family, and began very early to put his skill in practice, by making several voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, which were in those days extraordinary undertakings, and must have given him much more experience than almost any of his contemporaries (d). Of these voyages we have no particular account; but being undertaken with the consent and the lights he drew from them, assisted by his father's observations, he came early into the world with a great reputation, and was employed by Queen Elizabeth as an officer of consideration at sea, when some of those, who were afterwards chief commanders in her reign, were but boys, who joyfully served under, and learned the skill by which they rose from him [B]. In the spring of the year 1562, he formed the design of the first famous

[A] Will find farther explained in the notes.] The dawn of our English commerce was, in the preceding reign, when with the commission, and at the expence of Henry the Seventh, Sir John Cabot endeavoured to outdo Columbus, and to reach the East-Indies by a north-west course: this bold attempt, though it did not prove successful, yet excited that spirit of discovery, which has produced so many and so great effects (1). Amongst those who entered early into this glorious career, Captain William Hawkins gained no small reputation; he had already a competent fortune, when he formed the design of visiting the coast of Brasil, and of trading with the natives, notwithstanding the strange accounts published of them by the Portuguese (2). He was owner and commander of a vessel, called the Paul of Plymouth, of the burthen of two hundred and fifty tons, which was in those days stiled a tall and goodly ship; as indeed it well might, since there were very few merchantmen in England of so large a size at that juncture (3). In the year 1530, he carried his scheme into execution, whether on his own bottom, or with the assistance of his neighbours, does not appear. He sailed first to the port of Sestos, on the coast of Guinea; where, for a cargo of small price that he carried out, he purchased from the negroes elephants-teeth, and other commodities, which he judged might be acceptable in the country to which he was next bound. He proceeded accordingly with this cargo to the coast of Brazil, where he dealt only with those whom the Portuguese reputed savages, and whom he regarded in the light of a free people. He dealt with them in a manner so full of justice, candour, and beneficence, as to gain their confidence entirely; and yet the profits of his voyage were very considerable, more so, perhaps, than if he had shewn a rapacious appetite for gain (4). He liked their manner of dealing so well, that he made a second voyage thither in 1532, and was received with the same cordial kindness as at first. The gentleness of his behaviour, and the charms of his conversation, had such an effect upon the mind of a Brazilian Prince, that he offered to go over with him to England, in case he would leave one of his men as a hostage for his safety with the Brazilians (5). The proposal was readily accepted, and one Martin Cockeram of Plymouth, by his own consent, stayed behind. On the arrival of this West-Indian Prince, he was carried up to London to salute the King, at that time Henry VIII. who received him very kindly, and examined him very attentively at Whitehall, where the strangeness of his figure invited a great concourse of all ranks to behold him. He was a tall, well limbed man, but in his cheeks there were many little holes, in which small bones were placed, that stuck out about an inch from the skin; and in the hollow of his under-lip, there was a larger hole, in

which was placed a precious stone as big as a pea. These, it seems, were ornaments suited to his high dignity in his own country; but which, in the eyes of King Harry's courtiers, looked not a little odd (6). However, that monarch treated him with much consideration; and, after he had remained here near a year, Captain Hawkins, in order punctually to fulfil his promise, embarked with him again at Plymouth; but in his passage home, he was seized with a distemper of which he died. This troubled Captain Hawkins extremely, from an apprehension of what might befall the man he had left behind. But he was soon eased of these fears, for the savages relied entirely upon his word; and not only traded with him as before, but set Martin Cockeram at full liberty, who, on his return home, obtained a little office in the town of Plymouth, probably by the interposition of Captain Hawkins, where he lived and died (7). This commerce between the Brazils and England subsisted many years afterwards at Southampton, and in process of time some Englishmen went thither and settled (8). Amongst these was Mr John Whitehall, who in a letter to a friend of his, dated June 26, 1578, acquainted him that there were many rich mines of gold in that country (9); and these, as we learn from subsequent accounts, the Spaniards, who by this time were become masters of Portugal, and of the colonies belonging to that crown, prevented from being wrought; which is a fact we thought very proper to mention here, because it is far from being commonly known, notwithstanding we now share so largely in their produce.

[B] By which they rose from him.] The reason of our giving this note, is to mention a custom that Captain Hawkins, and very probably other commanders in those times, had of carrying young gentlemen with them, in quality of volunteers, in order to instruct and give them proper notions of the sea service. We have a clear and distinct proof of this, in a list at the end of Captain Hawkins's second voyage to the West-Indies, bearing this title, *The Names of certain Gentlemen that were in this Voyage*, viz. Mr John Chester, Sir William Chester's son, who was afterwards a Captain in the royal navy; Mr Anthony Parkhurst, who was afterwards an eminent man at Bristol, and a great adventurer in different parts of the world; Mr Fitzwilliam, Mr Thomas Woorley, Mr Edward Lacy, Mr John Sparke, jun. who wrote the narrative of that voyage, with several others (10). We might, if we had the like lists of those he carried out in his other voyages, render this account very curious and compleat; but since these are wanting, it shall suffice to say, that under him were bred the famous Sir Francis Drake, and his brethren, Captain William Hawkins, our Hero's own brother, and Sir Richard Hawkins, his son, than whom

(a) From the Grant of a Crest to Sir John Hawkins, by W. Harvey, Clarendon, A. D. 1565.

(b) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 989.

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(1) Evelyn's Origin and Progress of Navigation and Commerce, p. 57, 73.

(2) Maffaeus in Hist. Indic. lib. ii. Boter. Pars I. lib. vi.

(3) Sir Josiah Child's Treatise of Trade, p. 73.

(4) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(5) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(6) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700. Americ. Vesput. ap. Ramusio.

(7) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 700.

(8) See the Accounts in Hakluyt and in Purchas.

(9) Hakluyt's Voyage, Vol. III. p. 701, 702.

(10) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179. Relation of General Hawkins's Second Voyage, &c. by J. Sparke.



famous voyage he made, which was highly advantageous to himself and most of his proprietors, but much more so in consequences of it to his country (e). In several trips to the Canaries, where, by his tenderness and humanity, he had made himself very much beloved, he acquired a knowledge of the slave trade, and of the mighty profit, which, even in those days, resulted from the sale of negroes in the West Indies. After the most mature consideration, therefore, he resolved to attempt somewhat in this way, and to raise a subscription for this purpose amongst his friends, the greatest traders at that time in the city of London, in hopes of opening a new trade, first to Guinea, for slaves, and then to Hispaniola, St John de Porto rico, and other Spanish islands, for sugars, hides, silver, &c. Upon his ample and clear representation of this important scheme, Sir Lionel Duckett, Sir Thomas Lodge, Sir William Winter, Mr Bromfield, and Mr Gunson, whose daughter Mr Hawkins had married, readily accepted his proposal, and joined together in the undertaking (f). At their expence a little Squadron was prepared, composed of the following ships. The Solomon, of the burthen of one hundred and twenty tons, in which Mr Hawkins himself sailed; the Swallow, of one hundred tons, commanded by Captain Thomas Hampton; and a bark of forty tons, called the Jonas; on board of all which there were about one hundred men. With these vessels he sailed from the coast of England, in the month of October, 1562; and, in his course, first touched at Teneriffe; thence he proceeded to the coast of Guinea, where, having by money, and, where that failed, by the sword, acquired three hundred negro slaves, he sailed directly to Hispaniola; and making there a large profit of his European and African cargoes, at three different ports in that island, he returned safe into England in the month of September, 1563 (g) [C]. The next year, with the like views, he made another voyage, but with a greater force, himself in the Jesus of Lubeck, a ship of seven hundred tons, accompanied by the Solomon, and two barks, the Tyger and the Swallow. He sailed from Plymouth the eighteenth of October, 1564, proceeded to the coast of Guinea, and thence to the Spanish West Indies; where, in several different places, he forced a trade much to his profit; and after visiting the coasts of Jamaica and Cuba, where for want of right instruction he missed the port of the Havanna, came home through the Gulph of Florida, arriving at Padstowe in Cornwall on the twentieth of September, 1565; having lost, notwithstanding many untoward accidents and frequent skirmishes, no more than twenty persons in the whole voyage, and bringing with him a large cargo of very rich commodities (h) [D]. His

(e) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 500.

(f) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(g) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 500.

(h) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 500.

whom there were never braver men, nor better officers, in the service of the English Crown (11). The worthy pupils of persons distinguished in any profession, are a kind of political offspring, which they bring forth to the public, and is the utmost effort of that benevolent virtue which prompts them to pursue the welfare of society, not only beyond their own, but to the utmost limits of time.

[C] *In the month of September 1563.* At this juncture there was an appearance of perfect amity between the Crowns of England and Spain, notwithstanding which, the latter was so exceedingly tender of her possessions in the New World, as it was then commonly called, that they considered the appearance of any strange vessel in those seas as an act of hostility, and treated whoever commanded such a ship, not as an interloper, but as a pirate (12). Yet with all these precautions, we must not imagine that the Spaniards, even in these early times, could preserve the monopoly of this lucrative commerce unimpeached; for it appears, that some years before this, that is, almost as soon as the Spaniards were established there, English merchants found means to trade there under the names of their Spanish correspondents; and for the better carrying on of this clandestine commerce, had their secret agents in Spain, which was the more practicable, since for many years there was a close conjunction of interests, and a very great intercourse between the two nations (13). All this, without doubt, was well known to Captain John Hawkins, but as he was already a very expert seaman, and had frequently visited the Canaries, he thought this method of trading injurious to his profession as well as detrimental to the nation; and therefore having gained the best information possible, of the proper method of carrying on such a traffick as he desired from England to the West-Indies directly, and being also well assured that this attempt would not be disagreeable to the subjects, how distasteful soever it might be to the Crown of Spain; he settled his project with great sagacity, and executed it afterwards with equal prudence. We shall apprehend this more clearly, if we reflect that his attempt was very singular, his return very speedy, and his voyage in all respects perfectly successful (14). In respect to the singularity of his attempt, it was not only without precedent, so that he had no rule by which to square his conduct but his

own judgment; it was also perilous in every step, for he went without commission, exposed to the resentment of the most vindictive power in Europe; and though the chief part of his cargo was to be provided, and all the transactions in this commerce to be supported by arms, yet his force was very inconsiderable, his three vessels making in the whole but two hundred and sixty tons, and the number of his men scarce one hundred (15). He sailed first to the coast of Guinea, where though it is darkly expressed in the short relation we have of this voyage, yet it is very certain that if he purchased some, he took by force the best part of the three hundred negroes which he carried to the West-Indies, where he visited three several ports, opened a trade by terror as well as persuasion at each of them, and yet anchored again at Plymouth within the year (16). But still he made no more haste than good speed. He brought home his own three ships fully laden with hides, ginger, sugar, and other West-India commodities, besides a good quantity of pearl, which then sold at a high price; yet this was not all, for having got more in America than he could transport to Europe, he freighted two vessels that he met with in those parts with the coarsest of his goods for Spain, where they came likewise to a good market (17); so that viewing it in every light, this voyage of his was amazingly prosperous.

[D] *Of very rich commodities.* We have a very copious relation of this voyage, from whence it is but reasonable that we should extract a few passages relative to the personal history of this great man; because, as we shall plainly prove hereafter, he left his great actions to be celebrated by others, and how brave soever in his person, was not only modest, but even bashful with his pen. On the twentieth of November, the day after they left the island of Teneriffe, the pinnacle of his own ship the Jesus, overfet by her side, by the carelessness of two men that were in her. As they had a brisk gale before this accident was discerned, and the ship could put about, she was driven half a league to the leeward, so that being out of sight, the pinnacle and the men were given for lost, as they must have been, but for the Providence of God, and the skill and tenderness of their captain, who being upon deck, and having well marked which way the pinnacle drove by the fun, he ordered out his great boat with four and twenty stout

(15) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 500.

(16) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(17) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 500.

(11) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179. Risdon's Description of Devonshire, p. 262, 263. Stowe's Survey.

(12) Thorne's Memorials concerning the Spanish Commerce in America.

(13) See Robert Thomson's Account of his Voyage to New Spain, in Hakluyt's Collection, Vol. II. p. 447.

(14) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.



(i) Prince, in the page before cited, tells us, he took this from the original patent.

His skill and success had now most deservedly raised him to such a reputation, that Mr Harvey, then Clarencieux King at Arms, granted him by patent for his crest, a demi Moor in his proper colour, bound with a cord (i). In the beginning of the year 1567, he sailed to the relief of the French Protestants; and returning home in the summer, began immediately to make the necessary preparations for his third voyage to the West Indies; which with vast expectations, grounded on his former success, he some time afterwards performed. At his return from France, while he waited the Queen's orders with his Squadron at Catwater, there happened an event, which, though it has slipped the observation of most of our historians, is yet worthy of being recorded with all its circumstances. The Spanish fleet of near fifty sail passing between the island and the main, bound to Flanders, without lowering their topmasts or taking in their flags, Captain Hawkins ordered a shot to be made at the Admiral's flag; but that not having the desired effect, he directed a second, which pierced it through and through; and upon this the Spaniards took in both topmasts and flags, and came to an anchor. The General then sent one of his principal officers in a boat to expostulate the matter, and to know the reason of such proceeding. Captain Hawkins would not let him come aboard, or so much as receive his message in person; but upon it's being reported to him by an officer, he sent him word by the same person to tell his General, that as he had entered the Queen's port, and neglected to pay that reverence which was due to her Majesty, more especially as her ships were there, and having so numerous a fleet, it could not but create suspicion of some ill design; for which cause he required him to depart the port in twelve hours, upon pain of being considered and treated as an enemy. The Spanish General having received this message, came in the same boat, and desired to speak with the English commander, which at first was refused; but, upon his pressing it a second time, was admitted. When they met, the Spaniard asked Captain Hawkins if there was war between Spain and England? he answered, no, but that it was not impossible this proceeding might be thought sufficient cause for a war; that he meant to dispatch an express immediately to the Queen and Council, with an account of what had passed, and that in the mean time he might depart. The Spanish General pretended that he could not comprehend wherein he had given offence, desiring to be made sensible of his fault. Captain Hawkins asked him, if an English fleet came into a Spanish port, where any of his Catholic Majesty's ships were, and pretended to keep their topmasts up and their flags flying, whether they would not immediately fire upon and drive them out? The Spaniard owned they would, confessed his fault, offered to pay any penalty, and desired that no dispute between them might injure that harmony which subsisted between their princes. As this was precisely what Captain Hawkins desired, he after a little difficulty agreed to pass things over, and then, as good friends, they feasted each other both on board and ashore (k). The Spanish fleet proceeded, as soon as the wind was fair, for the coast of Flanders, and Captain Hawkins went on with his preparations for his intended undertaking. Our gallant seaman made this, as he did his former voyage, in the great ship, called the Jesus of Lubeck, accompanied by the Minion and four other ships (l). He sailed with these from Plymouth, October the second, 1567. At first they met with such storms, that they had thoughts of returning home; but the weather growing better, and the wind becoming fair, he continued his course to the Canaries, thence to the coast of Guinea; and having there, by purchase and force, procured about five hundred slaves, proceeded to the coasts of Spanish America to sell his negroes. The Governor of Rio de la Hacha refusing to trade, Hawkins landed and took the town, in which there seems to have been some collusion; for after this they traded together in a friendly manner, 'till most of the negroes were sold or exchanged. Thence he sailed to Carthagena, where he disposed of the rest; but in returning home, being surprized by most violent storms on the coast of Florida, he was forced to steer for the haven of St John de Ulloa in the bottom of the bay of Mexico. He entered this port on Tuesday the fifteenth of September, 1568, when the Spaniards came on board, supposing his Squadron to have come from Spain, and were exceedingly intimidated when they discovered their mistake. Captain Hawkins treated them very civilly, assuring them that all he came for was provisions; neither did he attack twelve merchant ships that were in the port, the cargoes of which were worth upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, but contented himself with seizing two persons of distinction, whom

(k) Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 21, 22.

(l) See an Authentic Account of this Voyage, written and subscribed by Sir John Hawkins, in Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 521.

stout fellows, directing them on which point to row to windward, and contrary to all expectations they recovered the two poor fellows, who were sitting upon the keel of their vessel driving at the mercy of the wind and waves (18). On the coast of Africa, things went not always as he would have them, once in particular, the taking of ten negro slaves cost him the captain of one of his ships and six of the stoutest of his crew, besides twenty-seven more that were wounded; yet his countenance remained unclouded, and though he was naturally a man of compassion, he made very light of his loss, that others might not take it to heart (19). In his return, upon the coast of Newfoundland, being in great want of provision, he took from two French fishing vessels as much as might serve him home, which

being done with civility, the Frenchmen did not grudge; but when the captain paid them for it in ready money, contrary to the practice of those times, when at sea, the strongest of every nation made no scruple of supplying themselves at free cost, they were exceedingly surprized (20). This voyage, though not without it's crosses and some loss too, was upon the whole very profitable, and he who dealt justly even with strangers, being no less punctual to his proprietors, they were with good reason highly satisfied with his second expedition, in which it is doubtful whether he had the concurrence of the Crown or not, but more probable that he had, since the Jesus of Lubeck was the Queen's ship (21).

(20) This is John Sparke's observation, who was present.

(21) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1179.

(18) John Sparke's Account of the Voyage of John Hawkins, Esq; to the West-Indies, A. D. 1564.

(19) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 506.

[E] Solemnly



whom he kept as hostages until the return of an express, which was sent to Mexico with an account of his demands (m). The next day the Spanish fleet appeared in sight, which unlooked for event gave Captain Hawkins great uneasiness; for if he kept them out, he was sensible they must be inevitably lost, with all they had on board, amounting to near two millions sterling (n); an act, which, considering there was no war declared against Spain, he was afraid Queen Elizabeth his Sovereign would never pardon. On the other hand, he could not but suspect, the port being narrow, and the town populous, the Spaniards would not fail, if once they were suffered to come in, to attempt some treachery. At length, however, endeavouring out of two evils to choose the least, he determined to admit the fleet, provided the new Viceroy of Mexico, who was on board it, would undertake that the English should have victuals for their money, that hostages should be given on both sides, and that the island, with eleven pieces of brass cannon therein, should be put into the hands of his people while they staid. Upon his making these demands, the Viceroy seemed at first displeased; yet in a short time after he consented to them, and, at a personal but public conference with Captain Hawkins, solemnly promised to perform them (o) [E]. These negotiations over, which took up three days, all things being concluded, the fleet entered the port on Monday the nineteenth day of September, with the usual salutations, and two days more were employed to range the ships of each nation by themselves, the officers and sailors on both sides professing towards each other a great deal of friendship. But the Spaniards intended nothing less; for they had by this time mustered a thousand men on shore, and designed, on Thursday the twenty-third at dinner time, to make a general attack on the English on every side. On the day appointed, in the morning, the English perceived the Spaniards shifting their ammunition from ship to ship, and pointing their ordnance towards them; they likewise observed much greater numbers of men passing to the ships from land, in boats of all sizes, than the business on board the ships required; which, with other circumstances, giving very strong grounds of suspicion, Captain Hawkins sent to the Viceroy to know the meaning of all these preparations; upon which, the Viceroy sent orders that every thing should be removed which might give the English umbrage, with a promise, on the faith of a Viceroy, to be their defence against any clandestine or insidious attempts of the Spaniards (p). However, the Captain not being satisfied with this answer, because he suspected that a great number of men were hidden in a ship of nine hundred tons, which was moored next the Minion, sent Robert Barret, the Master of the Jesus, who perfectly understood Spanish, to know peremptorily from the Viceroy whether it was so or not, and whether any provocation had been given. The Viceroy, finding he could conceal his mean and treacherous design no longer, detained the Master, ordered him into irons, and directed the trumpet to sound a charge; on which the Spaniards, who waited only for that signal, set upon the English on all sides [F]. Those who were upon the island being struck with

(m) Camden. Annals. Eliz. p. 158. Prince's Works of Devon, p. 389.

(n) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 117. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 489, 490.

(o) Camden. Annals. Eliz. p. 158. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 522, 523. Prince's Works of Devon, p. 389.

(p) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 117. Sir Walter Raleigh's Works, Vol. II. p. 272. See also Philips's and Hortop's Account.

(26) Hawkins's own Account, p. 523.

(27) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 489.

(28) Miles Philips's Discourse, ch. ii. Hawkins's own Account, p. 523.

[E] Solemnly promised to perform them.] We have besides that relation of this voyage which was written by Captain Hawkins himself, two other accounts, one by Miles Philips a private sailor (22), and the other by Job Hortop, who was a gunner on board the Admiral's ship (23); from these we learn many particulars worthy of notice, which Captain Hawkins did not think it became him to commit to paper, or at least to make publick, from whence we may be able to illustrate many passages to the reader's satisfaction. It appears that of the squadron he commanded, two were the Queen's ships, the Jesus of Lubeck, and the Minion, commanded by Captain John Hampton; but for the other four, which were the William and John, Captain Bolton; the Judith, Captain Francis Drake, the Angel, and the Swallow, the names of those captains are not remembered, were fitted out by Capt. Hawkins at his own expence (24). The William and John, was lost in a storm upon the coast of Guinea. In their passage from Carthage, they took a small ship, on board which were some friars, and one Don Augustin de Villa Nueva, a man of parts, and who had formerly made a figure, but was fallen into general odium of his own nation for betraying some Indian lords, who by his means lost their lives. This man, as he was very capable, gave Captain Hawkins many informations, who treated him therefore with great kindness and respect (25). Upon his arrival in the port of St John de Ulloa, Captain Hawkins set all his prisoners at liberty, without taking or suffering any thing to be taken from them; and though he might have seized some persons of the first distinction, who, as is said in the text, came on board his vessel by mistake, yet he detained only two, viz. Don Lorenzo de Alva, and Don Pedro de Revera, by way of hostages, sending at the same time a message to the Viceroy of Mexico, signifying that he was driven into that port by stress of weather, that he meant not any injury to the subjects of the Crown of Spain, and that as soon as his vessels were refitted, and he had a reasonable supply of provisions, towards which he de-

fired his Excellency's assistance, he would immediately put to sea again (26). Before he received any answer to this message, the Spanish fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of large ships with Don Martin Henriquez the new Viceroy, arrived; as soon as that Lord had intelligence that the English were in the haven, he sent in a pinnace with a flag of truce and an officer on board, to know whose ships they were. General Hawkins, for so he was styled during the expedition, told the officer, *They were the Queen of England's ships which came in for victuals for their money; adding, if your General will come in, I will go on one side of the port, and he may sail in on the other.* To this the Spaniard replied, *That his master was a Viceroy, and had a thousand men, to which Hawkins replied, I represent my Queen's person, and am a Viceroy as well as he, and that if he had a thousand men, his powder and shot would take the better place* (27). This message, together with his propositions being carried to the Viceroy, after some dispute, produced a civil answer, importing that he had heard a good character of his proceedings towards his Catholic Majesty's subjects, and the conditions of the agreement being reduced to writing, was on both sides signed and sealed, and six hostages given, but with this difference, that Hawkins sent gentlemen, and the Viceroy six mean persons finely dressed, which was quickly discovered, and gave the English General the first suspicion of what afterwards followed (28), in direct breach of the Spanish Viceroy's promise and faith.

[F] Set upon the English on all sides.] These facts are confirmed by the other two relations, but with many additional circumstances. It seems that General Hawkins was at dinner when the trumpet sounded, and his false friend Don Augustine de Villa Nueva with him, who on that signal had undertaken to dispatch him, and had for that purpose a dagger in his sleeve, which was perceived before he could lay his hand upon it by one John Chamberlaine, at the very instant the trumpet sounded; upon which the General ordered him to be

carried

(22) The title of this treatise at large is, 'A Discourse written by one Miles Philips, Englishman, one of the company put on shore northward of Panuco in the West-Indies, by M. John Hawkins, 1568. containing many special things of that country, and of the Spanish Government, but especially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen, and, amongst the rest, to himself, for the space of fifteen or sixteen years together, until, by good and happy means, he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned into his own country, anno 1582.'

(23) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 437.

(24) The Relation of this famous though unfortunate Voyage was also written by Sir John Hawkins himself.

(25) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 489.



(q) Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 524. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 272.

(r) The Travels of Job Hortop, &c. Fuller's Holy State, p. 104.

(s) The Travels and Discoveries of Miles Philips, cap. II. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177.

(t) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 524. See also the Relations of Philips and Hortop.

(u) Travels of Job Hortop, &c. Fuller's Holy State, p. 224.

(w) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 525. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1177. Relations of Philips and Hortop.

(29) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 490.

(30) The fact, though not the words, in Sir John Hawkins's own Relation.

(31) Hortop, in Hakluyt, Vol. M. p. 489.

fear at this sudden alarm, fled, thinking to recover their ships; but the Spaniards entering in great numbers on the island in several places at once, which they might do without boats, the ships lying close to the shore; slew them all without mercy, except a very few, who escaped on board the Jesus with much difficulty, and under the greatest terror possible (q). The great ship, wherein three hundred men were concealed, immediately fell on board the Minion; but the officers in her setting all hands to work the moment their suspicions commenced, had in that short space, which was but half an hour, weighed all her anchors. Having thus gotten clear, and avoided the first brunt of the great ship, the latter clapped the Jesus aboard, which was at the same time attacked by two other ships. However, those on board her, with much ado, and the loss of many men, drove them off 'till she cut her cable, and got clear also (r). As soon as the Jesus and the Minion were got two ships length from the Spanish fleet, they began the fight with them in a manner that testified the ardour of their resentment, which was so furious, that, in the space of a single hour, the Admiral of the Spanish fleet and another ship were supposed to be sunk, and their Vice-Admiral burned, so that now they had little to fear from the enemy's ships; yet they suffered exceedingly from the ordnance on the island, which sunk their small ships, and tore all the masts and rigging of the Jesus in such a manner, that there was no longer the least hopes of bringing her off (s). This being the case, they determined to place her as a defence to the Minion 'till night, and then taking out of her what victuals and other necessities they could, to leave her behind. But presently after, perceiving two large ships, fired by the Spaniards, bearing down directly upon them, the men aboard the Minion, in great consternation, without consent of either the Captain or Master, set sail, and made sail from the Jesus in such haste, that Captain Hawkins had scarce time to get from on board her. As for the men, most of them followed in a small boat; the rest were left to the mercy of the Spaniards, *Which*, says the Captain in his Narrative, *I doubt was very little (t)*. Out of the whole squadron, the Minion and the Judith were the only two English ships that escaped; and in the night, the Judith, which was a bark of no more than fifty tons, separated herself from the Minion, on board which was Captain Hawkins (u) and the best part of his men. In this distress, having little to eat, less water, in unknown seas, and many of his people wounded, he continued 'till the eighth of October, and then entered a creek in the Bay of Mexico, in order to obtain, either from Spaniards or savages, and on any terms whatever, so low had hunger reduced them, some refreshment. This was about the mouth of the river Tampico, in the latitude of twenty-three degrees thirty minutes north; where his company dividing on their own motion, and the better to prevent immediate starving, one hundred desired to be set on shore (w) [G]; and the rest, who were about the same number,

carried prisoner into the steward's room, and then mounting upon deck, he saw the Spaniards issue out of their hulk and board the Minion which lay close to them (29). At this he cried with a loud voice, 'God and St George fall upon those traitors and rescue the Minion, I trust in God the day shall be ours' (30). His men immediately leaped out of the Jesus of Lubeck into the Minion, drove out the Spaniards, and by a shot which went through the Spanish Vice-Admiral, and is thought to have taken it's passage through the powder room, blew three hundred men who were in that ship into the air. They also set the Spanish Admiral on fire, which continued burning half an hour. On the other hand, all the English in the island were cut off except three, of whom Job Hortop was one, and they escaped by swimming. They likewise sunk the Angel and took the Swallow; as for the Jesus of Lubeck, her foremast was cut asunder by a chain shot; there were five shot through her mainmast, and her hull was so pierced in different places that it was not possible to bring her away, yet they did not desert her till the Spaniards in despair set fire to two of their own ships, and sent them down upon her and upon the Minion, when the crew of the last mentioned ship, without the consent of their Captain or Master, cut their cables and put out to sea in such haste, that General Hawkins had scarce time to get on board, nor could have done it, if with all their haste they had not stood in again to receive him (31). There happened about this time a passage which does General Hawkins great honour, and which as it is preserved by Hortop shall appear in that honest man's own plain language. 'The Minion was forced to set sail and stand off from us, and come to an anchor without shot of the island. Our General courageously cheered up his soldiers and gunners, and called to Samuel his page for a cup of beer, who brought it him in a silver cup, and he drinking to all men, willed the gunners to stand by their ordnance lustily like men. He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demy culverin shot stroke away the cup and a cooper's plane

'that stood by the main mast, and ran out on the other side of the ship, which nothing dismayed our General, for he ceased not to encourage us, saying, Fear nothing, for God who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitors and villains. Then Captain Bland meaning to have turned out of the port, had his main mast struck over board with a chain shot that came from the shore, wherefore he anchored, fired his ship, took his pinnace with all his men and came aboard the Jesus of Lubeck to our General, who said unto him, that he thought he would not have run away from him; he answered, That he was not minded to have turned away from him, but his intent was to have turned up and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleet aboard, and fired his ship, in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleet; he said, if he had done so, he had done well. With this night came on. Our General commanded the Minion for safeguard of her masts, to be brought under the Jesus of Lubeck's lee: he willed Mr Francis Drake to come in with the Judith, and to lay the Minion aboard to take in men and other things needful, and to go out, and so he did (32). Upon the whole, this action continued from noon till night, in which space the Spaniards, besides their Admiral and Vice-Admiral both disabled, lost four ships that were sunk or burnt, and five-hundred and forty men out of fifteen hundred, as the English prisoners were afterwards informed by an authentic account that was transmitted to Mexico (33).

[G] *Desired to be put on shore.*] In the relation given by Captain Hawkins, he says in very express terms, that after they had been a fortnight at sea and were reduced to the utmost extremity, when they landed once more in the bay of Mexico, in hopes of finding or taking some subsistence from either Indians or Spaniards; the people perceiving this also to be vain, and that there was no inhabited country near them, were desirous of travelling as well as they could in search of relief, upon which at their own request he divided them, suffering those to take that method who thought

(32) See the article of DRAKE [Sir FRANCIS].

(33) Miles Philips's Discourse, ch. iv.



ber, resolving at all events to endeavour at least to get home. Accordingly, on the sixteenth of the same month, they weighed and stood through the Gulph of Florida, making all the sail they were able for Europe. In their passage, after enduring innumerable and incredible hardships, when they drew near home, they were forced to put into Ponte Vedra, near the famous town of Vigo in Spain; where the people of the country coming to know their weakness, thought by treachery to seize them a second time; but they sailed instantly to Vigo, which, as we observed, is not far off. They there met with some English ships, the Masters of which cheerfully sent them twelve fresh men; so that, departing on the twentieth of January, 1568, they arrived in Mount's-Bay in Cornwall the twenty fifth of the same month (x) [H]. In honour of his famous action at Rio

(x) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158. Stowe's Annals, de p. 807.

(34) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525.

(35) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 491.

(36) Miles Philips's Discourse, cap. iii.

thought it the least evil of the two, and using all the means in his power to encourage the rest (34). Yet those who envied his reputation, gave out reports of another kind, which could never have been so effectually refuted, if Job Hortop, who was one of those left behind, had not given us a large account of the matter, which certainly puts it beyond all doubt, his words are these (35). 'When the wind came off shore, we set sail and went out in despite of the Spaniards and their shot, where we anchored with two anchors under the island, the wind being northerly, which was wonderful dangerous, and we feared every hour to be driven with the lee shore. In the end, when the wind came larger we weighed anchor and set sail seeking the river Panuco for water, whereof we had very little, and victuals were so scarce that we were driven to eat hides, cats, rats, parrots, monkeys, and dogs; wherefore our General was forced to divide his company into two parts, for there was a mutiny among them for want of victuals, and some said that they had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, than to starve on ship-board. He asked them who would go on shore and who would tarry on ship-board, those that would go on shore he willed to go on foremast, and those that would tarry, on barmast. Fourscore and sixteen of us were willing to depart. Our General gave unto every one of us six yards of Rouen cloth, and money to them that demanded it. When we were landed he came unto us very friendly, imbracing every one of us; he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him; he counselled us to serve God and to love one another, and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowful farewell, and promised, if God sent him safe home, he would do what he could that so many of us as lived, should by some means be brought into England, and so he did. Since my return into England, I have heard that many disliked that he left us so behind him and brought away negroes, but the reason is this, for them he might have had victuals or any other thing needful, if by foul weather he had been driven upon the islands, which for gold or silver he could not have had.' This fact is somewhat differently related by Philips (36), who was also one of those who went on shore, he tells us (which indeed is natural enough) that the General first set aside such persons as it was necessary should remain with him for the safety of the ship, and then made the division; but he adds, that when it was made, some who desired to be left on shore repented, and would willingly have staid, but then it was too late. He also complains that they were hardly used at the time they were put on shore, but ascribes this entirely to Captain Hampton of the Minion, and two other persons whom he names; and agrees with Hortop, as to the great sorrow and kind expressions of the General at parting. After all, Captain Hawkins was very near sharing the same fate himself, for landing the next day with fifty men, that they might make the more dispatch in filling their water, the weather became of a sudden so tempestuous, that for the space of three whole days it was impossible for them to get on board, while the other moiety of the crew who were in the ship, expected every moment to be driven on shore or to founder at sea.

[H] Arrived in Mount's bay in Cornwall the twenty fifth of the same month.] As to the hardships endured in this unfortunate expedition, they cannot be more strongly or exactly pictured than in the following lines with which Captain Hawkins concludes his own relation. 'If all the miseries and troublesome affairs, says he, of this sorrowful voyage, should be perfectly and thoroughly written, there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he had,

that wrote the lives and deaths of the Martyrs (37). His son observes, that the great loss incurred by this unfortunate expedition, fell very heavy upon his father and reduced his fortune very much (38). The reader may probably desire to know what became of the poor men who were set on shore in the bay of Mexico, and of this therefore we will give him a succinct relation. The Indians they first met with fell upon and killed eight without the least provocation; however on their submission, and finding they were not Spaniards, they did them no farther mischief, but directed them to the port of Tampico. The English then divided, part of them marched northward, and part of them westward; David Ingram, who was with the former, with two of his companions, Richard Brown and Richard Twide, after marching quite cross the continent of North America, arrived in that country which is now called Nova Scotia, and returned to Europe in a French ship in 1569 (39). As for those who marched westward, they fell into the hands of the Spaniards who sent them prisoners to Mexico, and after some time, were put out to live with the inhabitants as servants. Upon the establishment of the Inquisition in the Indies, they were again seized, deprived of all they had acquired by their labour, put into dungeons, and in the year 1575, sixty-five of them were sentenced to several cruel punishments, besides three that were burnt. Miles Philips, after enduring intolerable hardships both there and in Spain, found means to get home into England in 1582 (40). Job Hortop suffered likewise many years wretchedness in America, and was then sent to Europe with several of his countrymen on board the Spanish fleet; where notwithstanding they saved that whole fleet from destruction, they were very cruelly treated. Upon their arrival in Spain, they fell again into the hands of the Inquisition, who ordered Robert Barret and John Gilbert to be burnt, as they were; Job Hortop and John Bone were sentenced to imprisonment for ten years, the former however continued in that confinement no less than twelve, when with much difficulty he was set at liberty, and at length found means to escape and to return to England in 1590, after having endured inexpressible misery for twenty-three years (41). It is observed by Mr Camden, that the report of the ill usage of Captain Hawkins and those who served under him, without any provocation on his side, occasioned a great clamour upon his return, and that many warm people would have pushed things to a rupture, if the Queen's prudence, and the situation of things at that time in Scotland had not prevented it (42). The same author observes, that whatever the Spaniards might apprehend, the treaties of peace between the Crown of England and the Emperor Charles the Fifth, gave the subjects of the former a right to trade in all parts of the dominions of the latter, without any exception or restriction whatever. It seems that this voyage, notwithstanding, had a farther sanction, of which none of our Historians have taken the least notice. For when the Spanish ambassador charged Sir Walter Raleigh, after his return, with intending to act against the Crown of Spain, and mentioned the great force with which he went out as a proof of it, because if planting or working his mine had been his sole business, he might have done either without any molestation, and consequently needed no such military strength. Sir Walter replied in these words (43): 'If Sir John Hawkins in his former journey to St John de Luz, notwithstanding he had leave of the Spanish King to trade in all parts of the Indies, having the plate fleet in his power, did not take out of it one ounce of silver, but kept his faith and promise in all places, yet was set upon by Don Henrico de Martinez, whom he suffered to save himself from perishing to enter the port upon Martinez's faith, and inter-

(37) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 525.

(38) Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea.

(39) In the old edition of Hakluyt, Vol. II. p. 561. But is omitted in the last edition, printed A. D. 1600.

(40) Miles Philips's Discourse, chap. vii.

(41) Job Hortop's Relation, p. 495.

(42) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 158.

(43) Apology for his Voyage to Guyana.

changeably



de la Hacha, and to preserve the memory of his other noble achievements in America, Mr Cook, then Clarencieux, added to his arms, on an escutcheon of pretence, Or, an Escallop between two Palmers, Sable; and this patent for his augmentation is still extant (y) [I]. As our hero was now inclined to remain some time at home, to see what turn affairs would take, and when a favourable opportunity would offer, to make the Spaniards sensible of their injustice, it gave the Queen and her Ministry an opportunity, and such they never let slip, of turning his great skill and experience more immediately to the public service. With this view, as well as to make known her Majesty's approbation of his past services, he was appointed Treasurer of the Navy in 1573 (z). A post, in those days, not only of considerable honour and profit, but of great trust likewise; the Treasurer or Comptroller of the Navy having usually the command of any squadron fitted out for scouring the narrow seas; and, in a great measure, the direction of what might be stiled the œconomy of the Navy, with regard to building, repairing, equipping, victualling, and manning, the vessels in the Queen's service (a). An office, therefore, not only fit for, but in truth only fit, for a seaman; and, in the discharge of which, Captain Hawkins gave the highest proofs of his capacity and integrity, as is universally confessed by those who have touched upon this curious point, and acquainted posterity with the gradual progress of our naval power, the source and the support of our dominion at sea, the boundless feat, while that remains superior, of BRITISH EMPIRE [K]. The very

'changeably pledges delivered, and had the Jesus of Lubeck, a ship of her Majesty of a thousand tons burnt, his men slain which he left on land, lost his ordnance and all his treasure which he had gotten by trading. What reason had I to go unarmed upon the ambassador's promise?' The reader will observe, that Sir Walter calls this *the former*, in contradistinction to his last hostile expedition in 1593, and instead of Martin de Henriques, calls the Viceroy Don Henrico de Martinez, which was his true name.

[I] And his patent for this augmentation is still extant.] The Greeks and Romans had various ways of exciting men to virtue by personal marks of honour. The northern nations went farther, and by establishing coat armour, gave a stronger impulse to noble actions, by transmitting the honour of them to the posterity of him by whom they were achieved. On the same principle was built their additions of honour, which have been long in use and practised in other nations as well as ours. Thus the Catholick King Ferdinand, honoured Sir Henry Guilford with a canton of Granada, for his service in that war against the Moors (44). In like manner Sir Henry St George, Norroy King of Arms, had a canton of the arms of Sweden bestowed upon him by the monarch of that kingdom, when he went thither in embassy (45). In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this, as all other honours, was but sparingly conferred, and only upon persons that were highly worthy. As for instance, when Dr Matthew Parker was elected Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter Principal King of Arms, added to his paternal coat on a chevron Argent, three Esboiles Gules, the patent for which bears date November 28, 1559 (46). We have in another place mentioned an honour of the like sort afforded to Sir Francis Drake (47), and with respect to Sir John Hawkins, who surely was not his inferior in any thing, save success, we find his arms blazoned at large in a catalogue of the gentry of Devonshire, from the patents mentioned in the text, in these times. *He bears Sable on a point wavy, a Lion passant, Or; in chief three Besants; On a Canton, Or; a Scallop between two Palmers Argent, Sable. Crest. Upon his Helm a Wreath, Staves and Azure, a Demy Moor in his proper colour, bound and captive, with amulets on his arms and ears, Or; mantelled Gules, doubled Argent* (48). These rewards, though highly honourable and extremely grateful to the subject, were however very cheap to the Crown, which perhaps may be the reason that they have gradually grown into less esteem, in consequence of real and profitable being confounded, and our entertaining a notion that these are a kind of airy distinctions which few understand and fewer affect; but is this reasoning solid or superficial? to speak with propriety, that reward only is real which is lasting; now pecuniary gratifications are seldom so, pensions cease in time, and even estates moulder away; but so long as a man's posterity remains, these rewards remain annexed thereto. But it will be said, that they lose their value, and being founded only in opinion, are subject to alter therewith. It may be so, it would be bearing too hard on the present age to say it is so; but

what if it was, this would prove nothing, because it proves too much; for the rewards of virtue, can never be so contrived as to subsist in times when all sentiments of virtue are worn out. With our ancestors these honours lasted long, and who knows, whatever we may think of them now, that the same regard then paid to them, may revive in the minds of our posterity, which is the rather to be wished; since without principles of honour and public spirit, there is no hopes of seeing such men as these. The desire of other rewards may tempt men to sell, but it is the ambition of honest fame only, that can inspire the human heart, with a contempt of all danger and difficulties, to serve, preserve, or to enrich their country.

[K] Of British Empire.] We have in the valuable and judicious writings of Sir William Monson, a very clear and distinct account of what was esteemed the duty of the Treasurer of the Navy (49) in those days, which is too long to be inserted here, and this is the less necessary, since the substance of it is expressed in the text. Sir William thought this office might be well discharged either by a merchant or a mariner, but surely much better by one who was both, which was really the case of Captain Hawkins, who was a very considerable trader, as well as a very experienced officer. He kept therefore the accounts of the navy in exact order, took care that the men should be punctually paid, and that the Queen should be served in her docks and yards, her magazines and storehouses, and in whatever else fell under his direction or his inspection, as well, and upon as moderate terms, as the nature of the service would allow. We are assured that he invented false nettings in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, which he caused to be introduced into the fleet, and was highly approved and commended. He was also the author of chain-pumps which were of excellent use; and besides these, he brought in many other of his inventions from time to time, and was most indefatigable in labouring to bring all things as near as might be to perfection (50). It was he, in conjunction with Sir Francis Drake, that contrived and established that useful and honourable fund, which is called the Chest at Chatham (51), a convincing proof, if there had been none beside, that he had a clear head and an upright heart; the former no less qualified to supply the means, than the latter was ready to contrive how to do good to the seamen, and defend them from those inconveniences by which before his days they had been grievously distressed. Sir William Monson observes, that it was necessary for a Treasurer of the Navy to reside sometimes at London, that he might solicit upon the spot, the necessary issues from the Exchequer, and sometimes at Deptford, that he might have an eye to the manner in which they were laid out, and trust as little as possible to the reports of others (52). Whether Sir William drew this remark from the practice of Captain Hawkins we cannot determine, but it is certain that this was his practice; and amongst the papers of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, there were many papers and memorials, which shewed with how great exactness he executed every branch of his office. But that we may add a fuller, and at the same time a more instructive evidence

(y) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 389. Catalogue of the Names and Arms of the Gentry of Devonshire.

(z) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(a) Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 322, 323, 370.

(44) Peacham's Complete Gentleman, Lond. 1622. 4to. p. 151. Article of Order of the Garter, Vol. 1. p. 288.

(45) Carter's Analysis of Armory, p. 20.

(46) Copied from an authentic transcript of the Patent.

(47) See the article of DRAKE [Sir Francis].

(48) Risdon's Catalogue of the Names and Arms of the Principal Gentry in Devonshire.

(49) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 322.

(50) Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(51) Camden's Britan. in Kent.

(52) Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 323.



very next year after he had obtained this preferment, he was very near being murdered as he went to Court, to pay his duty to the Queen, by an hair-brained Enthusiast, who was so far from having received any injury or provocation from him, that in reality he knew not his person, but took him for Mr Vice-Chamberlain Hatton, to whom his party had an implacable resentment. However, Captain Hawkins's danger was not at all the less, since, without any injury, this furious bigot attacked him; nor was it without some difficulty that he defended himself, after receiving one dangerous wound, and seized this incensed assassin (b). When Queen Elizabeth heard of the fact, and the danger both Hatton and Hawkins were in, she was on the point of causing the delinquent to be put to death without delay (c) [L]. We must not suppose that this great man, who had acquired so high reputation at sea, was by one unlucky voyage disgusted with his profession; for this was so far from being the case, that he continued to hazard a considerable part of that fortune, which he still possessed; on that element, where a great part of it was acquired. Neither did he miss any occasion of expressing his zeal to serve his country against the Spaniard, offering, as soon as asked, his assistance towards fitting out a fleet for the service of Don Antonio, who was driven from the throne of Portugal by Philip the Second, and was fled for refuge into England; but at that time the scheme was laid aside by the advice of the Lord Treasurer (d). Some years after, anno Domini 1583, this design was revived, when

(b) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 284. Stowe's Annals, p. 677, 678. Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 449, 450. H. Lincolne's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1259.

(c) Strype's Annals, Vol. II. p. 288. Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 450. Stowe's Annals, p. 678.

(d) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 211.

of his punctuality and œconomy, let us from the collections of another great officer in the Navy (53), exhibit the state and expence thereof in the days of the

one, and of the other; that is within the space of a century or thereabouts.

The different states of the ROYAL NAVY. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In the year 1695.

I. The number of ships and vessels of the burthen of fifty tons and upwards	But 40 ships.	Above 200 ships.
II. The general tunnage of the whole	Beneath 23,600 tons.	Above 112,400 tons.
III. The number of men required for manning the same	Below 7,800 men.	Above 45,000 men.
IV. The medium of the annual charge during five years of { Peace	Beneath 15,500 pounds.	Above 400,000 pounds.
{ War	Beneath 96,400 pounds.	Above 1,620,000 pounds.

[L] To be put to death without delay.] This fact, as it made a great noise at the time, is very singular in itself, and caused a great resentment in the Queen against the Puritans, deserves to be particularly related, because we find it continued set forth by some, and totally omitted by other, Church Historians. The person who attempted this bloody fact was Mr Peter Birchet, or Burchet, of the Middle Temple; and the cause and manner of his attempting it was this (54): On the morning of Wednesday October 11, 1573, he called upon another gentleman to go with him to Mr Samson's lecture at Whittington-college, after his return from which he was heard to say, standing by himself, shall I do it? What, shall I do it? Why then I will do it; upon which he went to his chambers, as it is supposed, to fetch his dagger. While he was in this transport of mind, he most unfortunately saw Captain Hawkins and Captain Winter coming up Middle Temple lane, in order to go into Fleet-street. He followed them as fast as he could, overtook them in the Strand, and suddenly stabbed Captain Hawkins with his dagger; who presently seized him, and, not without much resistance, disarmed him. Birchet expressed no kind of sorrow for what he had done, 'till he heard it was Captain Hawkins, and not Hatton, whom he had wounded; and then all his concern was about his mistake. The Queen, when she heard it, was exceedingly provoked; and being informed by the Earl of Leicester, that her sister, in the time of Wyatt's insurrection, had caused some persons to be executed by martial law; she resolved to follow that precedent, and ordered a commission for that purpose to be drawn up (55). At the perswasion, however, of some of her Council, and of the Lord Treasurer Burleigh particularly, she was induced to alter her intention, and to leave this man to a trial in the ordinary method of the law. However, on the twenty-seventh of October, according to my author, this question was propounded to Mr Birchet, and his answer demanded to it in writing (56).

Whether a private man, being perswaded in his own conceit that one is a wilful Papist, and hinders the glory of God so much as in him lies, may of his own authority, in the fervency of his zeal, kill the same person? And whether the same act is to be warranted by the Word of God or no? Item, Whether if you had killed Mr Hatton, being perswaded in your own opinion that your conceit had been true,

you thought the same act to be lawful, and that you would not repent the same deed.

To this Case Birchet gave this answer.

'In my simple judgment, being no Divine, a private man being perswaded in his own conceit, by such presumptions and proofs as I have had of Hatton, that (such) one as he (as I have thought) is a wilful Papist, and hindreth the glory of God so much as in him lieth. Though he may not of his own authority, in the fervency of his zeal, kill the same; yet being to be perswaded in conscience by such presumptions and assured perswasions, as he may be and I was, that therefore he should be such an instrument as Joab was, to take away such a Saba, as Reg. cap. xx. or an Ahab to Eglon or Phineas, for the perswasion of David his royal prince, the wealth of his country, especially for the glory of God, as I was, I think, at this time, he may do it, and to be warranted by the word of God. I being perswaded, as before, if I had killed him, the act had been lawful by God's law, if not by man's law, and I would not have repented me of the same deed.'

Subscribed by me, Pet. Byrchet, 27 Oct. 1573.

As this opinion of his was plainly heretical, he had several of the learned clergy sent to him, by whose arguments he seemed to be convinced, and pretended that he would abjure his heresy; but when pressed thereto, put it off from time to time, remaining still a prisoner in the Tower, where at length he beat out his keeper's brains with a billet, for which fact he was condemned, and executed on the twelfth of November following (57). The Queen desired that he might be very closely examined the night before, and the very morning of his execution, Whether he had any accomplices? Whether he had been taught these principles by others, or took them up himself? And whether he had made any body privy to his design of killing Mr Hatton? To all which it is probable he gave little or no answer, since Camden informs us that he died furiously and silently (58). One thing is remarkable, that his right hand was cut off before his execution, and nailed to the gallows; the reason of which must have been, that the Tower being a royal palace, this was added to his sentence for shedding blood therein (59).

(57) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 287, 288. H. Lincolne's Chronicle, p. 1259. Stowe's Annals, p. 677, 678.

(58) Annal. Eliz. p. 284.

(59) Coke's Institutes.

(53) From the valuable Collections of Samuel Pepys, Esq; Secretary to the Admiralty.

(54) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 284.

(55) Life of Archbishop Parker, b. iv. p. 450.

(56) Inter MSS. Burghelian.



(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 370. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 212. Bp Carleton's Remembrances.

(f) Stowe's Annals, p. 807. Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 575, 576.

when it was plain the war with Spain, which had hitherto been covertly carried on, would quickly break out, and be attended with hostile attempts upon the Queen's dominions. Captain Hawkins not only discovered the same readiness as before, but gave his advice how the intended expedition might be best undertaken (e) [M]. The next great action of this worthy seaman was, his service under the Lord High-Admiral, in 1588, against the Spanish Armada, wherein he acted as Rear-Admiral on board her Majesty's ship the Victory, and had as large a share in the danger and of the honour of that day as any man in the fleet, for which he deservedly received, from the hands of the Lord High-Admiral, the honour of knighthood (f); and in the pursuit of the flying Spaniards he did extraordinary service, inasmuch, that on his return from the fleet he was particularly commended by the Queen (g) [N]. In 1590, he was sent, in conjunction with Sir Martin Forbisher,

(g) Overthrow of the Spaniards Invincible Armada, p. 13.

[M] *Might be best undertaken.* This proposition was first made in the year 1581, and the matter proposed was, that Queen Elizabeth should assist Don Antonio, who had been once King of Portugal, and still pretended a right to that kingdom, in his war against the King of Spain, and it was surmised that this might be done without affording any pretence for his Catholic Majesty to break with Queen Elizabeth; because, in the month of August preceding, King Antonio was in possession of Tereera, and therefore the Queen might well presume him to be King of Portugal, and allow any of her subjects to assist him in maintaining his possession; as also because there was no league between the Crown of England and the Crown of Spain, respecting the dominions of Portugal, as belonging to the latter. Those who principally encouraged this undertaking, were Secretary Walsingham, Sir Francis Drake, Captain Hawkins, and others; and Don Antonio had put a jewel of great value into the Queen's hands, who was to lend him five thousand pounds towards this expedition. But the Treasurer's objection was, that however satisfactory these reasons might seem to be in England, there was good cause to doubt whether they would be relished by the King of Spain; who, if he judged it, as he well might, a mark of enmity towards him in the Queen, he might revenge it in the same way, by assisting the rebels in Ireland, or stir up the King of Scots to be an ill neighbour; for which he judged this expedition, at that juncture, to be inexpedient; but added, that if it was not undertaken, Don Antonio ought to have his jewel again, or money advanced thereon, to purchase ships and ammunition, with which he might do what he would (60). About three years after, the Treasurer, of his own accord, consulted Captain Hawkins, as to the properest method for annoying the Crown of Spain with the least expence; for, it seems, he had then lost those scruples with which his mind was troubled before, finding his Catholic Majesty, out of innate malice to the Queen, had done all that he apprehended he might have been provoked to do, by giving any assistance to Don Antonio. Upon this the Treasurer of the Navy sent him a new scheme for the execution of the old project, which is too long to be inserted here; and with it a letter, some paragraphs of which we will transcribe, for this gentleman's honour, and the reader's satisfaction. In this letter he says (61), 'Surely, my very good Lord, if I should only consider and look for mine own life, my quietness and commodity, then truly mine own nature and disposition doth prefer peace before all things. But when I consider whereunto we are born: not for ourselves, but for the defence of the Church of God, our Prince, and our Country, I do then think how this most happy government might, with good Providence, prevent the conspiracies of our enemies. That he nothing at all doubted of our ability in wealth; for that he was persuaded that the substance of this realm was trebled: adding, God be glorified for it. Neither did he think there wanted provisions, carefully provided, of shipping, ordnance, powder, armour, and munition: so as the people were exercised, by some means, in the course of war. For he read, that when Mahomet, the Turk, took the famous city Constantinople, digging up in the foundations and bottoms of the houses, he found such infinite treasure, as the said Mahomet, condemning their wretchedness, wondered how that city could have been overcome, or taken, if they had in time provided men of war and furniture for their defence, as they were very able. So, said he, there wanted no ability in us, if we were not taken unprovided, and upon a sudden. And that this was the only

cause that had moved him to say his mind frankly in this matter, and to set down those notes inclosed, praying the Almighty God, who directeth the hearts of all governors, either to the good and benefit of the people, for their relief and deliverance, or else doth alter and hinder their understanding, to the punishment and ruin of the people, for their sins and offences. Humbly beseeching his good Lordship to bear with his presumption, in dealing with matters so high and to judge of them by his great wisdom and experience, how they might, in his Lordship's judgment, be worthy the consideration, and so humbly taking his leave from Deptford, the 20th of July, 1584. The principal points in his great project were these (62), That Don Antonio of Portugal should grant his commissions to such as were willing to cruize upon the Spaniards at their own expence, and should receive an allowance from them of between five and ten per cent. on all prizes, which concern of his should be managed by an agent; that her Majesty should likewise appoint a person to take cognizance of those who entered into his Portuguese Majesty's service, and should allow them some port in the West of England, where they might equip, victual, refit, and vend their prizes, upon which her Majesty should likewise receive between five and ten per cent; that no vessels should go to sea with the King's commission, till they had given security to the Queen to make none but lawful prizes; and that commissioners should be appointed to examine all ships taken, and to condemn them before exposed to sale; and that any convicted of piracy should be left to martial law. These conditions granted, he thought that the best merchants in London would be ready to adventure, that the merchants and owners in the West would enter deeply into this scheme, that the Dutch would contribute to it, that the French Protestants would be eager to come in for a share, that the Portuguese at Brazil and Guinea would be continually revolting, that her Majesty, without any expence, would by this means have a number of able seamen, ready upon any emergency; that his Catholic Majesty would have no pretence to ascribe this solely to the English, since there would be Scots, Flemings, French, Germans, and other nations, on board these ships; and that, in a small space of time, he would find his coasts so watched, the trade and fishing of his subjects so disturbed, and the intercourse between different parts of his dominions so interrupted, that he would be glad to treat more sincerely with her Majesty than he had done, and to submit to reasonable terms, in order to engage her Majesty to remove this scourge from him. Captain Hawkins was an adventurer likewise in the famous expedition on his behalf some years after, by which he was no gainer.

[N] *He was particularly commended by the Queen.* The Spanish invasion obliged the Queen to call most of her sea officers to service; and amongst them, it appears from Sir William Monson's list of the Queen's fleet, that Captain Hawkins, in her Majesty's ship the Victory, was Rear-Admiral in this expedition. When the fleet came to be divided into squadrons, he was intrusted with the command of the third, the High-Admiral of England and Sir Francis Drake having the two first, and Sir Martin Forbisher the fourth (63). He did his duty punctually, as his manner was, without exceeding his orders, for which he had the Lord-Admiral's and the Queen's thanks. It was owing to him that the fleet was kept at sea long enough to meet with that of Spain; for even the sagacious Secretary Walsingham was persuaded, that the Spaniards had put off their design, and wrote expressly so to the Admiral, with orders to lay up the large ships to prevent expence. Sir William Monson observes very justly, that

(60) Amongst the Burghleian MSS. there are many curious memorials on this subject.

(61) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. p. 211, 212.

(62) Inter MSS. Burghl.

(63) Stowe's Annals, p. 744.



each having a Squadron of five men of war, to infest the coasts of Spain, and to intercept, if possible, the Plate Fleet. At first his Catholic Majesty thought of opposing these famous commanders, with a superior fleet of twenty sail, under the command of Don Alonzo de Bassan; but, upon more mature deliberation, he abandoned this design, directed his ships to keep close in port, and sent instructions into the Indies, that the fleet, instead of returning, should winter there (b). Sir John Hawkins and his colleagues spent seven months in this station, without performing any thing of note, or so much as taking of a single ship. They afterwards attempted the island of Fayal, which had submitted the year before to the Earl of Cumberland; but the citadel being refortified, and the inhabitants well furnished with artillery and ammunition, Sir John and his colleague, after due deliberation, and some trial made, thought fit to retreat (i). It must be owned, in the eye of the world, or voice of the common people, that small reputation was gained by the Admirals in this expedition, and yet they lost no credit at Court, that is, with the Queen, their sovereign and her wife Ministers, by whom the issue of the business was better understood (k). By compelling the Spanish navy to fly into fortified ports, they destroyed their reputation throughout all Europe as a maritime power; and the wintering of their Plate ships in the Indies, proved so great a detriment to the merchants of Spain, that many broke in Seville and other places; besides, the worm, as is usual, and indeed unavoidable, in those seas, entering their ships, it was so great a weakening to their vessels, that the damage could not be repaired in many years (l). Thus, though no immediate profit to the nation, or even apparent victory over their enemy, accrued, the end of this expedition was fully answered, and the State gained a very considerable though not signal or striking advantage, by lessening their fame in Europe, and in the Indies grievously distressing the Spaniards [O]. The war still continuing, and it being evident that nothing galled the enemy so much as the losses they met with in America, a proposition was made to the Queen by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, who at home and abroad were very justly esteemed the most fortunate and the most experienced seamen in her kingdom, for undertaking a more effectual expedition into those parts for disturbing and

(b) Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts, p. 177, 178.  
Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations in a Voyage to the South Seas, p. 9, 10.  
Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1676.

(i) Sir W. Monfon's Naval Tracts, p. 178.

(k) Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 21.

(l) Linschotten's Voyages, chap. xcix.

weakening

that if the English could have attacked again, or pursued them farther, they must either have been destroyed or surrendered; that this was hindered for want of provisions is no less true; but that this proceeded from any fault in the Queen's officers, as he suggests, may very well be doubted (64), since it is very clear, that the fleet had been out beyond the appointed time, and that when they put to sea from Plymouth to follow the Spaniards, it was in such haste, that they could not stay for any provisions; and for the same reason no squadron was sent to the coast of Ireland, which had been otherwise a very right measure. These remarks are necessary, to prevent the reader's concluding, from what is let fall by some hasty writers, that this signal victory was not improved to such a degree as it might have been; for though Sir William Monfon points out these omissions, yet he freely acknowledges that they did not proceed from want of judgment or want of foresight, but from a want of ability. But if we were deficient in some respects, more especially, as has been before observed, in point of intelligence, the Spaniards were guilty of far greater and more fatal errors; and this, not from necessity, but from presumption; and this in direct breach of the Catholic King's orders, which, if they had been obeyed, though we cannot pretend to say what would have happened, yet this is evident and certain, that they must have happened otherwise than they did. The King's orders were, that they should keep on the French coast as far as Calais (65); with which, if their commanders had complied, they had suffered no interruption from the English fleet, but might have landed their army by that time the Admiral could have had intelligence of what they were doing, and had been able to get out of Plymouth. It is one thing not to do all that might be done, because means are wanting; and quite another, from a self-sufficient desire of doing more than is expected, to break through orders, and, by so doing, run into the way of danger, that might have been escaped; if these observations took rise only from conjecture or obscure authorities, they had been better omitted; but being founded in facts, the truth of which cannot be controverted, they ought to be recorded for the use of those who may hereafter find themselves in like circumstances.

[O] *Grievously distressing the Spaniards.* There is not the least notice taken of this expedition by Camden, which very probably arose from its producing no signal advantages; and yet to such as look closely into the state of things, it will appear an event of as great consequence, as any mentioned in his Annals during the

compass of that year. It shews how much things were changed in a very small space of time, that is, in eighteen months at the most; within which short period, the Crown of Spain, from being the most formidable maritime power in Europe, was sunk so low, as to be obliged to act entirely on the defensive, and to rely rather upon fortifying its coasts than upon its fleets, which is the most apparent sign of weakness that a maritime state can discover (66). We may farther discern to how great a degree the spirit of Philip the Second was humbled, when he thought it imprudent to trust a fleet of twenty sail, under the command of an experienced officer, against an English squadron of ten ships, of not half the strength of his own. The reason was, that he knew the consequence of their being beaten, and was sensible that it bore no proportion to the advantage that might have arisen, from their giving a check to this small force of the Queen's. Yet after all, it was owing to an accident that this expedition was not attended with more auspicious success, as the son of this great man has shewn, who was himself a captain in his father's squadron (67). 'In the fleet of her Majesty, says he, under the charge of my father Sir John Hawkins, anno 1590, upon the coast of Spain, the Vice-Admiral being a head one morning where his place was to be a stern, lost us the taking of eight men of war, laden with munition, victuals, and provisions, for the supply of the soldiers in Britain; and although they were seven or eight leagues from the shore when our Vice-Admiral began to fight with them, yet for all that, the rest of our fleet were some four, some five, and some more distant from them, when we began to give chase, the Spaniards recovered into the harbour of Monge, before our Admiral could come up to give directions; yet well beaten, with loss of above two hundred men, as they themselves confessed to me after. And doubtless if the wind had not overblown, and that to follow them I was forced to shut all my lower ports, the ship I undertook had never endured to come to the port; but being double fly-boats, and all good sailors, they bare for their lives, and we what we could to follow and fetch them up.' This would have been a most acceptable service at that juncture if it could have been performed; and the disappointment therefore was the greater, which happening from such an accident, confirms the observation made in the foregoing note, viz. that breach of orders or discipline, is of all errors the least excusable in its nature, and the most fatal in its effects.

(66) Sir Walter Raleigh's Discourse of a War with Spain.

(67) Sir Richard Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South Sea, p. 10.

(64) Sir William Monfon's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

(65) Strype's Annals, Sir W. Monfon's Naval Tracts, Discourse on the Defeat of the Armada, &c.



(m) Camden.  
Monson, Hak-  
luyt.

(n) Sir W. Mon-  
son's Naval  
Tracts, p. 183.

(o) Camden. An-  
nal. Eliz. p. 699.  
Purchas's Pil-  
grims, Vol. IV.  
p. 1179.

(p) Prince's  
Worthies of De-  
von, p. 390.

(q) Carew's Sur-  
vey of Cornwall,  
fol. 115.

(r) Camden. An-  
nal. Eliz. p. 699.  
Sir W. Monson's  
Naval Tracts, p.  
183.

(s) Purchas's  
Pilgrims, Vol.  
IV. p. 1184.

(68) Annal. E-  
liz. p. 699.

(69) Sir W.  
Monson's Naval  
Tracts, p. 177.  
Purchas's Pil-  
grims, Vol. IV.  
p. 1184.  
Prince's Wor-  
thies of Devon,  
p. 390.

(70) Purchas's  
Pilgrims, Vol.  
IV. p. 1184.

weakening the Crown of Spain, than had been hitherto made through the whole course of the war; and, at the same time, they offered to be at a great part of the expence of this extraordinary undertaking themselves, and to engage their friends to bear a considerable proportion of the rest (m). There were, exclusive of the love of glory and zeal for the public service, several secret motives which induced our Admiral, though then far advanced in years, to hazard his fortune, his reputation, and his person, in this dangerous service; amongst which this was not the last or the least, that his son Richard, who was afterwards Sir Richard Hawkins, was at this very time a prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards; and some hope there was, that, in the course of such an enterprize, an opportunity might offer for procuring his freedom either by ransom or exchange (n). The Queen readily gave ear to this motion, and furnished on her part a stout squadron of men of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked (o). Their whole force consisted of twenty-seven ships and barks, and in these there were about two thousand five hundred men. Of all the enterprizes throughout the whole Spanish war, in which every year produced an expedition, there was none of which so great hope was conceived as of this, and yet none met with less success (p) [P]. The fleet was detained for some time after it was ready on the English coast by the arts of the Spaniards; who, having intelligence of it's strength, and of the ends for which it was intended, conceived that the only means by which it might most probably be disappointed, was by procuring some delay; in order to which, they gave out that they were ready themselves to invade England, and to render this the more probable, they actually sent four galleys to make a descent on Cornwall (q). By these steps they carried their point; for the Queen and the nation being exceedingly, and not without reason, alarmed, it was by no means held proper to send so great a number of stout ships on so long a voyage at so critical a juncture. At last this storm blowing over, the fleet sailed from Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of August, in order to execute their grand design of burning Nombre de Dios; marching thence by land to Panama, and there seizing the treasure which they knew was arrived in that small town, as the manner then was and still is, from Peru (r). A few days before their departure, the Queen sent them advice that the Plate fleet was safely arrived in Spain, excepting only one galleon, which, having lost a mast, had been obliged to return to Porto Rico; the taking of this vessel she recommended to them as a thing very practicable, and which could prove no great hindrance to their other affair. When they were at sea, the Generals in a very short time differed, as is usual in conjunct expeditions. Sir John Hawkins was for executing immediately what the Queen had commanded, and to think of no new service; whereas Sir Francis Drake, persuaded by Sir Thomas Baskerville, inclined to go first to the Canaries, in which he prevailed (s) [Q]. But the attempt

[P] *And yet none met with less success* ] If we yield an implicit credit to Camden, we should conceive this expedition to have proceeded purely from the Queen's commands, and to be intended only to fetch the rich ship which the Spaniards had been obliged to leave at Porto Rico (68); but a little reflection will shew us, that to fit out such a fleet under such officers, for no more important purpose, was not at all agreeable to the wise proceedings of that reign. But take it in it's true light, and this enterprize will appear equally suitable to the prudence of that victorious Princess, and corresponding with the high reputation which all these officers had gained. It was an undertaking, which if it had been attended with success, of which also there was the highest probability, it had given a mortal blow to the Spaniards in the Indies, and put into our power that important isthmus that had rendered us as formidable to our enemies as they were to the Indians. It was the glory of this exploit that invited Drake, the hopes of obtaining his son's release engaged Sir John Hawkins, to quit an honourable ease at home for difficulties and dangers abroad, when his years might well have excused him; and Sir Thomas Baskerville had an ambition of being the first English Governor in the West Indies; for whatever place they had taken had been left to his charge (69). The best part of the expences of this squadron was borne by the Generals themselves, their friends, and such as put a confidence in them; and the Queen had likewise a part: but it is easy to discern that the profit could not be equally divided; for though private persons received no benefit from the mischiefs done to others, yet these are a real profit to the Crown; so that whatever became of the rest of the proprietors, the Queen was morally certain of gaining, as she really did; and we need not therefore wonder that great pains were taken to magnify this project while it was in preparation, that the number and spirit of adventurers might be increased (70).

[Q] *In which he prevailed.* ] We have all the reason in the world to believe, that in the contrivance of

the plan, and in the provisions made for executing it, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake agreed perfectly well, otherwise one of them had very probably relinquished the voyage, but as soon as they were at sea distrusts and disputes began. Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Baskerville being much of a temper, both warm, both aspiring, and both hasty in their language, agreed pretty well; and treated Sir John Hawkins, who was slower in resolving, and less sanguine in his expectations, in such a manner, that his chagrin, that began soon after they weighed anchor, ended only with his life. It is unanimously agreed, that the project of attacking the Grand Canary was formed by Sir Thomas Baskerville, consented to by Sir Francis Drake, and opposed by Sir John Hawkins. In favour of this attempt it was urged, that being masters of the island, they might have excellent refreshment; that the inhabitants were rich, and would pay largely to preserve their city from burning; and that it would give them reputation, alonith the Spaniards, and occasion great joy at home. Sir John Hawkins said, that, considering the small time they had been out, there was no such need of refreshments; that, to succeed in this incidental enterprize, they must hazard their whole fleet and army; and that, at all events, it would be losing time which could never be recovered. When Sir Francis and Sir Thomas found this, they were for putting it to the vote; and not being sure to succeed therein, Sir Francis Drake declared he would undertake the exploit with such as would follow him, and the rest might go with Sir John Hawkins; yet, finding himself too weak upon this division, he spoke of it with such tenderness and passion, that Sir John Hawkins yielded against his own sentiment, that he might not seem to desert him. What followed justified all that Sir John had said; for though they found the Spaniards so well fortified that the army could not land, yet of those who ventured ashore in several places for refreshment, there were many killed, and Captain Grimstone among the rest (71).

(71) Camden.  
Annal. Eliz. p.  
700.  
Purchas's Pil-  
grims, Vol. IV.  
p. 1184.

[R] He



attempt they made of reducing the largest of those islands proved as dishonourable as it was unsuccessful. And then they sailed for Dominica, where, in spite of all Sir John Hawkins could suggest to quicken them, they spent too much time in refreshing and setting up their pinnaces (†). In the mean time the Spaniards had sent five stout frigates to bring away the galleon from Porto Rico, having exact intelligence of the departure, as well as force, of our Squadron, and also of the intention of the English Admirals to attempt that place (u). On the thirtieth of October Sir John Hawkins weighed from Dominica, and, in the evening of the same day, the Francis, a bark of about thirty-five tons, and the sternmost of Sir John's ships, fell in with the five sail of Spanish frigates beforementioned, and was taken; the consequences of which being foreseen by Sir John, it threw him into a grievous fit of sickness, of which, or rather of a broken heart, he died on the twenty-first of November, 1595 (w) [R], when they were in sight of the island of Porto Rico; and not, as Sir William Monson suggests, of chagrin, on the miscarriage in attempting the capital city of that island (x), which, in truth, was an event he never lived to see. His death made a great impression upon those whom he commanded, as well for the affection they bore him, as from a persuasion that the miscarriages which he foresaw and foretold would be justified by the event, as in truth they were; the grief for which conquered some time after the great mind of Sir Francis Drake, which had been 'till then invincible (y). At home the loss of these two great officers was exceedingly regretted; neither did this concern easily blow over, but was mentioned many years after as a public calamity. As to his person, Sir John Hawkins was esteemed graceful in his youth, and of a very grave and reverend aspect when advanced in years. He was well versed in mathematical learning for those times, and understood every branch of maritime affairs thoroughly and to the bottom. He was a man of as much personal courage as that age produced, and had a presence of mind that set him above fear, and which enabled him frequently to deliver himself and others out of the reach even of the most imminent dangers (z). He had a wonderful sagacity, which, as it enabled him to make a right judgment of events long before they happened, so it taught him to be very cautious in his expressions, and hindered him from disclosing himself fully, that he might not discourage such as confided entirely in his sense of things. He formed his plans very judiciously, and executed them and the orders he received with the utmost punctuality, as far as lay in his power. He was submissive to his superiors, and courteous to his inferiors; extremely affable to his seamen, and remarkably beloved by them (a). With all these great qualities he had an intermixture of failings; and these, after his decease, were set in a pretty strong light, by such as found it easy to censure men, whom it would have been very difficult to imitate [S]. As to

(†) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 699. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(u) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 584. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(w) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. III. p. 584. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(x) Naval Tracts, p. 184.

(y) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184. Stowe's Annals, p. 807.

(z) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 390.

(a) Camden, Hakluyt, Purchas.

[R] He died on the twenty-first of November, 1595.]

Sir Francis Drake came to an anchor between Dominica and Guadalupe, with part of the fleet, before Sir John Hawkins, with the rest, arrived, which was the thirtieth of October, 1595 (72). The same day the Francis was taken, and the Delight brought Sir John the news, who, from that moment, never held up his head; not for the loss of his bark, which was far from being considerable, but because he understood that five Spanish frigates were gone to Porto Rico, which he foresaw would add so much strength to the Spaniards, as might enable them to preserve their treasure, and disappoint their attempt upon that island; in the same manner they had been already forced to leave the Canaries, and all this in consequence of their slighting his advice, and losing time, which, if they had not done, they must have succeeded. All this gave him such a prospect of the remaining part of the voyage, as fairly broke his heart, to the great sorrow, as one who had a command in the voyage affirms, of many in the fleet; and, as soon as the breath was out of his body, Sir Thomas Baskerville came to take the command on board the Garland (73). Mr Camden makes his death to have happened the same day that Sir Nicholas Clifford and Mr Brown were killed (74); but in that he is misled by the sea journals, in which the day is reckoned from noon to noon; but the truth is, that Sir John Hawkins died on the twelfth of November about midnight, and the gentlemen beforementioned received the wounds, of which they died, by a cannon shot, which went through Sir Francis Drake's cabin while he and they were at supper, on the thirteenth of November (75). But Sir William Monson is much more mistaken, and yet he repeats it twice, when he places the death of this great man after the attempt upon Porto Rico. On that occasion, however, he informs us, that, tho' Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Baskerville miscarried in 1595 (76), yet the place was without difficulty taken by the Earl of Cumberland, with a squadron fitted out at his own expence in 1598; and he shews the reason of this, which was, that the crew of the five Spanish vessels gave the garrison a superior strength at that time; whence it is evident, that, if the English

fleet had sailed directly to Porto Rico, as Sir John Hawkins advised, they had done their business before the Spaniards arrived. Several of these circumstances may perhaps appear trivial to some, or at least too minute; but if truth be of any consequence, or if we would ever know how things really happened, and what the sources were of success or ill fortune, in great enterprises, this is the only method.

[S] Whom it would have been very difficult to imitate.] We have, in the Reverend Mr Hakluyt's Collection, a clear and concise narrative of the facts, which happened in this expedition (77); but, in Mr Sam. Purchas's larger work, there is a very curious paper of Remarks written by some person who had a command in the expedition, which contains abundance of particulars, not to be met with any where else. In the same place we have the following letter (78), whether written by the same, or another hand, we cannot, at this distance of time, determine; and to which we give a place here, rather to gratify the reader's curiosity than to inform his judgment, for certainly many things are said therein with more acrimony than accuracy; but take it as it is.

(77) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 583.

(78) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1185.

S I R,

' I have, according to your request and my own plainness, sent you here the comparison between those two commanders, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins. They were both much given to travel in their youth and age, attempting many honourable voyages alike; as that of Sir John Hawkins to Guinea, to the isles of America, to St John de Ulloa. So likewise Sir Francis Drake, after many discoveries of the West-Indies and other parts, was the first Englishman that did ever compass the world; wherein, as also in his deep judgment in sea causes, he did far exceed, not Sir John Hawkins alone, but all others whomsoever. In their own natures and disposition they did as much differ as in the managing matters of the wars. Sir Francis being of a lively spirit, resolute, quick, and sufficiently valiant. The other, slow, jealous, and hardly brought to resolution. In Council, Sir John Hawkins did often differ

from

(72) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 584.

(73) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1184.

(74) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 700.

(75) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. II. p. 584.

(76) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 209.



to his family affairs we know but very little of them, except that he had two wives; and by the first a son, of whom the reader will have a further account. To conclude, in spite of all the objections that have been made, and which are deduced chiefly from his misfortunes, we have made it evident from facts, that he was one of the principal supports of the English navy, in a reign when its glory was very conspicuous, in consequence of which he received as many testimonies of honour, favour, and reward, as any man of his rank (b). His merit was not only understood at Court by the Queen and her Ministers, but by the country also; for Sir John Hawkins was so popular a man, that he was twice elected Burgess for Plymouth, the first time with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and the second with Edmund Tremaine, Esq; he was likewise a third time in Parliament for some other borough (c). We may add that he was a pious man likewise, as appears by his erecting an hospital at Chatham for the relief of poor and diseased sailors. We will end this account with the remark of one who knew him well, and was an unexceptionable judge of the character he deserved, the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh (d), who says, 'That, notwithstanding the disappointments and distresses they met with in their last voyage, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, Sir JOHN HAWKINS, and Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, were men for their experience and valour as eminent as England ever had [T].'

(b) Stowe, Holinshed, Monson.

(c) Willis's Notitia Parliament. Vol. II. p. 295.

(d) Apology for his Voyage to Guiana, p. 2.

'from the judgment of others, seeming thereby to know more in doubtful things than he would utter. Sir Francis was a willing hearer of every man's opinion, but commonly a follower of his own; he never attempted any action wherein he was an absolute commander, but he performed the same with great reputation, and did easily dispatch great matters. Contrariwise, Sir John Hawkins did only give the bare attempt of things, for the most part without any fortune or good success therein. Sir John Hawkins did naturally hate the land-soldier, and though he were very popular, yet he affected more the common sort than his equals. Sir Francis, contrarily, did much love the land-soldier, and greatly advanced good parts wheresoever he found them. He was also affable to all men, and of easy access. They were both of many virtues, and agreeing in some. As patience in enduring labours and hardness, observation and memory of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers, in which neither of them was much discomposed; and in some other virtues they differed. Sir John Hawkins had in him mercy and aptness to forgive, and true of word. Sir Francis, hard in reconciliation, and constancy in friendship; he was, withal, severe and courteous, magnanimous and liberal. They were both faulty in ambition, but more the one than the other. For in Sir Francis was an insatiable desire of honour, indeed beyond reason. He was infinite in promises, and more temperate in adversity than in better fortune. He had also other imperfections; as aptness to anger, and bitterness in disgracing, and too much pleased with open flattery. Sir John Hawkins had in him malice with dissimulation, rudeness in behaviour, and was passing sparing, indeed miserable. They were both happy alike in being great commanders, but not of equal success; and grew great and famous by one means, rising through their own virtues and the fortune of the sea. There was no comparison to be made between their well-deserving and good parts, for therein Sir Francis Drake did far exceed. This is all I have observed in the voyages wherein I have served with them.

'R. M.'

[T] As eminent as England ever had.] This commendation from so knowing a man, might well justify the pains and vindicate the praises we have bestowed upon this great seaman; but perhaps it may contribute to

the reader's satisfaction, if we inform him briefly of the sentiments which the most competent judges have entertained of his superior merit. It is not only in this place, but in many other parts of his writings, that Sir Walter Raleigh mentions him with admiration, as one of the greatest men, in an age more fruitful of great men than almost any that our history can boast, and this too without any qualifications or exceptions, which is not the case in respect to another great commander, whom, though on the whole he admired, yet in many things he disapproved (79). The judicious Lord Bacon speaks of him with reverence, and ascribes the miscarriage of his last voyage entirely to the misunderstanding that happened between him and Sir Francis Drake (80); for otherwise he concludes, that their valour and abilities must have been fatal to the Spaniards. Sir William Monson, another of his contemporaries, acknowledges Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, for the three greatest seamen in England (81); and, which perhaps does him no less honour, in describing the abuses that had crept into the navy in the reign of King James, he hints, that they were too many to enumerate, and then proceeds thus (82). 'I will now apply myself to redress these encroaching dangers and corrupt dealings, and bring it to the state of Hawkins's and Burroughs's time, who were perfect and honest men in their places; the one Treasurer, the other Comptroller.' The ingenious Dr Fuller laments the manner of his death, which he supposes to proceed from the grief of seeing his advice contemned (83). If we descend again to later times, let us hear what that impartial and incomparable judge of merit, Mr Evelyn, delivers upon this head (84). 'I go on to enquire (but without much satisfaction I confess) what medals were stamped from the reign and revolutions of our Seventh and Eighth Henries time to almost this age of ours? Had such actions and events happened among the rest of the polished world, we should not be now to seek for the heads of Sir Francis Drake, Cavendish, Hawkins, Frobisher, Grenvil, Fenton, Willoughby, and the rest of the Argonauts; and surely they that first circled this globe of earth and sea (in whose entrails so much gold and silver, and all other metals are contained) might at least be thought worthy the honour of a copper medal, which yet I no where find.' After this citation, the judicious peruser will certainly hold us right, in supplying the want of a medal, by transmitting to posterity these ample memoirs of Sir John Hawkins.

(79) Sir Walter Raleigh's Works, Vol. II. p. 258.

(80) Discourse on a War with Spain, p. 13.

(81) Naval Tracts, p. 232.

(82) Ibid. p. 371.

(83) Holy State, p. 129.

(84) Discourse of Medals, cap. iv. p. 158.

E

HAWKINS [Sir RICHARD], the son of Sir John Hawkins, and himself a very experienced and gallant officer in the Royal Navy (a). He was born at Plymouth, but in what year it is impossible, at this distance of time, to speak with any degree of certainty. We may collect, from his own writings, that he was by the first venter, though he speaks of his mother-in-law, not only in terms of the greatest decency, but also with great commendation (b). We are as much in the dark as to the place and manner of his education; but there can be no doubt, his father's character and his own merit considered, that he had all proper care employed in bringing him up, and that a sufficient time was allowed for his acquiring a due tincture of letters. It is, however, no less probable, that he betook himself very early to the sea service; and, having so many shining examples in his own family, followed it with equal vigilance and spirit (c). He was also of a remarkably grave

(a) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(b) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 2.

(c) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.



grave turn, and very much given to reflect on the principal events that happened in his own life-time at sea, to sift out their causes the best he could, and to connect these with their consequences, that by such lights he might regulate his own conduct, and to supply, by this method, the want of experience, which is the greatest impediment, generally speaking, to the advancement of youth. He succeeded perfectly well in his plan; for we find, that in the year 1582, when, as himself assures us, he was but a very young man, he had the command of a vessel, which was Vice-Admiral of a small squadron, commanded by his uncle, William Hawkins, Esq; of Plymouth, which seems to have been employed in a private expedition to the West-Indies, upon much the same scheme in which Captain John Hawkins went thither, when he was so treacherously used by the Spaniards. Upon this occasion our young seaman gave a very extraordinary instance of integrity and intrepidity, which without doubt raised his character highly, and contributed not a little to his preferment when he came home (d). [A]. In the ever memorable year 1588, he was a Captain of one of the Queen's ships, called the Swallow (e), which suffered the most of any in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and that by a fire-arrow, which being hid in the sail, burnt a hole in her beak head, which was not discovered till the arrow fell out, and, floating by the ship's side, gave them the first suspicion of what had happened (f). He remarked many things in this glorious action, of which we have little or no account any where else; but it is very remarkable, that in relating them, he takes occasion to do justice to the characters of others, without saying any thing of what he performed himself; though it is highly probable, that, as his ship suffered most, he was not the least active in procuring and pursuing that important victory, his observations upon which give us an equal idea of his modesty and penetration [B]. When his father went with Sir Martin Frobisher to the coasts of Spain in 1590, he commanded her Majesty's ship the Crane, of the burthen of two hundred tons, was very active in pursuing the Spanish squadron (g), that was employed in carrying relief to their forces in Brittany, and in cruising near the Azores;

(d) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 86.

(e) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 171.

(f) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 51.

(g) Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

where,

[A] And contributed not a little to his preferment when he came home.] Amongst the vessels that composed this private squadron, there was one called the bark Bonner, which, while they were cruising off the west end of the island of Porto Rico, became somewhat leaky; upon which the Captain complained, alledging that his ship was in such a condition, as made it impossible for him to proceed in her to England (1). This, as is usual in such cases, being brought before their Council, was decided according to the Captain's desire, and a resolution taken, that her stores and provisions being removed, and the men disposed of in the other ships, the hull should be either sunk or burned. Our young Captain, who had been silent till judgment was given, interposed to prevent execution. He had a notion that the Captain was desirous of getting into a ship that sailed better; and that being under the power of this prejudice, he represented the state of his ship to be worse than it really was. He therefore expostulated the matter with his uncle, suggesting to him, that as they had gained nothing hitherto for the proprietors, it was so much the more requisite to be careful of the principal; and added farther, that if he was so pleased, he would collect out of his own and the rest of the ships a sufficient number of men to go home with him in that bark, which should be fitted the Vice Admiral instead of his own vessel, upon condition, however, that if they navigated the bark safely home, the crew should have one fourth part of the clear value of the bark Bonner by way of salvage. His uncle proposed, that the principal officers should with him go on board the ship in question, and that there the point should be determined. But the Captain of the bark no sooner heard this proposal, than he gave for answer, that if any man could carry her to England, he could with the crew that was in her; which he accordingly did, without any risk at all in his passage. The ship, after this, was continually employed for nine years together, and might have been so longer; but that being laid up in a careless manner, she grew rotten. His uncle, upon this occasion, thanked him heartily for his good will; and the proprietors, no doubt, were very well pleased with this steadiness and conduct in a young man, by which so much money as this bark was worth was saved in their pockets. He adds, in relating this story, that this was an artifice often practised, and by which many a ship was condemned and destroyed, though in a very serviceable condition.

[B] Which give us an equal idea of his modesty and penetration.] It appears from an authentic list of the Royal Navy in that reign, that the Swallow was a ship of three hundred and thirty tons, and that carried one hundred and sixty men. The justice he does to the noble person who commanded the English fleet,

can never be so well represented as in his own words (2). 'Fabius Maximus, the famous Roman, says he, endured the attribute of Coward, with many other infamies, rather than he would hazard the safety of his country by rash and incertain provocations. In which respect, no less worthy of perpetual memory, was the prudent policy and government of our English navy in anno 1588, by the worthy Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, who in like case, with mature and experienced knowledge, patiently withstood the instigations of many courageous and noble Captains, who would have persuaded him to have laid them aboard; but well he foresaw that the enemy had an army aboard, he none; that they exceeded him in number of shipping, and those greater in bulk, stronger built, and higher moulded; so that they, who with such advantage fought from above, might easily distress all opposition below, the slaughter, peradventure, proving more fatal than the victory profitable; by being overthrown he might have hazarded the kingdom, whereas, by the conquest (at most) he could have boasted of nothing but glory and an enemy defeated. But by sufferance, he always advantaged himself of wind and tide, which was the freedom of our country and security of our navy, with the destruction of theirs, which in the eye of the ignorant (who judge all things by the external appearance) seemed invincible, but truly considered, was much inferior to others in all things of substance, as the event proved; for we sunk, spoiled, and took of them, many, and they diminished of ours but one small pinnace, nor any man of name, save only Captain Cocke, who died with honour amidst his company.' It appears from hence, that Camden was right as to the name of the only English officer who lost his life in this engagement; and though an eminent writer expresses much concern that his Christian name is not recoverable (3), yet we can direct the reader to a little piece, in which it is said that his name was Captain William Cockes (4). It is a remark of our author's, and therein he is singular, that fire-ships were not invented by the English, but copied from the Spaniards, who first employed them against his father, Sir John Hawkins, in the bay of Mexico; and the same practice was repeated upon their armada; for which purpose six or seven vessels were prepared, and of these, two belonged to Captain Richard Hawkins himself (5), upon whose authority, therefore, in this matter we may the more safely depend. Indeed the thing speaks for itself, since the account of his father's voyage, and therein of this attempt of the Spaniards to burn his vessels, was actually made public before this invasion in 1588.

(2) Hawkins's Observations on his Voyage into the South-Sea, p. 93.

(3) Fuller's Worthies in Devon, p. 261.

(4) Discourse concerning the Spanish Fleet invading England in the year 1588, and overthrown by her Majesty's Navy under the conduct of Lord Charles Howard, High-Admiral of England, written in Italian, and translated into English. Lond. 1590. In this piece we are told that he commanded the Violette, a little pinnace belonging to Sir William Winter.

(5) Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins on his Voyage into the South-Sea, p. 51.

[C] And

(1) Hawkins's Observations on his Voyage into the South-Sea, p. 86, 87. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1389.



(b) *Lindschoten's Voyages*, p. 331.

(i) *Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea*, p. 36. *Monfon's Naval Tracts*, p. 177.

(k) *Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea*, p. 2.

(l) *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Vol. IV. p. 1367. *Monfon's Naval Tracts*, p. 401. *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 391.

(m) *Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea*, p. 5. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Vol. IV. p. 1367. *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 391.

(n) *Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea*, p. 12. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Vol. IV. p. 1367.

(o) *Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea*, p. 13. *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 391.

(p) *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 383. *Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea*, p. 13.

(6) *Purchas's Pilgrims*, Vol. IV. p. 1373.

where, though they were not so happy as to take a single ship, yet we are assured by a foreign writer of great veracity, who was at that time in the island, that they gave so much interruption to the trade, and occasioned such distraction to the Spanish settlements, that the people openly cursed the ministers who had embarked the Crown of Spain in a war with England (n). In this voyage, which was of some continuance, though of no great action, Captain Richard Hawkins had an opportunity of adding largely to that stock of useful knowledge, which he took every occasion to collect, and which he methodized and digested at his leisure (i) [C]. At his return, he began to think in earnest of a voyage which he had meditated some time before, and for which he had caused a new ship to be built, of the burthen of between three and four hundred tons; to which his mother-in-law, lady Hawkins, having given, for what reason he could never learn, the name of the Repentance, it distasted him so much, that he sold her to his father. But the ship having been employed in the Queen's service with great good fortune, and Queen Elizabeth, as she lay at Deptford, rowing round her in her barge, and having new named her the Dainty, our young hero was reconciled to his ship, repurchased her from his father, and resumed his first intention of making in her a grand voyage for discovery (k). The scheme of this expedition, which was digested by the advice of Sir John Hawkins, and had the approbation of the Queen and her Privy Council, was of great extent; for he proposed no less than visiting the islands of Japan, as well as the Moluccas and Phillippines, taking in his course through the Streights of Magellan, and intending probably to return by the Cape of Good Hope (l). The universal esteem which his father had acquired, and the great respect borne to himself, induced all who were in power to give him whatever assistance he could either desire or expect; and the Lord High-Admiral, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Raleigh, and many other persons of rank, promised to pay him a visit on board his ship in the river; which, however, was prevented by the foulness of the season; and the wind coming fair, he judged it improper to lose opportunity for the sake of ceremony, and therefore directed the Dainty to fall down to Gravesend, April 8, 1593 (m). In her passage she narrowly escaped shipwreck, through the negligence of leaving her ports open. This mischief escaped, they prosecuted their voyage to Plymouth, where his small squadron was to be formed, and entered that harbour on the twenty-sixth of the same month. The other two vessels were likewise his own, and but small; the one called the Hawk, and the other a pinnace, which he named the Fancy (n). It was towards the close of the month of May, before he could, with the assistance of his friends, and especially of his wife's father, get every thing in order to put to sea; and, at the very time he was ready to weigh the anchor, he was very near seeing an end of all his hopes. His three ships riding in the Sound, were surprized by a sudden storm; the Dainty sprung her main-mast, and the Fancy, driving on the rocks, went to the bottom before his eyes, who was on shore, a sad spectator of this new misfortune (o). But, notwithstanding this second discouraging accident, he, with infinite industry and no small expence, put all things to rights again in the space of ten days; and, though the tender intreaties of his wife had once brought him to hesitate, yet, as he says very emphatically himself, considering how many eyes there were upon his ball, and having himself opened it, he resolved to dance on, though he should only hop at last (p). Accordingly, June the twelfth, 1593, about three in the afternoon, he left Plymouth Sound, and before the end of the month arrived at the Madeiras; on the third of July he passed the Canaries, and soon after the islands of Cape de Verde, without any remarkable accidents; but, upon approaching the coasts of Brazil, the scurvy began to prevail amongst the ship's crew, and gave Sir Richard Hawkins an opportunity of examining into, and making as just reflections upon, that terrible disease, as are perhaps any where extant [D]. This obliged him to think of putting into a port of Brazil

[C] *And which he methodized and digested at his leisure.* According to his account, they were becalmed a great part of the time, when he took notice, that the sea, for want of motion, became full of several sorts of jellies (6), resembling serpents, adders, and snakes, some green, some black, some yellow, and some speckled, of a yard and a half and two yards long; which, says he, if I had not seen I could have hardly believed, appealing for the truth of what he related to the companies of those ships which composed that Squadron; adding, that they found it difficult to draw up so much as a bucket, without having some of this corruption mixed with the water; and to this malignancy of the air and season he attributes that sickness which invaded all their ships except his own, and proved fatal to many. A circumstance indeed very wonderful, and which, if it had not been related of his own knowledge, would scarce have been credible. As it stands, it is an evident proof, that if the Providence of God did not prevent it, the waters of the sea would very soon become naturally as loathsome, as those of the river Nile were once rendered by miracle.

[D] *As are perhaps any where extant.* In the sentiment of our author, the sea scurvy is a kind of dropsy, which he remarks, is apt enough to invade

seamen in all places when they have been a long time on board, but has a kind of peculiar malignancy a little to the south of the Equator, as appeared by infecting the whole crew in a few days (7). The chief symptoms he observed, were want of appetite, with a great drought, swelling in all parts of the body, but more especially in the gums and legs. But above all, what he styles a loathsome laziness, and a perpetual inclination to rest and sleep, though the patient was convinced that nothing could do him more hurt. The causes he assigns are various, first, the alteration of the climate, which consequently produces no small change in the constitution; next, bad nourishment, there being a certain degree of corruption in all salt meats, which is rather kept from proceeding than altogether prevented by the pickle; and lastly, a bad disposition in the air, arising from the calms that are common in those parts, whence come a stagnation and a putridness in all fluids; upon these principles he accounts for the prevalence of this disease amongst English seamen, more than those of any other nation; because, coming out of a temperate climate, being used to eat plentifully of wholesome provisions and enjoying a pure air, they are attacked at once by those contrarieties that are most likely to debilitate the stomach, and to disturb the whole

(7) *Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea*, sect. xvi.



Brazil for refreshment; and having written a letter in Latin to the governor, informing him that his was an English ship bound to the East-Indies, and driven thither by contrary winds, desired leave to purchase refreshments for money, sending a piece of crimson velvet, some fine holland, and other curiosities as a present (q). The governor was slow in sending an answer, severe in it's sense, but civil in it's expression. He told Captain Hawkins, that there being at that time a war between the two crowns, the strictness of his instructions put it out of his power to grant his request; but in regard to the polite manner in which he made it, he granted him three days time to depart; and before the answer came, having had a supply of oranges and other fruits, he resolved to weigh with the first fair wind, as he did, and proceeded to the islands of St Anne, in the latitude of twenty degrees thirty minutes south, where his whole squadron arrived safe on the fifth of November (r). There he caused all the provisions to be taken out of the Hawk, and burnt her; and on the tenth of December sailed for Cape Frio, with only six men sick; and having taken in water and refreshments there, and in the adjacent islands, sailed again on the eighteenth of December for the Streights of Magellan; and, in his passage thither, made prize of a Portuguese ship, but as it belonged to an old knight, who was going Governor to Angola, and who, after many years service, had vested his all in that ship and cargo, he contented himself with disarming fifty soldiers that were on board, and suffered him to depart without any loss (s). In the height of the river of Plate, and at the distance of about fifty leagues from land, they had a little blowing weather, which, though it exposed them to no great danger, yet afforded an opportunity to Robert Tharleton, who commanded the Fancy, to persuade those who were on board that pinnace to desert their General in the Dainty, and to return home; which base action was the ruin of this expedition (t) [E]. Sailing along the coast of Pentagonia, in the latitude of forty-eight degrees, he gave names to several places, and bestowed on that whole country, which appeared to him very fair and promising, and situated in a very temperate climate, the title of *Hawkins's Maiden-Land*; because, as he says, it was discovered at his expence, and in the reign of a maiden Queen. On the tenth of February they had the Streights of Magellan open, in the latitude of fifty-two degrees fifteen minutes; and passing through them, came into the South-Sea, March 29, 1594 (u). His description of his passage is one of the best and plainest that is any where extant, and, like the rest of his work, full of ingenious

(q) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1369. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(r) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 54, 55.

(s) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392. Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 54, 55. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1383.

(t) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1383.

(u) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392. Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 71, 72.

(8) See Sir John Narborough's Remarks in his Voyage to the South-Seas.

(9) See a large account given of his distemper in Lord Anson's Voyage round the World.

whole frame of the body. He thinks that boiling meat in sea water, being often wet with it, and eating mouldy bread, increase all the symptoms and heighten the infection. He therefore prescribes as the best remedies, keeping the ship as clean as possible, sprinkling it with vinegar, smoaking it with tar (8), feeding as little as possible upon salt meats, and more especially upon salt fish, and being very cleanly, washing and shifting as often as possible. He mentions it as a great secret, and which himself had practised with much success, to keep the men in action as much as possible, by making them exercise their arms, move things from place to place, and when they have any leisure, to spend it in feats of agility, or in diversions that keep their limbs in motion. At the changing of every watch, he recommends the giving of every man a bit of bread and a draught of wine and water mixed. He likewise praises Dr Stephens's water, and a few drops of oil of vitriol dissolved in a convenient quantity of water. But beyond all other helps, the suffering the men to land as often as possible, and to procure for them oranges, lemons, and other acid fruits (9). After having given us these remarks and many more, he concludes with wishing, that some able physician would make this disease his study, that the true causes of it might be better known, and still more effectual remedies found out, which, says he, would be a work meritorious in the sight of God and man, and most beneficial to the people of this country, since in the space that he had used the sea, which might be about twenty years, he had known above ten thousand men die of this disease.

[E] Which base action was the ruin of this expedition.] The Captain of this vessel, Robert Tharleton, had in a former voyage, and in the self-same place, deserted the famous Captain Thomas Cavendish, by which he ruined his voyage and broke his heart. Our author assures us, that all the misfortunes and distresses he afterwards suffered was owing to this accident, for if the Fancy had continued with him, he need not have shewn himself at all upon the coast of Peru, he might have availed himself of the provisions, medicines, and refreshments, that were on board that pinnace; and though he acknowledges that the men on board were but few, yet he insists upon it, that even with those few men, if they had been with him, he could have taken the Spanish Vice-Admiral, and have cleared himself in that engagement where he was made prisoner

(10). He then proceeds to facts, that ought to appear in his own words (11). 'These desertions and escapes,' says he, are, generally speaking, only to pilfer and steal, as well by taking of some prize when they are alone and without command to hinder or order their bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their intrusted ship, casting the fault, if they be called to account, upon some poor and unknown mariners, whom they suffer with a little pillage to absent themselves, the more cunningly to colour their greatest disorders and robberies. For doubtless, Robert Tharleton in the Fancy, if he would, might have come unto us with great facility, because within sixteen hours the storm ceased and the wind came fair, which brought us to the Straits, and endured many days after with us at north-east. This was good for them, though naught for us: if he had perished, any mast or yard sprung, any leak, wanted victuals or instruments for finding us, or had had any other impediment of importance, he might have had some colour to cloak his lewdness: but his masts and yards being found, his ship staunch, and laden with victuals for two years at the least, and having order from place to place where to find us, his intention is easily seen to be bad, and his fault such as worthily deserved to be made exemplary unto others. Which he manifested at his return by his manner of proceeding, making a spoil of the prize he took in the way homewards, as also of that which was in the ship, putting it into a port fit for his purpose, where he might have time and commodity to do what he would.' He looks upon this breach of duty and honour, to be the peculiar scandal of the English nation; because, says he, those who are injured, either dying through grief, or falling into extreme poverty, are seldom able to prosecute such offences, which procured impunity tempts others to follow a bad example; whereas in Spain, the King's Attorney-General takes notice of all such offences of course, and upon his suit they are so severely punished, that discipline is no where so well observed as among the Spaniards, and to this, and this only, he attributes all their success; in all other things, says he, we are at least their equals, in many, much their superiors, but much inferior to them in this; not that the Spaniards are more docile or less inclined to mutiny, but because justice halts with us, and walked with so quick a pace amongst them, as ever to overtake the offender, which in a very short time took away the offence.

(10) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1383.

(11) Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 68.



(w) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1392. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 177.

(x) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 87.

(y) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391. Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 101. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1393.

(z) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 108, 109. Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1396.

(a) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 117.

(b) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1398.

(c) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 119.

(d) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1399.

(e) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383.

nious and instructive reflections. He observes, that notwithstanding the received opinion at that time, the Streights are certainly navigable through the whole year; but he adds, that the true season for passing is in the months of November, December, and January, when the wind is steady and favourable; whereas it is very inconstant, as in all narrow seas, during the other months of the year (w). On the 19th of April, which that year was Easter-Eve, they anchored under the island of Mocha, where they ran a very great risk of suffering by the Arawcans, a nation of Indians, equally famous for the subtlety of their heads, and for their prowess of their hands, notwithstanding all the precautions that could be taken to guard against them. Proceeding from thence along the coasts of Chili, they were welcomed into that which is stiled the Pacific Ocean, by a storm that lasted ten days. This was succeeded by very warm disputes amongst themselves (x). Captain Hawkins was for continuing his voyage quietly, and without making any prizes, 'till they were above Callao, which is the port of Lima; because then they might be sure of keeping what they got, as the Spaniards could hardly fit out a squadron strong enough to take them in those seas, and would never judge it either reasonable or practicable to pursue them in their great run to the Philippines. On the other hand, the mariners, who knew they had a right to make prizes, and who believed, in that country, every ship that went to sea was laden with gold, were against losing any time, and for taking every thing that they could take. The Captain finding that it was in vain to reason, and that self-interest, though misunderstood, governed, to a man, every one on board his ship but himself, was forced, contrary to his own sentiments, to comply with this notion (y). In consequence of this, they took a few days after four ships, in the harbour of Valpariso, and very soon after a fifth, out of which they were extremely well supplied with provisions, but with very little gold; and even the ransoms that they obtained were not very considerable. But, as small as this treasure proved, it was more than enough to raise disputes; for the seamen immediately demanded their third, which was due to them by contract. The Captain by no means disputed this, but took great pains to shew them the folly of their demand, and the bad effects with which it must be attended in regard to themselves, since it could only serve them to game with, and to create quarrels; to which, though at first both angry and obstinate, they at length yielded their assent, and were willing, that whatever gold or silver they took should be put into a chest with three locks, of which the Captain was to have one key, the Master a second, and a person chosen by the ship's crew a third, and that no division should be made 'till they came to England (z). Arriving in the height of Ariquepa, they found that intelligence had been given to Don Garcias Hurtado de Mendoza, Viceroy of Peru, of their entrance into the South-Seas; who thereupon fitted out a squadron of six armed vessels to fight and take them. At this time Captain Hawkins had with him in the Dainty, and a little Indian prize which they had fitted up as a pinnace, seventy-five men and boys; with which inconsiderable force, such was the spirit of those times, he braved the whole Spanish strength in the South-Seas. About the middle of May, the Spanish squadron, under the command of Don Beltrian de Castro, came in sight of them near Cavite; the English being then to windward, and the breeze springing up about nine in the morning, they stood out to sea, and the Spaniards with them (a). As the wind strengthened and the sea began to swell, the Spanish Admiral snapped his main-mast, the Vice-Admiral split her main-sail, and the Rear-Admiral cracked her main-yard, which threw them into great confusion, and gave the English an opportunity to escape as they did; the sailors being by this time convinced that Captain Hawkins was in the right, and willing enough, when they had wooded and watered, to proceed to the East-Indies with what little they had got, though they did take some trifling prizes afterwards (b). As for the Spanish squadron, upon its return to Lima all on board it were so laughed at and contemned, for not being able to deal with a single ship, much inferior in force to any one of theirs, that the Admiral petitioned to put to sea again, with such a force as could be soonest got together; and this being no more than two ships and a pinnace, he put the stoutest of his men into them, and sailed, without losing time, to find those who had before escaped him (c). If Captain Hawkins could have persuaded his men to have been steady even to their own resolution, this might have been rendered impracticable; but they were still so bent upon chasing every thing they saw, that on the tenth of June they came to an anchor in the bay of Atacames; from whence they were on the point of sailing again on the twentieth in the morning, when they descried the Spanish squadron, whom Captain Hawkins presently knew for what they really were; but his men, mistaken and obstinate as usual, would have it to be the Peru fleet bound for Panama, laden with treasure, which they already shared in imagination (d). It was not long, however, before they were convinced by facts, and so a very unequal dispute began between a vessel that had been many months at sea, with a very poor defenceless pinnace, against three clean well armed ships, two of them of superior force, and, in all three, thirteen hundred men, esteemed the best in that country. In spite of all these disadvantages, the English defended themselves gallantly for two whole days and a great part of a third; nor did they surrender at last, 'till Captain Hawkins was disabled, and forced to quit the deck, when, besides those killed in the action, they had forty wounded men, and their ship in a sinking condition (e) [F]. As soon as the ship

[F] *And their ship in a sinking condition* ] The ships | ceived how much he had been mistaken in his gunner, were no sooner engaged, than Captain Hawkins per- | who promised what great things he would do against an enemy,



ship was in the hands of the Spaniards, the General sent for Captain Hawkins on board his own vessel, where he received him courteously, and with tears in his eyes; treated him with the utmost tenderness, and assured him, that the terms which had been granted at the time his vessel struck should be punctually performed (f). As this gentleman was brother to the Conde de Lemos, had served many years in Flanders, and appeared in all his actions a man of strict honour as well as great magnificence, Captain Hawkins, who began now to recover (as by a wonderful Providence all the wounded men did) resumed his spirits, and, as occasion offered, entered into a free conversation with that noble person and his officers; by which he informed his own judgment and theirs, exploded many pernicious prejudices which they had taken up, and by this means not only did himself great service, but disposed them likewise to treat other Englishmen better (g) [G]. On the ninth

(f) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 155.

(g) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1413.

enemy, and now lost all sense and spirit (12). By his carelessness or treachery, two hundred fire-balls, which were all they had, took wet and were spoiled; cartridges were wanting within an hour, and his behaviour was so very bad, that Captain Hawkins and the Master of the ship were forced to supply his place. On the other side, the gunner in the Spanish Admiral was an Englishman, who also promised to do mighty things, either from a spirit of rancour or of flattery, but his arrogance was soon humbled by a shot, which in the beginning of the action took off his head. In the evening they were boarded by the Vice-Admiral, from whom they cleared themselves, killing a great number of the enemy, and might have taken the vessel if they could have spared men to have boarded her. This compelled the Spaniards to alter their manner of fighting, and to rely upon their artillery. In these boardings the English suffered some loss, and their commander much more, since the Master of the ship had one of his eyes, his nose, and half his face shot away, and one Mr Henry Courton was killed, who were the two principal persons he relied on. Captain Hawkins himself also had six wounds, of which two were very dangerous, one in the neck, the other through the arm a little beneath the shoulder. He was therefore obliged to appoint a Captain under him, to whom the Spaniards having proposed good quarters, it occasioned a debate, in which Captain Hawkins, by a warm and eloquent speech, prevailed upon the crew to reject them. They endured a great cannonading all the night and the next day, in which they were very near disabling the Vice-Admiral, and if they had prosecuted their advantage, they might possibly have disengaged themselves, but by shewing too great earnestness to escape, they lost the opportunity of escaping. The third day in the afternoon, which was June the twenty second (13), 1594. more of their sails being torn, their masts spoiled, their pumps rent, with eight foot water in their hold, very few men without wounds, and those so much fatigued they could scarce stand; the last proposal was made, to which the Captain assented, though without Captain Hawkins's full concurrence. When he knew how things stood, he sent Juan Gomez de Pineda, a Spanish pilot then his prisoner, to the General, to demand his word of honour for their fair usage, and a pledge for it's being punctually kept (14). In the midst of this treaty, says he, the Vice-Admiral not knowing of what had past, discharged her two chace pieces at us, and hurt our Captain very sore in the thigh, and maimed one of our Master's mates called Hugh Maires in one of his arms; but after knowing us to be rendered, he succoured us: and we satisfying them that we could not hoist out our boat nor strike our sails; the Admiral laid us aboard, but before any man entered, John Gomez went unto the General, who received him with great courtesy, and asked him what he required; to which he made answer, my demand was, that in the King's name he should give us his faith and promise to give us our lives, to keep the laws of fair war and quarter, and to send us presently into our country, and in confirmation hereof that I required some pledge; whereunto the General made answer, that in the King's Majesty's name his master, he received us a buena guerra, and swore by God Almighty, and by the habit of Alcantara (whereof he had received knighthood, and in token whereof he wore on his breast a green cross, which is the ensign of that order) that he would give us our lives with good entreaty, and send us as speedily as he could into our own country, in confirmation whereof he took off his glove and sent it to me as a pledge. With this message John Gomez returned,

and the Spaniards entered and took possession of our ship.

[G] To treat other Englishmen better.] The Spanish officers made a practice of disputing roundly and freely in Captain Hawkins's presence the nature of his case; some said they were Lutherans, and therefore no faith was to be kept with them; others, that they were brave fellows, and deserved to be well treated; some, that they were corsairs, and so not entitled to the rights of war; and others again, that this must depend upon the good pleasure of the Viceroy of Peru, from whom the General had his commission. Captain Hawkins, without meddling with the main point, took the liberty of touching now and then upon accessaries. He observed, that as to their being hereticks, they knew it before their promise was made, so that the true question was, whether a Spanish General should give his word when he meant not to keep it; as to their being corsairs or pirates, he proved to them, that this was a vulgar mistake, for that pirates were such as took vessels by force in a time of full peace, or that acted without a commission from the government of that state to which they belonged, whereas the facts were notorious to them, both as to the war between Spain and England, and as to their acting under Queen Elizabeth's commission, the last error indeed he allowed to be more excusable, because the Crown of Spain never licensed private ships of war (15). In consequence of several discourses of this kind, the Spanish General one day at his table, demanded what his sentiments were upon the main question, or in other words, what he apprehended himself entitled to from the general promise of fair quarter; this as far as he was able, he laboured to decline, but when he found this would not be admitted, and that most of those who were present, joined with their General in desiring him to speak freely, he delivered himself thus (16). 'Sir, under

(15) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1412, 1413.

(16) Observations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 162, 163.

the capitulation of Buena Querra (or fair wars) I have ever understood, and so it hath ever been observed in these, as also in former times, that preservation of life and good entreaty of the prisoner have been comprehended; and further, by no means to be urged to any thing contrary to his conscience as touching his religion, nor to be seduced or menaced for the allegiance due to his Prince and Country, but rather to ransom him for his months pay. And this is that which I have known practised in our times in general amongst all civil and noble nations. But the English have enlarged it one point more towards the Spaniards, rendered a Buena Querra in these wars, have ever delivered them which have been taken, upon such compositions without ransom; but the covetousness of our age hath brought in many abuses, and excluded the principal officers from partaking of the benefit of this privilege, in leaving them to the discretion of the victor, being many times poorer than the common soldiers, their qualities considered, whereby they are commonly put to more than the ordinary ransom, and not being able of themselves to accomplish it, are forgotten of their Princes, and sometimes suffer long imprisonment, which they should not. With this Don Beltran said. This ambiguity you have well resolved; and like a worthy gentleman, and with great courtesy and liberality, added, let not the last point trouble you: but be of good comfort, for I here give you my word anew, that your ransom (if any shall be thought due) shall be but a couple of greyhounds for me, and other two for my brother the Conde de Lemos; and this I swear to you by the habit of Alcantara. Provided always that the King my master leave you to my dispose, as of right you belong unto me.'

[H] He

(12) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1402, 1403.

(13) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(14) Observations on his Voyage into the South-Seas, p. 155, 156.



ninth of July they arrived in the haven of Panama, where the night following they saw the whole town as if it had been in a light fire, the houses, galleries, and churches, being filled with candles, and the Spanish ships corresponded with their friends on shore, in public testimonies of joy for this signal victory; for so it appeared to them, since, from the time that Magellan first opened the Streights which bear his name, Captain Hawkins was, in their account, the sixth man that had passed them, and of these he was the third Englishman (*b*). While they remained here, the Spanish General dispatched expresses, as well to the Viceroy of New Spain, who had likewise fitted out a fleet against this potent enemy, as to the Viceroy of Peru, under whom he acted; and by these expresses Captain Hawkins also was permitted to send letters to his father and some other friends, as also to the Queen, which the General assured him should be forwarded to Europe (*i*). Upon this occasion, whether from openness of heart or any concealed view is uncertain, Don Beltran shewed him a letter from the King to the Viceroy, in which there was a distinct account of his own little squadron, and the names of the vessels, their burthen, pieces of artillery, and number of men, as exact as it was possible; *You may judge from hence*, added the General, when he shewed it him, *what friends the King my master has in England, and what speedy and useful intelligence they give him* (*k*). Before they returned to Lima, it was found necessary to ground and trim the English ship which they had taken; and this being performed, the General, his Captains, and some religious men, went on board, and with great solemnity bestowed a third name upon this vessel, which was now called the Visitation, because she was surrendered to them on that feast which they stile the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin. He spent upwards of two years in Peru and the adjacent provinces, after which he was sent to Panama, and from thence on board a galleon, of the burthen of five hundred tons, with the rest of a fleet that was then returning into Europe (*l*). In his passage, he was once very near being killed or set at liberty; for this fleet came to the Tercera islands in the month of September, 1597, precisely at the time that the English fleet was there; and in entering the harbour, the galleon, on board of which Captain Hawkins was, had twelve persons grievously hurt by splinters, occasioned by a shot from the English Admiral, though the shot itself did no execution at all (*m*). When he had remained there some time, he was at last sent to Seville [*H*], in which famous city he was also some time confined, and then transferred to Madrid; where his cause, which was before litigated in the Indies, was again brought into debate. The point was, whether Don Beltran de Castro, who had promised him life and liberty in the name of the King of Spain his master, had any authority to make that promise, since he did not derive his power from the King, but from the Viceroy of Peru. In the whole course of this debate, the Spanish General said and did every thing that could make for his prisoner's advantage, avowed his promise in the clearest terms, and employed all his friends in solliciting that it might be made good to Captain Hawkins (*n*). The true reason that this affair was drawn into such a length, was to deter others, by his example, from making expeditions into the South-Seas. When in the end it came before the Privy-Council, the Count de Miranda, who was then President, gave it as his opinion, that the promise of a Spanish General in the King's name ought to be punctually kept; for otherwise no vessel would ever surrender, since in such junctures it was impossible for them to know whose authority the General had (*o*). The decision of the Council being thus in his favour, he was set at liberty and returned to England. We know nothing farther of the fortunes of Sir Richard Hawkins, excepting that he died in a very singular manner; for, as he attended the Privy-Council on some particular occasion, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, of which he expired in 1622 (*p*). His book was at that time in the press, and probably finished; since the Dedication to Charles Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles the First, was prefixed thereto by himself; from which it appears, that the unhappy issue of his voyage to the South-Seas, his long confinement, and the disasters which naturally attended it, brought him into great distress (*q*). This work of his was soon after published by a friend, and was received with that approbation which it so well deserved [*I*].

[*H*] *He was at last sent to Seville.* Whatever conceit Sir Richard Hawkins might have of the unluckiness of his ship, he seems to have been not at all more fortunate in any other; for, as he very narrowly escaped being killed at the Tercera's by an English cannon shot; so in the river of Seville, he was in very great danger, from a dispute between two Spanish officers about a point of honour (*r*). His Catholic Majesty had sent eight new ships under a General, who was a man of great quality, to fetch the galleons from those islands; and having passed the bar of St Lucar, the ships laden with treasure were moored in the midst of the river, and their escorte, on the side near the shore, in such a manner, that one of the Admiral's cables overlaid the only one the galleon, in which Captain Hawkins came home, had left; by reason of which, the great current of ebb and a fresh wind caused the Admiral's anchors to give way, which likewise brought up that of the galleon; so that both ships began to drive, and were in the utmost peril of running foul one of the other. In this untoward situation, the

General standing in his gallery, gave no orders at all, because he judged it beneath him to veer out a cable first; but the Captain of the galleon, who was a man of less ceremony, crying out, that upon his honour he had not another cable, that there were two millions of silver on board his vessel, and that he protested against the General for any damage that might happen either to his Catholic Majesty or to the trade, that great man was pleased to issue the necessary orders, by which both ships, though not without some difficulty, were preserved; whereas, by weighing his anchor at first, all peril might have been prevented. What is still more surprizing than this accident, our author assures us, the General was a very experienced officer, to which he attributes his condescending so far as he did; for if he had been a fresh-water Admiral, it is more than probable, the deciding this point of honour had cost the King of Spain two millions in silver, and two ships into the bargain.

[*I*] *Which it so well deserved* ] The modest title of this treatise runs in these words:

The

(*b*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 391.

(*i*) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 168.

(*k*) Purchas's Pilgrims, Vol. IV. p. 1415.

(*l*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*m*) Hawkins's Observations in his Voyage to the South-Sea, p. 151.

(*n*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682. Baker's Chronicle, p. 383.

(*o*) Camden. Annal. Eliz. p. 682.

(*p*) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 392.

(*q*) His own words are, *Having brought on me nothing but loss and misery.*

(*r*) Ibid. p. 140, 141.



The Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage into the South-Sea, Anno Dom. 1593. Lond. 1622. folio.

The various particulars, which we have extracted from this venerable work, will give the reader some notion of the numerous matters of fact, that, from a laudable zeal for the honour of his country, and out of a generous benevolence to mankind, he preserved from oblivion in that treatise (18). These citations will likewise shew his manner of writing and his stile, which for those times were elegant and perspicuous; in ours, probably, they will be thought to have contracted the rust of antiquity; which if, as the critics allow, rather heightens the value of medals, as it is an evidence of their being genuine; it is not easy to discern why it should lessen the value of history. But be that as it will, we thought it our duty to erect the best monument we could for a man of so much probity and public spirit, of whom, and of his father, a learned Antiquary of their own country (19) has given a just encomium in this observation; *That had fortune been as propitious to them both, as their virtue, valour, and knowledge, were eminent, they might have equalled the choicest worthies of any age.* We might have had still farther and better evidence of this from his own pen, if he had been spared by Providence life and leisure to have written, as he intended, the second part

of his Observations; in which he proposed to have shewn, what happened to him and his companions during their stay in Peru and in the Terra Firma, which must have been very entertaining and instructive, as he was not only a very curious enquirer, but a person also of great sagacity and much general knowledge. He meant also to have related his adventures in the island of Tercera, and in the cities of Seville and Madrid; so that we have good reason to believe the second part would not have been in any degree inferior to the first; and like that, no doubt, would have supplied us with a multitude of interesting particulars, which are not to be met with elsewhere, and which, through the sudden death of Sir Richard Hawkins, must remain in perpetual oblivion. This is a circumstance so disagreeable to all lovers of true history and authentic information, that there is reason to hope it will inspire them with a generous inclination to prevent, as far as in them lies, every misfortune of that kind, by encouraging such as have reaped no other profit, either from the troubles of an active life or a laborious pursuit of learning, than a superior stock of practical knowledge, to give it in time to the world, and not suffer a private shipwreck to become, as in this and in many other cases has often fallen out, an irreparable loss to the Public. E

H E A R N E [THOMAS], an indefatigable collector and editor of books and manuscripts, was the son of George Hearne, Parish-Clerk of White-Waltham in Berkshire, by Edith, daughter of Thomas Wise of Shottesbrooke in the said county. He was born at Littlefield-green, in the above Parish, 1680. His father, beside the employment of his clerkship, kept a writing-school in the vicarage-house, being permitted by the minister so to do, and to live there, on condition of his teaching ten boys annually, without any other reward. Here he retained his son Thomas under his own tuition until he was thirteen years of age: when Francis Cherry of Shottesbrooke, Esq; took him from thence under his patronage, and put him to the free-school of Bray in Berks, in order to his attaining the Greek and Latin tongues. In this place he distinguished himself by his sobriety and extraordinary application, and made an answerable proficiency in letters; which was so agreeable to his generous benefactor, that he thereupon resolved, in conformity with the advice of his dearest friend, the famous Mr Dodwell, to adopt the youth into his family, and provide for him as his own. This he accordingly did, about Easter 1695. Mr Cherry having thus taken him home, regarded him in the character of his child, and every day nurtured him in religion as well as classic learning; when at home hearing him read, and engaging Mr Dodwell, when he himself was absent, to officiate as Preceptor: both, in their turns, explaining to him the difficulties that occurred in his exercises, and illustrating the subjects of them with useful and entertaining reflections. The pains of these benevolent instructors were not thrown away on their disciple; he grew apace in literature, and soon became acquainted with the Greek and Roman Historians. Mr Cherry was pleased with cultivating a genius so susceptible of improvement, and determined to bestow on him an academical education. To this end he had him entered a Batler of Edmund-hall in Oxford, December the 4th, 1695, where he was matriculated the day following. Immediately after he returned to Mr Cherry's, from whence he went daily again to Bray school, till Easter term, 1696, when this good man, in person, carried him to Oxford, and fully settled him at the abovesaid Hall, with a provision of every thing requisite to his maintenance. That foundation was governed by Dr Mill, who had under him, as Vice-President, White Kennet, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, then one of the most esteemed tutors in the university, and at the same time Vicar of Shottesbrooke, to which cure he had been presented by Mr Cherry. To the special oversight and tutelage of this gentleman was our Thomas committed, and for Mr Cherry's sake, their common patron, and for the lad's own, was he treated with all possible care, and with a parental tenderness. Happily for him, both the head of his college and the deputy were votaries of Antiquity, and young Hearne had a natural and even violent propensity that way. Somewhat of the kind was conspicuous in him whilst a very boy: when he was observed to be continually plodding over the old tumuli of his own parish church-yard, almost as soon as he was master of the English alphabet (a). This disposition, joined with his unwearied industry, rendered him a favourite with these his superiors. Dr Mill was then about an Appendix to his Greek Testament, and finding him to be well versed in manuscripts, he got him to examine several he had occasion to make use of in that work. When he was of three years standing, he went to Eaton, at this learned gentleman's request, to collate a manuscript of Tatian and Athenagoras belonging to that college. The copy of the variations he had noted, written by his own hand, is in the Bodleian library, and was used by Mr Worth in his edition of Tatian, and by Mr De Chaire in that of Athenagoras, though neither of these editors had candour enough to acknowledge the obligation. He was likewise very assistant to the celebrated Dr Grabe, then resident in Edmund-hall, for whom he compared many manuscripts, and made considerable collections. In Act term, 1699, he took the degree

(a) A Vindication of those who take the oath of allegiance. Printed in the year 1731. Preface, p. 5.

8) See the particulars extracted from him, in our several Histories, voyages, &c.

9) Westcot's view of Devon, Plymouth, &c.



of Bachelor of Arts, and determined in the schools the Lent following. Being now qualified to enter on the sacred function, his friends turned their thoughts towards a provision for him in that way. Dr Bray was then intrusted by the Bishop of London with the care of providing Missionaries for our western colonies in America; he was desirous of engaging Mr Hearne to enter upon that apostolical office; and, through the mediation of White Kenner, made him very advantageous proposals, if he would cross the Atlantic Ocean. But the converting a miserable crew of savages was not the most eligible employment in the opinion of Mr Hearne. He was so pleased with Oxford, on account of the many valuable acquaintance he had contracted there; so addicted to the study of English Antiquities, for which hardly any place afforded equal opportunities; and so enamoured of that inestimable treasure of literature which he enjoyed in it's Public Library, that he was deaf to their solicitations. That noble repository of erudition might be deemed his habitation, for he almost dwelt therein. It had the richest furniture in his eye, and what he could appropriate to his own use, without depriving or offending others. He was so noted for the length and frequency of his visits, that Dr Hudson, soon after he was chosen Keeper thereof, took him for a Coadjutor; having first asked and obtained the consent of the Curators. In this station he behaved, not only unexceptionably, but very much to the benefit of his trust. In 1703, on the third of July, he took the degree of Master of Arts (b). Upon the death of Mr Emanuel Pritchard, Janitor of the Public Library, that place was conferred on him. About this time, also, he was offered two chaplainships, successively, of Corpus-Christi and All-Souls colleges, by the respective heads of those houses; but, as he could not hold either of them with the office of Janitor, which he was unwilling to relinquish, he declined those intended favours. In 1712, he became second Library-Keeper of the Bodleian library, on the decease of Mr Crabb. On the 19th of January, 1714-15, he was elected Archetypographus of the University, and Esquire-Beadle of the Civil-Law (c). This we find him acknowledging to be an honour, which he took the first opportunity of mentioning to the world, on purpose that his gratitude might be made known to posterity. And notwithstanding he was conscious to himself, that the university favours were conferred on one who every way undeserved them, in respect of learning and other requisite qualifications; yet still he had very good reason for accepting them, upon this account amongst others, as they seasonably assisted and relieved one of their members, that had for many years led an obscure and retired life, and was at that time reduced to a necessitous condition, through the great expence he had been at in carrying on many public designs (d). This post he held, together with that of Under-Librarian, till the 8th of November following; but then finding they were not tenable together, he resigned the beadship, and, very soon after, the other place also, by reason of the oaths, which he could not conscientiously comply with: though he had formerly endeavoured to persuade others to a submission [A]. He continued a nonjuror to the last, much at the expence

(b) Ibid. p. 12.

(c) Ibid. p. 13.

(d) Ibid. p. 14.  
Iceland. Collect.  
Vol. I. p. 56.

(1) Preface to  
the Vindication,  
&c. p. 2.

(2) Vindication  
of the Oath of  
Allegiance, p. 2.

(3) Ibid. p. 2.

[A] Endeavoured to persuade others to a submission.] There is imputed to him, *A Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance*, &c. said to be written in the twenty-second year of his age (1); whether merely for the declaring his sentiments at that time in relation thereunto, or for the reconciling his patron, Mr Cherry, to the taking of it, cannot be resolved. In 1731 this was printed, by an anonymous editor, who prefixed to it a preface, containing a satirical account of the author. The piece itself is so wretched a composition, in all respects, as to be a real curiosity. It did not prevail on the gentleman to whom it was addressed: he persisted a steady Nonjuror to the end of his life. It is plain, however, that when Mr Hearne compiled it, he was of opinion, 'a King might forfeit the allegiance of his subjects, when he broke his oath by tyrannizing upon, and depriving them of their Liberties; and that, in such a case, the common good of the nation required either his deposition, or, at least, that a restraint should be put on him some other way: those who had sworn to him being now discharged from their obligation.' This, he tells Mr Cherry, he had shewn, in a former letter, by a detail of the occurrences between King Henry the VIth and Edward the IVth (2). But understanding, what he then offered had not the expected effect, he presumed, in this, to prosecute the same thing farther, by giving an historical account of what passed in relation to Maud the Empress, and Stephen Earl of Blois, as to the sitting on the throne; and shewing, 'That those who took an oath to Stephen, as to their sovereign Lord, notwithstanding they had before sworn allegiance to her the Empress, thought themselves, yea even were, loosed from their obligation to her, because the common good of the nation so required it (3). — That the common good did require a submission to Stephen, none can deny, if they consider, First, That Maud was then in France, when Stephen was in England, and that thereby opportunity was offered

to Stephen of doing an extraordinary mischief to the land, provided he were not received; and that more especially, because his brother was (as said) Bishop of Winchester. Secondly, If they consider that the privileges of the Clergy had been infringed; and therefore that they required such a Sovereign as would maintain them to the utmost of his abilities; as Stephen promised, and did in a great measure perform (4). To enforce these weighty reasons (as he undoubtedly thought them) Mr Hearne adds, 'Not one of our Nonjurors can be so bold as to affirm, that the whole nation was so wicked in those days as to perjure themselves, without any respect to the reasonableness of what they did. For certain it is, that they knew very well that the prime end of an oath is to be preferred to one which is inferior. The prime end of an oath is the good of the persons concerned in it; and the inferior one, The ascertaining something to him to whom performed. Therefore whatsoever the intention of the persons was, how strict soever the expressions may be, if the keeping the oath be really inconsistent with the welfare of a people, in subverting the fundamental laws which support it, I do not see how such an oath continues to oblige: For, there is no relation of mankind one to another, but there is some good, antecedent, which is the just measure of that obligation they stand in to each other. So that, since the common good of the nation, namely, the preservation of it's rights and privileges, &c. required a submission to Stephen, the nobles, &c. might really think themselves, yea and even were, solved from their antecedent oaths to the Empress (5). But farther yet, The common good of the nation was so much respected in this submission to Stephen, that his wearing the Crown during his life, and then the reversion of it to Henry the Second, was confirmed by Parliament: which will in some measure confute those, who affirm the Parliament hath nothing to do in matters of this nature (6). I will not tire the reader with any more quotations, but there

(4) Ibid. p. 23.

(5) Ibid. p. 24.

(6) Ibid. p. 25.



expence of his worldly interest; for, on that score, he rejected some preferments, that would have been of considerable emolument, and very agreeable to his inclinations (e). He died on the tenth of June, 1735, aged fifty-five years, and was buried in the yard of St Peter's in the East at Oxford; where there is a tomb erected over his remains, with an inscription thereon of his own composing, wherein he styles himself Master of Arts, who studied and preserved antiquities; to which character he has subjoined two passages of the Old Testament, viz. Deut. xxxii. 7. and Job viii. 8, 9, 10. He had with great parsimony saved about thirteen hundred pounds in cash, which his relations, who were poor, found among the books and papers in his chamber, after his death. A list of the books he published (for he was rather an editor than an author) may be acceptable to the curious. We shall enumerate them as briefly as possible [B].

(e) These circumstances are warranted by a Memoir of Mr Hearne penned by himself, and which, together with his other manuscripts, he bequeathed to the late Rev. Dr William Bedford.

there are in the book, from which the foregoing are taken, some other passages, that evidently prove Mr Hearne to have been, at the time he wrote it, firmly of opinion, that it was the duty of the people of England to swear and bear true allegiance to those who were placed on the British throne after the expulsion of James the Second

[B] We shall enumerate them as briefly as possible.] They are I. Reliquiæ Bodleianæ: or some genuine Remains of Sir Thomas Bodley, &c. London, 1703, in 8vo. II. Plinii Epistolæ & Panegyricus, &c. Oxford, 1703, in 8vo. III. Eutropii Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ, &c. Oxford, 1703, in 8vo. IV. Ductor Historicus: A short System of, or an Introduction to, the Study of Universal History, 2 vols 8vo. They did not come out together; a second edition of the first was published at London, 1705. It was printed again in 1714 and 1724, without the author's knowledge. The second volume came out at Oxford, 1704, and was printed three times afterwards at London. Mr Hearne was not solely concerned in this work. Some of the parts of it (viz. the two first books in the 2d, 3d, and 4th editions) were written by another hand; so was the preface. V. M. Juniani Fulvini Historiarum ex Trogo Pompeio Libri XLIV. Oxford, 1705, in 8vo. VI. Titii Livii Patavini Historiarum ab urbe condita Libri qui supersunt, &c. Oxford, 1708, in six volumes, 8vo. VII. A Letter, containing an Account of some Antiquities between Windsor and Oxford, &c. Printed in 1708, in the Monthly Miscellany, or Memoirs for the Curious; and re-printed at the end of the fifth volume of Leland's Itinerary. VIII. The Life of Ælfred the Great by Sir John Spelman: Published from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library, &c. Oxford, 1710, in 8vo. IX. The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary, intermixed with divers curious discourses, written by the editor and others. In IX Volumes, 8vo. Oxford, 1710, 1711, 1712. As there were but 108 copies of this edition printed off on ordinary paper, and 12 on a finer, it soon became very scarce; and sold, at length, for a guinea a volume, though small ones. A new edition was printed at Oxford in 1744 and 1745. X. Henrici Dodwelli de Parmâ Equestri Woodwardiana Dissertatio, &c. Oxford, 1713, in 8vo. XI. Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, Oxford, 1715, in six volumes, 8vo. XII. Acta Apostolorum Græco-Latinæ, literis majusculis. E codice Laudiano in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ adservato, &c. Oxford, 1715, in 8vo. XIII. Joannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicenses Historiæ Regum Angliæ. E codice MS. in Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ, &c. Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. It was printed again at the same place, with the second edition of Leland's Itinerary, and now goes along with that work. XIV. Titii Livii Foro-Julienfis Vita Henrici quinti, Regis Angliæ. Accedit Sylloge Epistolarum a variis Angliæ Principibus Scriptarum, Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XV. Aluredi Beverlacenfis Annales, sive historia de gestis Regum Britannicæ, Libris IX, &c. Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XVI. Gulielmi Roperi vita D. Thomæ Mori Equitis aurati, lingua Anglicanâ contexta, &c. Oxford, 1716, in 8vo. XVII. Gulielmi Camdeni Annales Rerum Anglicarum & Hibernicarum regnante Elizabethâ. Tribus Voluminibus comprehensi, &c. Oxford, 1717, in 8vo. XVIII. Gulielmi Neubrigenfis Historia sive chronica rerum Anglicarum, libris quinque, &c. Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XIX. Thomæ Sprotti Chronica, &c. Oxford, 1719, in 8vo. XX. A Collection of curious Discourses, written by eminent Antiquaries upon several Heads in our English Antiquities, Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXI. Textus Roffensis, &c. Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXII. Roberti de Avesbury Historia de mirabilibus gestis Edwardi tertii, &c. Oxford, 1720, in 8vo. XXIII. Johannes de Fordun Scotichronicon genuinum, una cum ejusdem supplemento

ac continuatione. Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXIV. The History and Antiquities of Glastonbury, &c. Oxford, 1722, in 8vo. XXV. Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiæ Wigorniensis, &c. Oxford, 1723, in 8vo. XXVI. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, &c. two volumes. Oxford, 1724, in 8vo. XXVII. Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (as illustrated and improved by Robert of Brune) from the Death of Cadwalader to the End of K. Edward the First's Reign, &c. Two volumes, 8vo. Oxford, 1725. XXVIII. Johannes, Confratris & Monachi Glasstoniensis, Chronica, sive Historia de Rebus Glasstoniensibus, &c. Oxford, 1726, in 8vo. XXIX. Adami de Domesham Historiæ de Rebus gestis Glasstoniensibus, &c. Two volumes in 8vo. Oxford, 1727. XXX. Thomæ de Elmham Vita & Gesta Henrici quinti, Anglorum Regis, &c. Oxford, 1727, in 8vo. XXXI. Liber niger Scaccarii, &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1728. XXXII. Historia Vitæ & Regni Richardi II. Angliæ Regis, a Monacho quodam de Evesham consignata, &c. Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIII. Joannis de Trokelowe Annales Edwardi II. &c. Oxford, 1729, in 8vo. XXXIV. Thomæ Cui (Collegii Universitatis regnante Elizabethâ magistri) Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis, &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1730. XXXV. Walteri Hemingforde, Canonici de Giffesburne, Historia de rebus gestis Edwardi I. Edwardi II. & Edwardi III, &c. Two volumes in 8vo. Oxford, 1731. XXXVI. Duo Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores veteres, viz Thomas Otterbourne & Johannes Wethamstede, ab origine gentis Britannicæ usque ad Edwardum IV, &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1733. XXXVII. Chronicon sive Annales Prioratus de Dunstable, una cum excerptis e chartulario ejusdem Prioratus, &c. Oxford, 1733, in 8vo. XXXVIII. Benedictus, Abbas Petroburchensis, de Vita & gestis Henrici II. Ricardi I, &c. Two volumes, in 8vo. Oxford, 1735. Besides the foregoing, we may ascribe to Mr Hearne that letter, whereof somewhat is said in note [A], the title of which is, A Vindication of those who take the Oath of Allegiance to his present Majesty from prejudice, injustice, and disloyalty, charged upon them by such as are against it. Wherein is evidently shewed, that the common Good of a Nation is what is primarily and principally respected in an Oath, and therefore when the Oath is inconsistent with that, the persons who have taken it are absolved from it. This epistle is addressed to Mr Cherry; from whom it came (with many other MSS.) expressly by will to the Bodleian Library. It is dated from Edmund Hall in Oxford, June 11, 1700, though not published till 1731, when it was surreptitiously printed. Mr Hearne made the index to Sir Roger L'Estrange's Translation of Josephus into English, London, 1702, in folio: three indexes to Cyrilli Hierosolymitani Opera, Oxford, 1703, in folio: an index to the four parts of Dr Edwards's Preservative against Socinianism, Oxford, 1704, in 4to; and that to the Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Oxford, 1704, in folio. He designed to have also printed, from an ancient MS. in the Harleyan Library, Joannis Beveri, Monachi Westmonasteriensis, Chronicon a Bruti primi Regis introitu in hanc Insulam usque ad annum Domini 1306. To which was to be added from an old MS. in the same library, Joannis Merylinch, Monachi Glasstoniensis, Rerum (in Angliâ speciatim ac Hibernia) sub novem primis annis Joannis XXII Pontificis Romani, gestarum, Descriptio. In two volumes, 8vo. But death defeated this intention. Mr Hearne was an editor of a very peculiar cast. He scarcely ever published an old writer, without intermixing with, or adding to, him, a parcel of papers, which had little relation, or perhaps none at all, to the principal subject. These odd farragoes are generally introduced by long and elaborate prefaces, some in Latin, others in English, as miscellaneous as their following collections: an



an account is therein usually given of the author set forth; where he was found, or how Mr Hearne came by him: with a variety of incidental matters, such as came into his head while his pen was a-going. The capriciousness of the man's genius, and the oddity of his taste,

are in all this sufficiently conspicuous; however, though his compositions are so irregular, there is a kind of readers, to whom they will, notwithstanding, afford an agreeable entertainment. I

(a) Hall's Chronicle, p. 203. Stowe's Annals, p. 421.

(b) Visitat. de Com. Salop. 1623. per Robert. Trefwell & August. Vincent, in Offic. Armor. p. 270.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 261.

(e) Inscript. Tumuli apud Welshpool.

(f) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. VI. p. 514.

(g) E Collectione Thom. Meller, penes Arthur Collins, Arm.

HERBERT [ARTHUR], afterwards created Baron of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington; a very gallant seaman, and for some time in the direction of the Admiralty in the reign of King William. He was very nobly descended, as may be perceived from the following succinct account of his genealogy. Sir Richard Herbert, brother to William Earl of Pembroke, remarkable for his stature and strength, in which he excelled most men of that age, being taken prisoner at the battle of Danet-Moor, with the Earl his brother, by the adherents of the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick, then in rebellion against Edward the Fourth, was, with his said brother, beheaded in the eighth year of that monarch's reign (a). This noble person, by Margaret, daughter to Thomas ap Griffith ap Nicholas, had issue three sons; Sir William Herbert of Colebrooke, Knight; Richard Herbert of the Castle of Montgomery, Esq; and Thomas Herbert of St Pere (b). Sir Richard Herbert, the second son, had issue, by Anne his wife, daughter to Sir David ap Ennion ap Leuelling Vaughan, Edward Herbert Esq; who espoused Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Price of Newton, Esq; by whom he had three sons and five daughters (c). His eldest son, Richard, was the father of Edward, the first Baron of Chirbury (d). Matthew, the second son, was the ancestor of the present Earl of Powis (e); and Charles Herbert of Aston, in the county of Montgomery, Esq; was the father of Edward, afterwards Sir Edward Herbert of London, Knight; first Solicitor, then Attorney-General, to King Charles the First, and afterwards intrusted with the Great Seal of England, by the title of Lord-Keeper at Paris, by King Charles the Second, when in exile; and held the title, though not the Seals, to the time of his demise in 1657 (f) [A]. This Sir Edward Herbert, by Margaret his wife, left issue three sons. Arthur, of whom we are to treat; Edward and Charles (g). Arthur the eldest, though he had a small estate, entered

[A] *To the time of his decease in 1657.* There has been hitherto so little notice taken of this gentleman, though he made so great a figure in his life, and had the honour to bear at his death the title of Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, that we have chosen to preserve some circumstances relating to him in a note, to avoid the imputation of having treated him with like neglect. He was very eminent in his profession, as a Lawyer, when King Charles the First ascended the throne; and being chosen a Member of the House of Commons, shewed himself a great advocate for the liberty of the people, as well as against the enormous power of the Duke of Buckingham; who, by monopolizing the royal favour, ingrossing many great offices in his own hands, and making all who refused to concur in supporting his power, feel the weight of his displeasure, rendered government distasteful to the subject, and made those, who with reason had no kindness for him, inadvertently enemies to their Prince. On these principles, in the year 1626, he managed the three first articles of the impeachment (1) against the said Duke, on the behalf of the House of Commons, and continued in the same course during the two next years (2), 'till the decease of Buckingham; but then believing that matters were carried too far, he altered his conduct, and in process of time became Solicitor General, and had a good interest at Court (3). In the Parliament that assembled April 13, 1640, he sat for the borough of Old Sarum in the county of Wilts; and, as the Noble Historian observes, vindicated his master's measures with great force of reasoning and much eloquence of speech; for, as he observes, no man spoke with greater address (4). But it seems he was imposed upon by Sir Henry Vane, then Secretary of State and Treasurer of the Household, who demanded twelve subsidies in the name of the Crown, as an equivalent for ship-money; and at the same time declared, that the King would not permit any alteration in the matter or in the manner of the grant, which occasioned the dissolution of that Parliament on the 5th of May (5). This is commonly ascribed to malice in Sir Henry Vane, but it is fit that point should be explained. Several members knowing that this Parliament was called by the advice and interposition of the Earl of Strafford, had mentioned him with great respect; so that the Secretary saw if any good came of this assembly, it would be ascribed to the Earl; which, being that Earl's enemy, he was inclined to prevent (6). On the meeting of the Long-Parliament, the Solicitor grew weary of his employment, from an apprehension of the storms with which he must have been continually surrounded in the House

of Commons, and therefore very willingly accepted of the post of Attorney-General, on the promotion of Sir John Banks to the seat of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. In order to understand this, we must remember, that in those days, though the Solicitor was permitted to sit in the House of Commons, yet the Attorney-General was not, as having a writ to assist, and a seat assigned him, in the House of Lords (7). However right his policy might be, Sir Edward Herbert quickly found, that, in times of general confusion, there is no such thing as a place of safety. The King commanded him, in virtue of his office, to accuse the Lord Kimbolton (8), and five other members of the House of Commons, in the House of Lords of high-treason; which he did: and though the King by letter took the whole of this upon himself, and declared that his Attorney only obeyed his orders, and did not either advise the accusation, or frame the articles on which it was founded, yet the House of Commons impeached him; and though he defended (9) himself so ably, as to escape all the votes of censure that were proposed by the popular party against him, and so seemed upon the whole to be acquitted (10), yet the House thought fit afterwards so far to gratify the resentment of the Commons, as to pass a kind of sentence upon him, that disabled him from holding any other office than that which he possessed, and likewise committed him to the Fleet (11). He continued to adhere steadily to his master under all his misfortunes, for which the Parliament put him into the list of those who were to expect no mercy, in the very last treaty they had with the King (12). After his Majesty's decease he retired abroad, and attached himself particularly to the Duke of York, who had a very high value and esteem for him, which naturally induced him to have a great regard and a sincere affection for his family. On the demise of Sir Richard Lane, King Charles the Second delivered the Great Seal to him at Paris, with the title of Lord-Keeper (13). But his Lordship having the misfortune to differ with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who stood very high in the King's favour, his Majesty resumed the Seal into his own keeping, though Sir Edward Herbert retained the title to the time of his death (14), as we have said in the text; in which we have been the more particular, because, though we draw these facts from the work of the Noble Historian himself, yet it so fell out, that after the Restoration, his name is entirely omitted in the lists of Chancellors and Keepers, for which it is not very easy to assign a reason.

(7) Dugdale's Chron. Series, p. 111. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 210.

(8) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 122.

(9) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part iii. p. 490.

(10) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 434.

(11) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. Part iii. p. 493.

(12) Walker's History of the Treaty in the Isle of Wight, p. 18.

(13) Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 514.

(14) Sir Richard Greenville's Defence against all aspersions of malignant persons, p. 11. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. p. 517, 518.



entered into the sea-service; in which he quickly distinguished himself so much, that in the first Dutch war after the Restoration, he was, though a very young man, promoted to the command of a ship by his Royal Highness the Duke of York; and, among other instances of remarkable bravery, there is still remaining a distinct account of his fighting a Dutch ship in the bay of Cadiz, which did equal honour to himself and the English navy (b) [B]. He continued, from this time, in the Streights for about six weeks, 'till he had advice that Rear-Admiral Kempthorne was sailed with his Squadron for the Streights mouth, where he took care to join him with a small fleet of sixteen or seventeen merchantmen under his convoy, in order to proceed with the Rear-Admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their passage 'till about the middle of the month of May, when being off the island of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and sunk at once; but Captain Herbert and most of his crew were happily saved, there being none lost in the vessel but a few sick men, who were not able to help themselves, and whom the suddenness of the accident, and the confusion every body was in, hindered being assisted by others (i). After this narrow escape, Captain Herbert went on board one of the ships of the same Squadron, and arrived safely at Portsmouth. It was not long before he had another ship given him; and, both in that and in the second Dutch war, he behaved upon all occasions with great spirit and resolution, receiving several wounds, and, as we shall see in due time, losing the sight of one of his eyes in his country's service; all which considered, it must seem very strange, that when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage should be disputed (k). In one of the last sea fights in the second Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, a third rate, in which Sir Fretchville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay; and as Captain Herbert succeeded in his command, he was very near succeeding also to the same disaster; being desperately wounded in the action, and his ship so disabled, that together with the Resolution, which was in as bad a condition, she was by Prince Rupert sent home to refit (l). In the year 1674, Captain Herbert having then also the command of the Cambridge, came up with six sail of French ships near the Ness; two of these were of fifty guns, one a frigate of twenty-six guns, and three fire-ships. As they did not lower their topsails, our gallant officer fired at them; on which the French, being to windward, came nearer. The Captain called from the Cambridge, to know why they did not strike; to which he received for answer, that they would strike to nobody. Captain Herbert, thereupon, fired a single gun, and then a broadside; which they answered with another; and, having the wind, bore away. At his return, Captain Herbert informed King Charles the Second of this insult offered to his Flag; for which his Majesty demanded satisfaction from Lewis XIV. who immediately sent over the Commodore, Captain Pannetier, to ask the King's pardon (m) in very submissive terms; which he did, and so the matter ended. In 1678 he served in the Mediterranean, having the command of the Rupert, a third rate; having with him the Mary, a third rate also, commanded by Sir Roger Strickland; and on the third of April came up with an Algerine ship, pierced for fifty-four, but actually carrying forty guns and five hundred men. The Rupert, being a prime sailer, reached her first and engaged her; but being commanded by an old Turk, he behaved very gallantly, and did not surrender 'till Sir Roger Strickland came up, having lost three hundred men, and, before he struck, threw all his arms overboard. In the Rupert, all the officers, to the Boatswain's mate, with nineteen private men, were killed; Captain Herbert and forty more wounded, the Captain, more especially, by the blowing up of some cartridges in his face; and here, perhaps, it was that he lost his eye; however, the prize was carried into Cadiz (n). On his return home, he was very graciously received by the King his master; and as a reward for his services, was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Blue (o); being at this time considered as a person as likely to rise as any in the royal navy. An occasion soon after offered, which fully justified this opinion; for it being found necessary to send a supply of troops and military stores to Tangier, then in our hands, as also a Squadron to curb the insolence of the Algerines,

(b) See the original letter in note [B].

(i) Monthly Intelligence, foreign and domestic, May, 1667.

(k) Annals of the Universe, p. 1377.

(l) Account of the Proceedings of his Majesty's Fleet, under the command of Prince Rupert, p. 4. An Impartial Account of some remarkable passages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington, &c. 1691. 4to.

(m) Annals of the Universe, p. 332.

(n) Ibid. p. 377.

(o) From a List extracted from Secretary Pepys's Papers.

[B] *To himself and the English nation.* The reader will find a very plain and artless account of this matter, in the following letter, dated from Cadiz, in March 1667 (15). 'Captain Herbert in the Pembroke is now in this port, being newly returned from a fresh dispute with a Zealander man of war, of thirty-four guns, and one hundred and eighty men, with whom he fought some days before in sight of that bay, from two in the afternoon, 'till the night put an end to that day's work. All that night the Pembroke frigate carrying out a light for the Zealander, and the next morning being to the windward, fired a gun, and bore up to re-engage her; but the Zealander being the nimble sailer, bore away once or twice before the wind, declining any farther dispute, which the frigate perceiving, and fearing to be put to leeward of the port, by a fruitless pursuit, the wind then blowing a strong Levant, came again for the bay, which the Zealander wanted not the confidence to boast of as a mark of his victory. Since this, the frigate being put ashore to wash and tallow,

'the Zealander made several challenges, but went out again to sea before the frigate could get ready. 'Yesterday morning the Zealander coming in, the frigate being ready went out to meet him, and passed five times upon him within pistol-shot, until the Zealander, finding the service too hot, bore in for the bay, pursued for a long time by the frigate, which being unable to overtake him, fired her chase-gun and stood out again to sea, the Zealander answering her challenge with a friendly salute of three guns to leeward, but yet thought it convenient to put into the bay, where he triumphantly fired all his guns, leaving the Pembroke at sea in vain attending him 'till the next morning. The captain of the Zealander afterwards came ashore, endeavouring to persuade the people that his main-mast was disabled, and that he wanted shot for his guns. In this dispute the frigate had seven men killed, and five hurt, but none mortally, and her fore-mast somewhat disabled, but will speedily be refitted and made serviceable.'

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29. A

[C] *Equally*

(15) Remarkable passages in the Life of Lord Torrington.



(p) Burchet's  
Naval History,  
p. 404, 405.

(q) An Impar-  
tial Account of  
some remarkable  
passages in the  
Life of Arthur  
Earl of Torrington,  
&c.  
Collier's Co-  
lumnæ Rostata,  
p. 252.

(r) From Secre-  
tary Pepys's Pa-  
pers.

(s) The Laws,  
Ordinances, and  
Instructions, of  
the Admiralty of  
Great-Britain,  
Vol. II. p. 367.

(t) Sir John  
Reresby's Me-  
moirs, p. 241.  
Sandford's His-  
tory of the Coro-  
nation of King  
James II. and  
Queen Mary, p.  
21, 79.

(u) Sir John  
Reresby's Me-  
moirs, p. 241.

(w) An Impar-  
tial Account of  
some remarkable  
passages, &c.  
Burnet's History  
of his own times,  
Vol. I. p. 671.  
Sir John Reres-  
by's Memoirs,  
p. 241.

(16) Corps Di-  
plomatique, Vol.  
VII. Part II. p.  
20, 21, 22.

Algerines, who, notwithstanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to disturb our commerce (p), it was resolved that the command of this armament should be given to Admiral Herbert, who was accordingly instructed to contribute as much as possible to the raising the siege of Tangier; and when that was done, to use his best endeavours to bring the Algerines to a submission, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms, than those contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in such a manner as to justify their piracies. In 1682, Rear-Admiral Herbert sailed into the Mediterranean, with a strong squadron, and a considerable number of tenders and store-ships, which arrived very safe under his convoy at Tangier. He found that fortrefs not a little straitened by the Moors, by whom it was so closely blocked up, that nothing could enter it by land. Admiral Herbert not only relieved the garrison, by the seasonable supply that he brought of provisions and military stores, but resolved also to restore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raise the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many seamen out of the fleet as he could possibly spare; formed them into a battalion; and, by attacking the Moors on one side, while the garrison made a brisk sally, and drove them from most of their posts on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire further within land. He executed the other part of his charge, with respect to the Algerines, with equal spirit and success; destroyed some of their ships, and disposed things in such a manner, to disturb and distress that state by sea, as obliged the Dey to summon a divan, in which it was resolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the English Admiral (q). The terms were very speedily settled, without any of those ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleased; and the business of his expedition being happily over, he returned home safe, with the squadron under his command, towards the latter end of the same year, and had the pleasure to find his conduct as an officer and negotiator equally approved [C]. As a reward of these services, he was promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral (r); and, as a still stronger proof of the confidence reposed in him by his royal master, we find his name inserted in the commission, granted April 17, 1684 (s), for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral; viz Daniel Earl of Nottingham; Sir Humphry Winch, Baronet; Sir Thomas Meeres, Knight; Sir Edward Hales, Baronet; Henry Saville, Esq; Sir John Chicheley, Knight; Arthur Herbert, Esq; John Lord Vaughan. On the King's demise, when great changes were expected, and many of the first people at Court and of the nation were diffident as to their condition, and apprehensive of what might follow, he was not disturbed with these fears. The favours he had received from the Duke of York, gave him room to expect farther preferments, upon the accession of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, since, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made Vice-Admiral of England and Master of the Robes (t), there being at that time no man of his rank, who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the person of that prince. But when the scheme for repealing the test-act came under consideration, and King James thought fit to closet such of his officers in the army and fleet as had seats in the House of Commons, it quickly appeared that Vice-Admiral Herbert was none of those complying spirits, who, for the sake of private profit, would sacrifice the interest of the public (u). His brother, the Lord Chief-Justice Herbert, had exposed himself to public odium, by giving judgment in his court in favour of the King's dispensing power, upon an action brought against Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment without qualifying himself for it, by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this seemed in some measure to have done all that the King wanted, he still persisted in his design of having the test-act repealed; which, amongst other extraordinary consequences, produced the disgrace of Vice-Admiral Herbert (w), who to that hour had never done any thing to disoblige the King, or had perceived the least coldness in his Majesty towards him. We may from hence conclude, that the part he acted arose from a principle of conscience, though his private life was none

[C] *Equally approved.* This treaty of peace was concluded on the 10th of April 1682 (16), according to the Christian æra, and on the 11th of the moon of April, in the year of the Hegira 1093, on the behalf of Charles the Second, King of Great-Britain, by Arthur Herbert, Esq; who is therein stiled Admiral of his Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Bashaw Dey, Aga, and Governors of the famous city of Algier in Barbary. It contains in the whole twenty-one articles, and is so full, so clear, and so circumstantial in every one of them, that it is very easy to perceive the humble frame of mind in which those corsairs were at the time they concluded it. For in this treaty there is no one concession made to these people; except that of sending on board to see the passport; and with respect to this, it is stipulated that no more than two persons shall have right to go on board any English vessel; and upon producing a passport from the English Admiralty, they are to be permitted to continue their voyage without any molestation or visitation whatever; and all passengers, money, commodities, merchandizes, and moveables, let them belong to whom they will,

are to remain safe and untouched. There is a farther provision, that for fifteen months after signing the treaty, if any vessel should not be furnished with a passport from the Admiralty, yet if the major part of the crew appear to be English, they were to have the benefit of this treaty as much as if they had a passport. There is besides the treaty a separate article, dated the 5th of March, in the year of our Lord 1682, but in the Hegira 1094, which plainly shews that the former date was according to our stile, and that it was 1683 with other nations, and by this separate article the form of the passport is regulated. This treaty continued in force, and was very punctually executed, during the remainder of the reign of Charles the second, and also during that of James the second; for there is likewise a form of that Monarch's passports, who took the Admiralty into his own hands, and therefore it concludes, Given under our seal manual, and under the seal of our Admiralty, and is subscribed James R. and lower, By the command of his Majesty, Samuel Pepys, who was Secretary of the Admiralty, and the sole Minister in that department during King James's reign.

[D] *From*



none of the most regular; for it will be found upon a strict examination, that, as the advantages of a moral conduct, even in this life, will influence some men, who have very unsettled notions in respect to religion; so there are others, who, though in many instances misled by their passions, yet retain such a sense of religion, as never to question the truth of it: and that this was Vice-Admiral Herbert's case, the reader will learn, from a Right Reverend Historian, in the notes [D]. The small appearance there was of his being able to live with honour, or even with safety, at home, and his inclination to follow many persons of great reputation, who at that juncture chose to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland (x), whither he was either accompanied, or quickly followed, by his brother Colonel Charles Herbert, and by his cousin Henry Herbert, Esq; whom King William afterwards created Lord Herbert of Chirbury. Upon his arrival at the Hague, the Vice-Admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the service of the States, which was a very prudent, and, in its consequences, beneficial step; numbers of English seamen following, and entering, for his sake, into the Dutch service (y); which convinced the States, that things were come to a crisis in England, and that the King had lost the affections of his subjects to a strange degree, when the seamen, who of all others had shewed themselves most hearty in his cause, began to forsake him. At the Prince of Orange's court, Vice-Admiral Herbert was very sincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly understood the state of the English fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it (z). His firm and steady disposition, and the state that he kept up in the midst of his misfortunes, made an impression upon the Dutch statesmen, and even upon the Prince of Orange himself; though a celebrated Historian informs us, this was such an impression, as in the main did not turn much to his advantage [E]. It seems to put it beyond all question,

(x) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 518.

(y) Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 266.

(z) Impartial Account of some remarkable passages, &c.

[D] From a Right Reverend Historian in the notes.]

It is generally believed, that when a person of distinguished understanding acts in any point of importance in direct opposition to his interest, he must be influenced by passion, prejudice, or principle. It is pretty clear that Admiral Herbert's interest, to say nothing of duty and gratitude, bound him to the King his master. Passion or prejudice would have lain the same way, for his ruling passion was ambition; his education and his practice had given him a habit of loyalty, if, therefore, upon his master's proposing to him, which was a spontaneous act in him, and which Herbert could not either foresee or avoid, as the title of his favour, a measure repugnant to the dictates of his conscience, to what in candour and justice can we ascribe his rejecting that proposal, but to principle? Bishop Burnet having censured the Admiral's brother, Sir Edward, for promoting the King's designs in Westminster Hall, proceeds to give us an account of the Admiral's conduct in the following words. 'So little regard had the Chief-Justice's nearest friends to his opinion in this particular, that his brother, Admiral Herbert, being pressed by the King to promise that he would vote the repeal of the Test, answered the King very plainly, that he could not do it either in honour or conscience. The King said, he knew he was a man of honour, but the rest of his life did not look like a man that had great regard to conscience. He answered boldly, he had his faults, but they were such, that other people, who talked more of conscience, were guilty of the like. He was, indeed, a man abandoned to luxury and vice; but though he was poor and had much to lose, having places to the value of four thousand pounds a year, he chose to lose them all rather than comply. This made much noise; for, as he had great reputation for his conduct in sea affairs, so he had been most passionately zealous in the King's service from his first setting out to that day. It appeared by this, that no past service would be considered, if men were not resolved to comply in every thing (17). The reader will observe that our remarks, previous to this citation, are supported by the citation itself, which very clearly prove on which side Admiral Herbert's interest lay, that to this time he had been always warm in the King's service, and that the general sentiment of the court and the world at this time was, if Herbert's services could not save him, there was no man who could place any dependence on his merit. On the whole, perhaps, it will appear, that this gentleman was one of those who thought he had a right to judge for himself; and if he did, he must naturally think that he ought especially to exert this right in matters of importance. When therefore he had laid things together in his own mind, and had from thence formed an opinion, he pursued it with that warmth, or, as our

prelate styles it, zeal, which was the effect of his temper; and this reflection, candidly pursued, will afford us the true key of his whole conduct.

[E] Turn much to his advantage.] Here again we must have recourse to the Bishop of Sarum's History, where we shall find Vice-Admiral Herbert placed in a very different point of light, from that in which we have already seen him in the same History. 'Admiral Herbert, says his Lordship (18), came over to Holland, and was received with a particular regard to his pride and ill humour; for he was, upon every occasion, so sullen and peevish, that it was plain he set a high value on himself, and expected the same of all others. He had got his accounts passed, in which he complained that the King had used him not only hardly, but unjustly. He was a man delivered up to pride and luxury, yet he had a good understanding, and he had gained so great a reputation by his steady behaviour in England, that the Prince understood, that it was expected he should use him as he himself should desire, in which it was not very easy to him to constrain himself so far as that required. The managing him was in a great measure put on me; and it was no easy thing. It made me often reflect on the Providence of God, that makes some men instruments in great things, to which they themselves have no sort of affection or disposition; for his private quarrel with the Lord Dartmouth, who he thought had more of the King's confidence than he himself had, was believed the root of all the sullenness he fell under towards the King, and of all the firmness that grew out of that.' It must appear more wonderful than any thing observed by our Historian, if this was the real character of the man, that the States-General and the Prince of Orange should give him the title of Lieutenant-General-Admiral, and intrust him with the (19) supreme command of their fleet; it is true, our author says, that this was not very easy to the States, or to the Prince himself, who thought it an absurd thing. But why did they do it then? Nothing less, says he, would content Herbert (20). If this was so, we have some reason to believe that the States and the Prince of Orange had a very high opinion of his talents or of his interest, in taking so extraordinary a step, merely because he would not be content without it. But it is more probable that he was put at the head of the fleet, because there were many reasons that made him the properest man for that command; such as the nature of the design itself; his interest among the officers of the English Navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coasts, his being most likely to engage the Governors of Sea-Port towns to come into the Prince; and, above all, the necessity they were under of having some Englishman in a high post, to prevent the people from considering this as a hostile invasion. Now if we view this matter in these lights,

(18) History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 762.

(19) Le Clerc Histoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. III. p. 409. Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. V. p. 1236.

(20) History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 764.

(17) History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 671.



(a) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 781.

(b) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 525. Impartial Account of some remarkable passages, &c.

(c) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 779.

(d) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 526. Life of King William III. p. 130. Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 782, 783.

question, that it was the great capacity, known skill, and long experience, of this gentleman, that placed him in the committee appointed to prepare every thing requisite for the embarkation of the Dutch forces; that is, to take up seven hundred transports, and to dispose on board them the requisite military and naval stores, as well as provision for a great army, and this in a short space of time, and with vast secrecy; these commissioners were, Bentinck Dykvelt Van Hulst and Herbert (a). In the space of two months, these commissioners actually executed this arduous commission; which seems to demonstrate, not only their great vigilance and dexterity, but also the most perfect harmony; for if there had been any disputes amongst them, the service could not either have been effected or concealed. After such an instance of his capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the rest of his conduct would be of a piece. But what seems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the Prince of Orange in trusting Vice-Admiral Herbert, though a stranger, with so high a command, was, the publishing his letter to the commanders of the English fleet (b), at the very same time with the Prince of Orange's Declaration; for if they had not placed very strong hopes in that, without question it had never been published at all; and, if they had such hopes, this alone will sufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the Prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commission, he was Lieutenant-General by sea. Neither were these hopes of influencing the English seamen slightly grounded, since the pamphlets wrote in those times universally agree, that the seamen had a very general and warm aversion to Popery, disliked and despised such of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink Admiral Herbert's health; so that these were very strong indications of their ill will on one side, and their good will on the other [F]. In consequence of private intelligence received, and in compliance with the pressing instances of some about the Prince, he stood over towards the English coast with the Dutch fleet, in order to try whether any advantage could be taken of that of the King's, which was not yet formed, and to give an opportunity to the English captains to come over, in case any amongst them were so inclined; but the weather proving very bad, he was obliged to return without success (c) in either respect; after which, all his endeavours were bent to finish the preparations for the great expedition. When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with so much speed and secrecy, that no advices could be given in England that could be of any use; but notwithstanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They sailed on the 19th of October, 1688, and they put back into port on the 22d (d). This was a great disappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of less firmness, or by an admiral of less experience, their expedition had been lost. It is reported, that Admiral Herbert advised putting off the business to that late season of the year, because he judged that the winds would be more favourable, that the King's fleet would be less able to act, and that, when the enterprize was so long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over. His Serene Highness came into this proposition

it is no difficult thing to see, that of all the English who were about his Royal Highness, Vice-Admiral Herbert was in every respect the fittest man to be intrusted with that command, and therefore, if nothing else would content him, it might not proceed from pride, from ambition, or ill humour, but from his making a right judgment of things, and knowing that nothing could contribute so much to the success of the enterprize; yet of the two, it is infinitely more probable that he did not insist upon this himself, but that the States and the Prince of Orange conferred the command upon him, as a thing which they saw to be very expedient, or rather absolutely necessary (21).

(21) History of the Revolution, p. 135.

[F] *And their good will on the other.* It is however true, that this letter had not the effect that was expected from it, or rather had not such an effect so soon as it was expected; but as the letter itself is curious, and as it is not commonly to be met with, unless in a French translation, it may not be disagreeable to the reader here; and there is the more reason to insert it, because nothing can have a closer relation to this noble person's memoirs, since it must be allowed to have been the most remarkable, and most important paper, that ever fell from his pen, and was conceived in the following words.

To all Commanders of Ships and Seamen in his Majesty's Fleet.

GENTLEMEN,

I have little to add to what his Highness has expressed in general terms, besides laying before you the dangerous way you are at present in, where ruin or infamy must inevitably attend you, if you do not join with the Prince in the common cause for the defence of your religion and liberties; for should it please God, for the sins of the English nation, to suf-

fer your arms to prevail, to what end can your victory serve you, but to enslave you deeper, and overthrow the true religion, in which you have lived and your fathers died, of which I beg you, as a friend, to consider the consequences, and to reflect on the blot and infamy it will bring on you, not only now, but in all after ages, that by your means the Protestant Religion was destroyed, and your country deprived of its ancient liberties; and if it pleases God to bless the Prince's endeavours with success, as I do not doubt but he will, consider then what their condition will be that oppose him in this so good a design, where the greatest favour they can hope for, is their being suffered to end their days in misery and want, detested and despised by all good men. It is therefore for these, and for many other reasons too long to insert here, that I, as a true Englishman and your friend, exhort you to join your arms to the Prince for the defence of the common cause, the Protestant Religion, and the liberties of your country. It is what I am well assured the major and best part of the army, as well as the nation, will do, so soon as convenience is offered. Prevent them in so good an action while it is in your power, and make it appear, that as the kingdom has always depended on the navy for its defence, so you will yet go further, by making it, as much as in you lies, the protection of her religion and liberties, and then you may assure yourselves of all marks of favour and honour suitable to the merits of so glorious an action. After this I ought not to add so inconsiderable a thing, as that it will for ever engage me to be, in a most particular manner,

Your faithful friend and humble servant,

Aboard the Leyden in the Goree. AR. HERBERT.

[G] A



proposition for the reasons before assigned, and for one as weighty as any of them, which was more immediately known to, and more fully comprehended by, himself; and this was, that the season of the year for a campaign being over, the French were not like to make any attempts, and consequently the States-General ran little or no hazard, by their troops being thus employed at this juncture (e). It is on all sides acknowledged, that it was owing to reasons suggested by Admiral Herbert (f), that the Prince of Orange laid aside his intention of sailing northward to the Humber, which must have been attended with great inconveniences, as no fleet could lie long with safety on that coast; but it is not certain whether he gave the advice, which, however, was followed, of publishing in all the Dutch Gazettes, that the fleet had been very roughly handled by the storm, that abundance of horses had been thrown overboard, that many persons of distinction, and particularly Dr Burnet, were cast away and drowned; which had the effect that was expected from it (g), of persuading such as were not in the secret, that the expedition was totally overthrown, or that it must be postponed for some months at least. It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneasy, and occasioned some very extraordinary proposals to the Prince. Amongst the rest, one was, that Admiral Herbert (h), with a stout squadron, should proceed to the English coast, and fight the King's fleet, to which he was not at all averse; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The Prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the least; but having given the necessary orders for repairing the ships and refreshing the troops, which was soon done, the fleet sailed again upon the first of November, and arrived speedily and safely on the English coast; where, by the skill and care of Admiral Herbert, the troops were very soon landed (i), and by his intelligence with several persons of distinction in the neighbourhood, amply supplied with provisions and other necessaries. In a very few days after, the good effects of the Admiral's letter appeared, by the coming in of several ships; the first of which was the Newcastle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of Captain Churchill (k); and the way being once broke, the seamen declared in general for the Prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the success of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence, of this noble person. When King James was obliged to retire into France, the Admiral's brother, Sir Edward Herbert (l), went with, or very soon followed him, and adhered, with great steadiness, to what he took to be his duty as long as he lived [G]. As for the Admiral, and his younger brother Charles,

(e) Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. V.

(f) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 778.

(g) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 526. Life of King William III. p. 131. History of the Defection, in the 1st volume of State Tracts, p. 59.

(h) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 786.

(i) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 527. Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 787, 788. Life of King William III. p. 133, 134.

(k) Remarkable Passages in the Life of Arthur Earl of Torrington.

(l) History of King James's Ecclesiastical Commission, p. 74.

[G] *As long as he lived.* This gentleman, the younger brother of the Earl of Torrington, was born in the year 1646, and received the first principles of a learned education in Winchester-School, from whence he was elected to New College in Oxford; in 1665 (22). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, April 21, 1669 (23). He was then removed to the Middle-Temple, became a Barrister at Law, and very eminent in his Profession; and having the countenance of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, was appointed Attorney General in Ireland (24). In February 1683, he was knighted. In 1685, when Sir George Jefferys was made Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, he succeeded him as Chief Justice of Chester (25), and soon after became Attorney-General to the Duke of York. Upon the 16th of October, in the same year, he succeeded the same person, Lord Jefferys, as Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and was sworn of the King's most Honourable Privy Council (26). In this high office he gave great offence in the decision of the famous cause between the King and Sir Edward Hales, which was an information brought on purpose to establish the Dispensing Power by Law, and this Sir Edward did, by the judgment he pronounced. In this however it is to be presumed he acted according to his conscience, and the sense he had of the law as it then stood; for, like his brother, he was very steady in his sentiments, and would not either dissemble himself, or suffer others to dissemble for him, as appeared by his disavowing opinions given in his name by Sir Francis Withins in open court. But it appeared still more clearly, when the Court attempted, from the letter of an old statute in the reign of Edward the sixth, to keep the army in awe by the help of the civil power; for whereas that law enacts, That it shall be felony without benefit of Clergy, for any soldier taking pay in the King's service, in his wars beyond the seas, upon the sea, or in Scotland, to desert; it was proposed, to extend this law to the standing army in England by construction. The not seeing this in the light desired, proved equally fatal to two great men in the law, Sir John Holt, then Recorder of London, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Edward Herbert, who was then so, and who was removed, April 22, 1687, to the Common Pleas (27). He was succeeded in the King's Bench by Sir Robert

Wright, who hanged a poor soldier upon that old law, and thereby kept the army from deserting, till they were able to do it with impunity. As for Sir Edward Herbert, he continued Chief Justice of the Common Pleas as long as his master did upon the Throne; and when he thought fit to retire into France, Sir Edward followed his fortunes, returned with him into Ireland, was excepted in King William's pardon, and was always considered as a person zealously attached to that Prince, though at the same time no man was a firmer Protestant (28). The tempers and the conduct of the two brothers were much alike, and seem to have been very innocently fatal to each other; for the enemies of the Earl of Torrington insinuated that he was a very unfit man to be trusted by King William, whose brother had King James's broad seal in his keeping; and the like objections were made at St Germain's to Sir Edward Herbert, as far as we can judge from circumstances, and in such cases circumstances are far from being the worst evidence, without the least foundation on either side. By degrees both lost their credit with their respective masters, and there are some who affirm, that Sir Edward Herbert lost his liberty also. He was certainly a very free speaker, which gave his enemies great advantages. Mr Skelton, who was Comptroller of King James's Household, and Sir William Sharpe, charged him with speaking disrespectful words of King James, and in particular with saying, That his violent temper would ruin himself and all who followed him. Sir Edward acknowledged the words, and said they were spoken in Ireland, in reference to the act of settlement; explained his meaning so clearly, and vindicated his intention so fully, that his master dismissed it as a frivolous complaint (29). But being afterwards charged with carrying on a correspondence in England, he was put under confinement, which broke his spirit extremely. All the correspondence he held, was with his brother, who relieved him frequently and generously; though some say, that declining it at last, poverty, and the sense of ill usage, finished his days, in the same place and in the same manner with his father, by breaking his heart (30). He deceased in November 1698, bearing the title of Lord Chancellor (31); but it does not appear that he left any issue by Mrs Fox, a lady of great merit, and who, like a dutiful wife, shared alike in his prosperity and in his misfortunes.

(28) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 538. History of the Ecclesiastical Commission, p. 74. Orange Gazette, No. 3.

(29) Complete History of England (in the notes), p. 721.

(30) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. col. 256.

(31) Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. XXV. p. 537.

(22) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 992.

(23) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

(24) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 440. Wood, ubi supr.

(25) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 173.

(26) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 440. Pointer's Chronological History of England, Vol. I. p. 330. See Sir John Hawles's Remarks on Wilmer's Cause, in the fourth volume of the State Trials.

(27) Complete History of England, Vol. III. p. 449. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 992.



(m) Kennet's  
History of Eng-  
land, Vol. III.  
p. 518.

(n) History of  
the Proceedings  
of the House of  
Lords, Vol. I.  
p. 343.

(o) Burchet's  
Naval History,  
p. 415.

(p) Remarkable  
Passages in the  
Life of Lord Tor-  
rington.  
Burnet's History  
of his own times,  
Vol. I. p. 825.  
Life of King  
William III.  
p. 184.

(q) Corps Uni-  
versel Diploma-  
tique du droit  
des Gens, Tom.  
VII. P. II. p.  
222.

(r) Burchet's  
Naval History,  
p. 416.  
Kennet's History  
of England, Vol.  
III. p. 564.  
Life of King  
William III. p.  
231.  
Colliber's Co-  
lumna Rostrata,  
p. 254, 255.

(s) Life of Willi-  
am III. p. 232.  
Burchet's Naval  
History, p. 417.  
Mercure Histo-  
rique & Politique,  
Tom. VI. p.  
517.

Charles, they were equally zealous for the Revolution; and so was their cousin Herbert, afterwards created Lord Chirbury (m), who is said to have determined the controverted point, as to the Princess of Orange's being associated with her husband in the govern-ment; so that it seems these Herberts, though they took different political roads, were equally warm and zealous, whatever road they took. As soon as the new government was settled, King William, by a commission dated March 8, 1688, appointed the following commissioners for executing the office of Lord High-Admiral; viz. Arthur Herbert, Esq; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Michael Wharton; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Chicheley, Knight; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and William Sacheverell, Esq; but the last declined accepting that post, declaring, that, as he understood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the salary with a safe conscience (n). As for the command of the fleet, that was intrusted with Admiral Herbert (o) from the beginning; and he had likewise, though some time before, the honour of bringing over the new Queen, who arrived on the twelfth of February, and accepted the regal dignity, with her consort, the thirteenth (p). He was named also, with the Earls of Nottingham and Carbery, one of the Plenipotentiaries (q) for concluding a new treaty with the States; but it does not appear that he acted under this commission. At the entrance of the month of April, 1689, he sailed for Cork, with a squadron of twelve men of war; but, upon information that King James was some time before landed at Kingsale, he sailed directly for Brest, in hopes of intercepting the squadron that had escorted him thither. Being dis-appointed in this, and having gradually reinforced his fleet, he proceeded again to the coast of Ireland, and, in the latter end of the month of April, discovered forty-four sail of French ships, steering, as he apprehended, for Kingsale. The next day he heard they were gone into Baltimore; but, upon his arrival before that place, finding it false, he stood for Cape Clear; and getting sight of the enemy, chased them into Bantry Bay, at the mouth of which they anchored that night. The English fleet consisted of twenty-one sail in all, of which eight were third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and two ten-ders. On the other hand, the French had twenty-four sail of large ships; that is, fifteen third and nine fourth rates, with six fire-ships, and four merchant-men laden with stores, with a considerable sum of money on board the men of war; which, as soon as they saw the English colours, they put on board the fire-ships, and, for greater security, sent them with the merchant-men up the bay. The English had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting if they had so pleased; but this was by no means agreea-ble to Admiral Herbert's temper; he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a close engagement; but the French saved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three divisions, about ten in the morning, on the first of May. The first division consisted of eight ships, under the command of Mr Gaberet; the second, of the like force, was commanded by Admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which was also of eight ships, had for it's commander Mr Forant. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours, but then slackened, because a great part of the English fleet could not come up. Yet they continued firing on both sides 'till about five in the after-noon, Admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to sea, because he found the dispute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could possibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But about the hour before-mentioned, the French fleet stood into the bay, which put an end to the fight (r). The English writers ascribe this, either to want of courage, or to the Admiral's being restrained by his orders. But the French inform us, that he retired, in order to take care of the ships under his convoy; and that, after they had entirely debarked the supply they had brought, he disposed every thing, in order to put to sea the next morning, which he did. In this action, the French had one ship, the Diamond, set on fire, and two others so much damaged, that they were forced to draw out of the line. The English lost Captain Aylmer (s), who commanded the Portland, on whose widow the King settled a pension of one hundred pounds per annum; ninety-four seamen killed, and two hundred wounded; so that the French had but little reason to paint, in such strong colours as they did, the small advantage they had in this action. As to the personal behaviour of Admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable. He was in the hottest of the service himself, had several of the largest of the enemy's ships upon him at a time, notwithstanding which, he continued to expose himself, to encourage the seamen sword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engage-ment; insomuch, that many thought that if the rest of the officers had done their duty as well

Sir Edward Herbert published a very succinct apology for his own conduct in that point, which was most liable to objection; and this produced two answers, one from William Atwood, Esq; Barrister at Law, the other from Sir Robert Atkins, Knt. of the Bath, who had been one of the Justices of the Court of Common Pleas; the title of our author's performance was,

I. A short Account of the Authorities in Law, upon which Judgement was given in Sir Edward Hales his Case. London, 1689. 4to.

Mr Atwood's piece was intituled,

II. The Lord Chief Justice Herbert's Account ex- amined, wherein it is shewn, that those Authorities in Law, whereby he would excuse his Judgment in Sir Edward Hales his Case, are very unfairly cited, and as ill applied. London, 1689. 4to.

Sir Robert Atkins called his,

III. An Enquiry into the Power of dispensing with penal Statutes, together with some Animadversions up- on a Book written by Sir Edward Herbert, &c. intituled, A short Account, &c.



well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did. For which some officers were called to a Court-Martial, and broke; so much was the Admiral a lover of discipline (t). On the 15th of May, when the King dined on board his ship, he was pleased to express great satisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, viz. by letters patent, bearing date on the 29th of the same month, by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington (u). The House of Commons (w) also were pleased to give him thanks, for the service he had done the nation, in taking the first opportunity to fight the French in Bantry-Bay [H]. At this time one would have imagined, that no man could well have stood in a fairer point of light, after an action in which he had no success to boast. But it speedily appeared, that either his conduct at the Admiralty-Board was disliked, or his new honours envied; this he quickly perceived, which induced him to retire from that board (x); and the King thereupon, January 20, 1689, appointed a new Board of Admiralty, consisting of Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, Baronet; and Sir John Chicheley, Knt (y). It was reported at this time, and perhaps not without foundation, that the Earl of Torrington was inclined to quit the service also; but if he had any such intentions, he was prevailed upon to lay them aside, and to take the command of the combined fleets the next summer. Lewis the Fourteenth was then in the zenith of his power; and the great point he had in view was, to establish the reputation of his naval force; in order to which, he proposed to have a fleet at sea, sufficient, not only to resist, but to attack that of the maritime powers; and in order to effect this, his ministers exerted themselves to the utmost. On the other hand, our affairs were far from being in the best posture; party spirit ran high in the nation, and the administration was not thoroughly united. Admiral Russel was sent into the Mediterranean, to escort the young Queen of Spain (z); and had orders to block up the Toulon Squadron, which was not in his power. Another Squadron

(t) Remarkable Passages in the Life of the Earl of Torrington.

(u) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III, p. 564. Pat. I. Will. and Mary.

(w) See note [H].

(x) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 5.

(y) History of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367.

(z) Burchet's Naval History, p. 421.

[H] To fight the French in Bantry-Bay.] The reader will without doubt be pleased to see this matter set in the most authentic light, from the journal of the House, in which it appears, that Arthur Herbert, Esq; then Burgess for the town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks, in consequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered.

Martis 21<sup>o</sup>. die Maii primo Willielmo & Mariae.

Mr Speaker gave Admiral Herbert the thanks of the House, according to their order of Saturday last, to the effect as followeth, viz (32)

Admiral HERBERT,

This House hath taken notice of the great service you have performed in engaging the French fleet; they do look upon it as one of the bravest actions done in this last age, and expect it will raise the reputation of the English valour to it's ancient glory. I do therefore, by the command of this House, return you their hearty thanks for this service, and desire you that you will communicate the like thanks, in their name, to the officers and seamen that served under your command; and to let them know that this House will have a particular regard of their merits, and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all due encouragement.

Whereupon Admiral Herbert spake to the effect as followeth.

SIR,

I am in some confusion at this great and unexpected honour, and the more, because I want words to express my sense of it. The best return that I think myself capable of making, is, to assure this Honourable House, that with my utmost hazard I will endeavour, by my future actions, to deserve it; and will not fail to obey their commands, in acquainting the officers and seamen who were with me of the favourable acceptance by this House of their service. And since the House have so favourable an opinion of their actions, I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, and I think it is a thing becoming the greatness of this nation, and indeed has been the care of almost all nations that have any commerce at sea: it is to assign some place and revenue for the support of such as are maintained in the service and defence of their country. There is no sufficient provision made at present in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a charge for the Crown. I therefore humbly move it may be ordered by this House, that

an act may pass, that they may have a support and subsistence after they have, by wounds, been made incapable of farther service.

Resolved, That the House will take care to make a provision for such seamen as are or shall be wounded in their Majesties service; and for the wives and children of such as are, or shall be slain therein: and that a committee be appointed to consider how the same may be done.

And it is referred to Admiral Herbert, Mr Hales, Mr Boscawen, Mr Ashburnham, Sir William Williams, Mr Garway, Mr Elwel, Lord Cooke, Mr Holles, Mr Papillon, Mr Gwyn, Lord Falkland, Lord Sherrard, Mr Bickertstaff, Mr Henry Herbert, Mr Edward Russel, Mr Bromley, Mr Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Colcheffer, Mr Leveson Gower, Mr P. Foley, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Christopher Musgrave, Mr Sacheverell, Mr Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.

We have an account with some remarks upon this business of Bantry-Bay, by the Bishop of Sarum, which we will add in his own words. 'Our operations on the sea were not very prosperous. Herbert was sent with a fleet to cut off the communication between France and Ireland. The French had sent over a fleet with a great transport of stores and ammunition. They had landed their loading, and were returning back. As they came out of Bantry-Bay, Herbert engaged them. The wind was against him, so that it was not possible for the greatest part of the fleet to come up and enter into action, and so those who engaged were forced to retire with some disadvantage. But the French did not pursue him. He came back to Portsmouth, in order to refit some of his ships, and went out again, and lay before Brest till the end of the summer. But the French fleet did not come out any more all that summer; so that ours lay some months at sea to no purpose. But if we lost few of our seamen in the engagement, we lost a great many by reason of the bad victualling (33).'

There is all the reason in the world to believe, that the Reverend Prelate is mistaken in his account, since it agrees with none of those that were published at the time; for whereas these all (34) say, that Admiral Herbert followed the French, and engaged them as they went into the bay; the Bishop says just the reverse, that he engaged them as they came out. As to what regarded the victualling, Lord Torrington gave up those who were guilty to the justice of the House of Commons; and finding this created ill blood, he thought fit to quit his seat at the Admiralty-Board, in which he did not perhaps act quite so prudently, as he still chose to continue in the service.

(33) History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 20, 21.

(34) Burchet's Naval History, p. 416.

(32) History of the Proceedings of the House of Commons, Vol. II. p. 313, 314.



(a) Kennet's History of England, p. 602.

(b) Life of King William III. p. 274.

(c) Burchet's Naval History, p. 426. Collier's Columna Rostrata, p. 256.

(d) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 52. Burchet's Naval History, p. 426. Life of King William III. p. 274.

(e) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 602.

(f) Burchet's Naval History, p. 426. Life of King William III. p. 275. Columna Rostrata, p. 257. Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 80. —85.

squadron was employed, under Sir Cloudesly Shovell, in escorting King William to Ireland. In this situation, the Earl of Torrington proceeded to the Downs, in order to take upon him the command of the ships that were left. The Dutch also were exceeding slow in their motions, so that the enemy had all the advantage they could well desire, and were out at sea by the middle of June, with three squadrons, each consisting of three divisions, and composing, in the whole, seventy-eight men of war, and twenty-two fire-ships. With this force they arrived, on the twentieth of that month (a), off the Lizard. The next day they took some English fishing-boats, whom they soon after let go; and it was from the men on board these fishing-boats, that it was first known the French fleet was upon our coasts. The Earl of Torrington was at St Helens (b), waiting for Admiral Russell's squadron, and the rest of the ships that were to join him, when from Weymouth he received this news, the certainty of which he could not doubt; which intelligence must have greatly surprized him, since we are assured he so little expected it, that he had sent no cruisers to the westward. He put to sea, however, with such ships as he had, and stood to the south-east on Midsummer-day, leaving his orders, that all the English and Dutch ships which could have notice should follow him. This shews how much he was confused, and how little expectation he had of a speedy engagement; and indeed it was impossible that he should have framed any proper scheme of action, when he had no certain account of the strength of the French. In the evening, he was joined by several ships, and the next morning he found himself within sight of the enemy. The French landed, and made some prisoners on shore, and by them sent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of King James, and served as third Captain on board the Admiral, promising pardon to all such captains as would now join them and adhere to that prince (c). The next day, our Admiral received another reinforcement of seven Dutch men of war, under the command of Admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for several days. It is certain, that the Earl of Torrington did not think himself strong enough to venture an engagement (d), and, in all probability, the rest of the Admirals, viz. Sir John Ashby, Vice-Admiral of the Red; Edward Russell, Esq; Admiral of the Blue; Ralph Delaval, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the same squadron; and George Rooke, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Red, were of the like opinion. Besides, he waited for Sir Cloudesly Shovell, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth squadron, and some other ships. His whole strength consisted of about thirty-four men of war of several sizes, and the three Dutch Admirals had under their command twenty-two large ships. We need not wonder, therefore, that seeing himself out-numbered by above twenty sail, he was not willing to risk his own honour and the nation's safety upon such unequal terms. But the Queen, who was then Regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection; and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coast, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the Privy-Council, sent him orders to fight at all events (e), in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as soon as it was light, on the 30th of June, the Admiral gave a signal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under sail, by a wind, with their heads to the northward. The signal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their headsails to their masts, in order to lay by. The engagement began about nine, when the Dutch squadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into some disorder. About half an hour after, our blue squadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red, commanded by the Earl of Torrington in person, which made the center of our fleet, could not come up 'till about ten; and this occasioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French, making use of this advantage, surrounded the latter; who defended themselves very gallantly, though they suffered extremely from so unequal a dispute. The Admiral, seeing their distress, endeavoured to relieve them; and, while they dropped their anchors, the only method they had left to preserve themselves, he drove, with his own ship and several others, between them and the enemy; and, in that situation, anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but, perceiving how much the Dutch had suffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood (f). The next day it was resolved in a Council of War, held in the afternoon, to endeavour to preserve the fleet by retreating, and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement, by endeavouring to protect them. This resolution was executed with as much success as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French Admirals; for, by not anchoring when the English did, they were driven to a great distance; and, by pursuing in a line of battle, instead of leaving every ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first mistake. But notwithstanding all this, they continued their pursuit as far as Rye Bay, and forced one of our men of war of seventy guns, called the Anne, which had lost all her masts on shore near Winchelsea, they sent in two ships to burn her, which the Captain prevented, by setting fire to her himself. The body of the French fleet stood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pemsey in Sussex, while about fourteen of their ships anchored near the shore. Some of these attempted to burn a Dutch ship of sixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander defended



defended her so briskly every high water, that they were at length forced to desist, and the Captain carried her safe into Holland (g). Our loss in this unlucky affair, if we except reputation, was not so great as might have been expected; not above two ships, two sea captains, two captains of marines; and three hundred and fifty private men. The Dutch were much more unfortunate, because more thoroughly engaged. Besides three ships sunk in the fight, they were obliged to set fire to three more, that were stranded on the coast of Sussex; in all, six ships of the line. They lost likewise abundance of gallant officers, particularly their Rear-Admirals, Dick and Brakel, and Captain Nordel, with a great number of inferior officers and seamen (h). Our fleet retreated towards the river of Thames; and the Earl of Torrington, going on shore, left the command to Sir John Ashby; but first gave orders to Captain Monck of the Phoenix, together with four other fifth rates and four fireships, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the buoy of the spits; the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys (i), and immediately retreat if the enemy approached; or, if they pressed yet farther on him, he was ordered, in like manner, to take away the buoys near him, and to do what service he could against them with the fireships; but still to retire, and make the proper signals in such cases [I]. As soon as the Earl

(g) Burchet's  
Naval History,  
p. 427.

(h) Life of King  
William III. p.  
275.  
Kennet's History  
of England, Vol.  
III. p. 602.

(i) Burchet's  
Naval History,  
p. 427.

[I] *And make the proper signals in such cases.* In order to see this affair in every light of which it is capable, we shall produce in this note, those accounts that bear hardest upon the Earl of Torrington; and in the first place, that of Bishop Burnet, who relates the thing thus (35). 'On the day before the battle of the Boyne, the two fleets came to a great engagement at sea. The squadron that lay at Plymouth could not come up to join the great fleet, the wind being contrary; so that it was under debate what was fittest to be done. The Earl of Torrington thought he was not strong enough, and advised his coming in, till some more ships that were fitting out should be ready. Some began to call his courage in question, and imputed this to fear: They thought this would too much exalt our enemies and discourage our allies, if we left the French to triumph at sea, and to be the masters of our coast and trade; for our merchants richest ships were coming home, so that the leaving them in such a superiority, would be both very unbecoming and very mischievous to us. The Queen ordered Russel to advise both with the Navy Board, and with all that understood sea affairs; and upon a view of the strength of both fleets, they were of opinion, that though the French were superior in number, yet our fleet was so equal in strength to them, that it was reasonable to send orders to our Admiral to venture on an engagement: yet the orders were not so positive, but that a great deal was left to a Council. The two fleets engaged near Beachy in Sussex. The Dutch led the van, and to shew their courage they advanced too far out of the line, and fought in the beginning with some advantage, the French plying before them; and our blue squadron engaged bravely: but the Earl of Torrington kept in his line, and continued to fight at a distance. The French seeing the Dutch came out so far before the line, fell on them furiously both in front and flank, which the Earl of Torrington neglected for some time, and when he endeavoured to come a little nearer, the calm was such, that he could not come up. The Dutch suffered much, and their whole fleet had perished, if their Admiral Calembourg had not ordered them to drop their anchors while their sails were all up. This was not observed by the French, so they were carried by the tide, while the others lay still; and thus, in a few minutes, the Dutch were out of danger. They lost many men, and sunk some of their ships which had suffered the most, that they might not fall into the enemies hands. It was now necessary to order the fleet to come in with all possible haste. Both the Dutch and the blue squadron complained much of the Earl of Torrington, and it was a general opinion, that if the whole fleet had come up to a close fight, we must have beat the French; and, considering how far they were from Brest, and that our squadron at Plymouth lay between them and home, a victory might have had great consequences. Our fleet was now in a bad condition, and broken into factions; and if the French had not lost the night's tide, but had followed us close, they might have destroyed many of our ships. Both the Admirals were almost equally blamed, ours for not fighting, and the French for not pursuing his victory.' We will next

give the extract of Rear-Admiral Evertzen's letter to the States (36). 'The 4th of this month we joined the English and Dutch fleets, riding near the Isle of Wight with three men of war; there he understood that the French fleet had been descried riding in several places, to the number of eighty-two men of war, great and small; thereupon it was resolved that they should weigh anchor, with a resolution to find them out and observe their motions. Before the arrival of Admiral Evertzen, it was agreed between the two nations, that the Hollanders should have the vanguard, which was in appearance to do them honour, but at the bottom to conceal Torrington's designs. After they had been under sail about two or three hours, they were obliged by fogs and bad weather to come to an anchor, but soon after they perceived the French fleet to bear up towards them with the wind at east. Immediately they weighed anchor, and endeavoured to gain the weather-gage, which they did with such success; that Torrington gave the signal for the first squadron to engage, but the French thought fit to retire. The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the two fleets were always in view of each other; but in regard the French fleet was much the stronger, both for number and bigness of ships, it was judged most proper not to fight in the open sea; and Torrington did his part so well, that he avoided engaging till he was come off Beachy-Head, which was favourable for his purpose, and there it was that he received the Queen's orders not to delay engaging, if the wind and the weather would permit, which was the reason that upon the 10th by day-break we went to seek the enemy, who expected us in order of battle: and so by nine o'clock the engagement began, between the blue squadron of the French and the vanguard of the Dutch, and both sides fired desperately for three hours together, till the French squadron, not liking their entertainment, bore away with all the tack they could make; but about one there happened a calm, which not only prevented the Hollanders pursuit, but put them into a little disorder; upon which the French, whom the same calm hindered from getting away, were constrained to begin the fight again, which lasted till five o'clock in the evening with an incredible fury. As for what concerns the English most certainly, unless it were some few vessels that fought against Torrington's order, the rest did nothing at all; so that the main body of the French fell into the rear of the Dutch fleet: and having fought from morning till evening, and defended themselves so long against such a prodigious number of the enemy that assailed them on every side, they were so battered, that hardly three were capable of making any defence, which constrained them to make their way through the French fleet, and bear away for the coast of England, between Beachy and Ferley. Admirals Brakel, Jean Dick, and Captain Nordel were slain. The Friezland, having lost all her masts, and not to be towed off by reason of the calm, was taken towards the end of the fight. Admiral Evertzen gave this testimony of all the Dutch officers and soldiers, that there was not one that did not exactly perform his duty. In short, it has not been heard, that ever twenty-two ships fought

(36) Mercure  
Historique & Po-  
litique, Tom.  
IX. p. 80.

(35) History of  
his own times,  
Vol. II. p. 52,  
53.



(k) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 53.  
 Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 603.  
 Burchet's Naval History, p. 428.

(l) Life of King William III. p. 276.

Earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the Council, where he justified himself with great presence of mind; he said, there were two things to be principally considered, the loss that had been sustained in the fight, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The first, he alledged, was owing to the ill grounded contempt the English and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at sea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had saved the fleet; and that he had much rather his reputation should suffer for a time, than his country undergo a loss, which she might never be able to repair. The Council, however, thought proper to commit his Lordship close prisoner to the Tower (k); and, that they might still the clamours of the crowd, and give some satisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerness, in order to make a thorough enquiry into the real causes of this disaster [K]. The King, upon his return from Ireland, expressed great concern about this affair; the honour of the nation was in some measure affected; the common cry was very strong against the Earl; and the Queen had engaged her promise to the Dutch, that his conduct should undergo a strict examination (l). On the other hand, the Earl had been very instrumental in the Revolution, had great alliances among the nobility, and had found the means of persuading many, that, instead of being called to an account for any real errors in his conduct, he was in danger of being sacrificed to the resentment of foreigners, merely for preserving the English fleet. The great difficulty, as to the developing this perplexed business, lay in the manner of bringing him to a trial. The King was resolved it should be by a Court-Martial; the friends of the Earl maintained, that he ought to be tried by his Peers. A doubt was likewise started as to the power of the Lords of the Admiralty; for though it was allowed that the Lord High-Admiral of England might have issued a commission for trying him, yet it was questioned whether any such authority was lodged in the Commissioners of the Admiralty or not; and,

'fought so long against eighty-two, of which seventeen carried no less than from eighty to an hundred guns.' The reader may observe, that both these writers agree the Earl of Torrington was in his judgment against fighting; that in this, other great officers of the fleet concurred; that while he acted according to his and their notions, he did all that could be expected, and might probably have continued on the defensive 'till properly reinforced; that the Secretary's letter, in the name of the Queen, determined, or rather obliged him to fight; the Prelate says, that it was conditional, but the Dutch Admiral that it was positive. Bishop Burnet gives the honour of saving the fleet to the Dutch Admiral Calembourg, of which however Evertzen says not one word; and Burchet, upon good authority, ascribes it to the Earl of Torrington; according to the English Bishop, part of our fleet behaved well; according to the Dutch Admiral, nobody did any thing but themselves; and the wonder was, how twenty-two ships could sustain the fire of upwards of fourscore, many of these carrying a prodigious weight of metal. If this had been the case, how came the officers of the blue squadron to complain so much; how came the English to lose some ships, and to have several very ill treated? But, says the English Prelate, if the whole fleet had come to a close fight, we should have had a victory attended with such circumstances, as must have been followed by great consequences. This is the judgment of a Clergyman at a distance; the Earl of Torrington, a great seaman upon the spot, thought otherwise; and that the French might have gained a greater victory than they did, which in its consequences might have been decisive against the maritime powers; so that, in his judgment, the greatest service that could then be done, was to save the fleet, and wait a proper season for repairing this disaster, which was effectually done at La Hogue. The impartial reader will decide, as to the probability of these relations, and as to the propriety of our reflections.

[K] Of this disaster. At this distance of time, there can no reasons subsist, which ought to prevent our examining an affair of this importance to the bottom. The commissioners (37) appointed to go from ship to ship, were the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Pembroke, who were charged to make the strictest enquiries, and this certainly was very proper; but before the result of such examinations could be known, there were some very strong steps taken, for the Earl of Nottingham wrote a letter to Lord Dursley, then at the Hague, in express terms; 'that the Dutch squadron, had behaved with so much bravery, that if my Lord Torrington had done his duty, we should in all appearance have obtained a complete victory.' This letter was published in Dutch in the Courant, to gratify the populace of that nation, the passage be-

forementioned, inserted in their French (38) Historical Memoirs, in order to circulate this as a fact through all Europe. It appears likewise, that our ministers (39) at all foreign courts, had informations of the like kind given them. But what was still more, the Queen sent over Mr Harbord (40) to the States-General, to let them know how much she was concerned at the misfortune which had befallen their squadron in the late engagement, and at their not having been seconded as they ought to have been, which matter her Majesty had directed to be examined into, in order to recompense those who had done their duty, and to punish such as should be found to have deserved it. That her Majesty had given orders for refitting the Dutch ships that were disabled at her own charge, and commanded that all possible care should be taken of the sick and wounded seamen; and that rewards should be given to the widows of those that were killed, behaving themselves bravely in the fight, to encourage others to do well for the future. The King in his speech to the Parliament on the 2d of October, has this passage (41). 'I cannot conclude, without taking notice also how much the honour of the Nation has been exposed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the last summer's engagement against the French; and I think myself so much concerned to see it vindicated, that I cannot rest satisfied 'till an example has been made of such as shall be found faulty upon their examination and trial, which was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, but is now put into the proper way of being done as soon as may be.' Thus it appears plainly, that the Court concluded the Earl of Torrington guilty of mismanagement at least; if not of some greater crime, and by publishing their sentiments, had thrown him into a strange situation, considering that he was still to be brought to a trial; for if without proceeding to that, he had been deprived of his commission and disgraced; many plausible things might have been said, upon political principles, and all circumstances considered, it might have been looked upon as a measure, which the then conjuncture of affairs rendered necessary. But a trial was a thing of another nature, in which as a subject and as a Peer of England, he was entitled to strict justice, and was to be heard in his own defence, before he could be condemned. There were many who thought this should be done by impeachment, in case he was charged with high-treason or treachery. But those who prosecuted him, were inclined to a more general charge of mismanagement and misbehaviour, and were therefore for bringing this cause to another tribunal, which was that of a Court-Martial, notwithstanding that to this likewise, there lay great exceptions, as it was a thing unprecedented, and for various other reasons, which will appear more fully in the next note.

(38) Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 86.

(39) Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History of England, Vol. I. p. 140, 141.

(40) Kennet's Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 603.  
 Ralph's History of England, Vol. II. p. 229.

(41) Life of King William III. p. 291.

(37) Ralph's History of England, Vol. II. p. 229.



and, though some great Lawyers gave their opinion in the affirmative, yet it was judged expedient, to settle so important a point by authority of Parliament. In order, therefore, to obviate this difficulty, a new law (m) was made, declarative of the power of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; and, immediately after the passing of this, these Commissioners, who, in virtue of letters patent, dated June 5, 1690, were, Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; John Earl of Carbery; Sir Thomas Lee, Baronet; Sir John Lowther, Baronet; Edward Russell, Esq; Sir Richard Onslow, Baronet; and Henry Priestman (n), Esq; issued a commission for this purpose, though many of the nobility had declared their dislike of that law, and expressed their reasons with great force in a protest (o) [L]. At the time this Law passed, the Earl of Torrington was in the Tower, and much indisposed, but was immediately removed into the custody of the Marshal of the Admiralty; where he had not continued long, before he brought his case into the House of Commons, where he was extremely anxious that it should be placed in a true light. This was done, by a Member's acquainting the House, that this noble Peer was desirous of being heard at their bar, in respect to the matter for which he was in custody. Upon this, an order was made for his Lordship's being brought thither the next day; the Serjeant at Arms was directed to serve the Marshal of the Admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and November the twelfth, the House being informed that his Lordship was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the Serjeant with the mace, to a chair set for him within the bar, on the left hand of the House as he came in; and having sat down thereon for some time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his Lordship rose, and stood at the back of the chair uncovered (p), and was heard before the House; after which his Lordship withdrew, the mace attending him. This is all we meet with in the Journal; but a writer of those times assures us, that his Lordship found himself so much embarrassed in the presence of that assembly, as not to be able to express himself as he intended; upon which he acquainted the Commons, that, being accustomed rather to act than to speak, he found himself at a loss for words, and therefore desired to make use of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's service, how many years he had spent therein; and of his having lost much blood, as well as his having been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loss he had sustained, for supporting the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of England, under King James the Second. Last of all, he spoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy-Head; in respect to which, he excused his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, shortness of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in support of what he said, produced some letters: but all this was of little or no use to his Lordship (q); the House remitted him to that tryal, for which the late act had made way, and of which the highest expectations were raised at home and abroad. The King also gave directions for hastening it, being resolved not to embark for Holland 'till it was all over. Accordingly, Saturday the sixth of December, 1690, his Lordship went down to Sheerness in his yacht, the Court Martial sitting there on board the Kent. On Monday December 8, Sir Ralph Delaval being in the chair (r) as President, the commission was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjusted; after which, the court adjourned to Wednesday the tenth. The charge against the Earl was, that, in the late naval engagement off Beachy-Head, he had, through treachery or cowardice, misbehaved in his office, drawn dishonour on the English nation, and sacrificed our good allies the Dutch. His Lordship defended himself with great clearness of reason, and with extraordinary composure of mind. He observed, that,

(m) Stat. II. Will. and Mary, Sect. II. cap. 2.

(n) History of the Admiralty of Great-Britain, Vol. II. p. 367, 368.

(o) See note [L].

(p) Journal-book of the House of Commons, die Martis, Nov. 11. & die Mercurii, Nov. 12, 1690.

(q) Remarkable Passages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 657, 658.

(r) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 86. Remarkable Passages in the Life of Lord Torrington.

[L] *In a protest.* The bill for vesting the same power in the Commissioners of the Admiralty, as had been hitherto placed by law in the Lord-High-Admiral, was read in the House of Peers for the third time, October 30, 1690, when, the leave of the House being previously obtained, seventeen Peers entered their protest for the following reasons (42).

First, Because this bill gives a power to Commissioners of the Admiralty to execute a jurisdiction, which by the Act of 13 Car. II. entitled, An act for establishing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his Majesty's navy, ships of war, and forces by sea, we conceive they had not; whereby the Earl of Torrington may come to be tried for his life, for facts committed several months before this power was given or desired. We think it reasonable, that every man should be tried by that law that was known to be in force when the crime was committed.

Secondly, It is by virtue of the said act of 13 Car. II. that the Earl of Torrington was judged by this house, not to have the privilege of a Peer of this realm, for any offences committed against the said act; and there is no other law as we conceive, by which the said Earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a Peer of this realm; which act making no mention of Commissioners of the Admiralty, but of a Lord-High-Admiral only, by whose authority all the powers

given by that act are to be exercised, and without whose consent singly, no sentence of death can be executed. We think it of dangerous consequence to expound a law of this capital nature, otherwise than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to pass even explanatory laws, much less such as have a retrospect in them in cases of life and death; so we think it not at all necessary to make such a precedent at this time, there being an undoubted legal way already established to bring this Earl to a trial by a Lord-High-Admiral.

Thirdly, The Judges having unanimously declared, that the law marine was no where particularized in their books, whereby the power or jurisdiction of the Lord-High-Admiral may be ascertained; so that the practice is all that we know of it; we conceive it unprecedented and of dangerous consequence, that the jurisdiction exercised by the Lord-High-Admiral, should by a law be declared to be in the Commissioners of the Admiralty, whereby an unknown and therefore unlimited power may be established in them.

Rivers, Huntingdon, Rochester, Weymouth, Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Tho. Roffen, Crewe, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Craven, J. Exon, Bolton, J. Bridgewater.

[M] Upon

(42) The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, Vol. I. p. 405, 406.



in the several Councils of War held before the fight, not only himself, but all the Admirals in the fleet, were against engaging. He took notice of the Queen's order, which obliged them to fight against their own opinion, and without any probability of success. He remarked the inequality of the confederate and French fleets, the former consisting but of fifty-six, and the latter having eighty-two, ships which were actually engaged. He asserted, that the Dutch were destroyed by their own rashness, and that, if he had sustained them in the manner they expected, the whole confederate fleet must have been surrounded, as they were; and, as some reflections had been thrown out, of his having a pique to the Dutch, to gratify which he had given them up, he not only justified himself very warmly on that point, but concluded his defence with saying, that his conduct had saved an English fleet, and that he hoped an English Court-Martial would not sacrifice him to Dutch passion, prejudice, and resentment. After a full hearing, and strict examination of all that had been advanced on both sides, his Lordship was unanimously acquitted (s); and though some writers of our own as well as of another nation, have taken great liberties with this judgment of the Court-Martial, yet, on the whole, there seems to be no just ground, either for censuring them, or fixing any imputation on the character of that noble person. It is true, the day after his acquittal, the King took away his commission (t), and he was thence forward laid aside, which might be a very right step in politics, as it tended to satisfy our allies, and gave his Majesty an opportunity of employing a more fortunate officer; but, when we allow this, in justification of the King and his ministers, we must in justice to this nobleman declare, that there are no sufficient grounds in any of the accounts that are still extant, to leave a stain upon his memory to posterity [M]. This will appear the more reasonable, if we consider the whole

(s) Burchet's Naval History, p. 428. Remarkable Passages in the Life of Lord Torrington. Life of King William III. p. 276. Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 603. Columna Rostrata, p. 258.

(t) Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 86.

[M] Upon his memory to posterity.] The object which those have in view, who are actors in these great affairs, is to carry their point; the business of those who record them, is to come at the truth, and to represent it fairly whenever they can come at it. The crimes first imputed to the Earl of Torrington, were clearly treason and treachery. If he had been guilty of these, he ought to have been and he might have been impeached. In a very little time however these charges were dropped, even by those who brought them, and in their stead were substituted want of courage and pique to the Dutch (43). In respect to these however, his enemies felt themselves early in such want of proof, that they declared to all the world, that they should hold themselves obliged to Death, if he would rid them and his lordship of all perplexity, by removing him while he lay in the Tower (44). These certainly were no very strong presumptions of his Lordship's guilt. The powers lodged in the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were such, that they might pick out of all the Captains in England, whom they pleased to be his judges; and surely nothing but the force of innocence could enable a man to defend himself before such a Judicature. The President Sir Ralph Delaval, had been himself in the action, and was Vice-Admiral of the blue squadron, which was supposed to have suffered almost as much as the Dutch (45); so that that if any credit be due to appearances, one would think the unanimous acquittal of the Earl of Torrington, could proceed from nothing but a conviction, that he was prosecuted without any foundation (46). But the historian of his own times thought otherwise. After giving the history of the sessions of Parliament of 1690, the reverend prelate proceeds thus (47). 'There were no important debates in the House of Lords. The Earl of Torrington's business held them long. The form of his commitment was judged to be illegal, and the martial-law, to which by the statute all who served in the fleet were subject, being lodged in the Lord-High-Admiral, it was doubted whether the Admiralty being now in commission that power was lodged with the Commissioners. The Judges were of opinion that it was: yet since the power of life and death was too sacred a thing to pass only by a construction of law, it was thought the safest course to pass an act, declaring, that the powers of a Lord-High-Admiral did rest in the Commissioners. The secret enemies of the Government who intended to embroil matters, moved that the Earl of Torrington should be impeached in Parliament; proceedings in that way being always slow, incidents were also apt to fall in that might create disputes between the two Houses, which did sometimes end in a rupture: but the King was apprehensive of that, and though he was much incensed against that Lord, and had reason to believe that a council of war would treat him very favourably, yet he chose rather to let it go so,

than to disorder his affairs. The Commissioners of the Admiralty named a court to try him, who did it with so gross a partiality, that it reflected much on the justice of the nation; so that if it had not been for the great interest the King had in the States, it might have occasioned a breach of the alliance between them and us. He came off safe as to his person and estate, but much loaded in his reputation; some charging him with want of courage, while others imputed his ill conduct to a haughty talleness of temper, that made him, since orders were sent him contrary to the advices he had given, to resolve indeed to obey them and fight, but in such a manner as should cast the blame on all those who had sent him the orders, and give them cause to repent it.' Such were the sentiments of Bishop Burnet, let us compare them with those of the Dutch news-writer, who was known to be under the protection and influence of the States. His narrative runs thus (48). 'At length, the charge against the late Admiral the Earl of Torrington was brought to a trial, on board the Kent frigate at Chatham, the 19th of the last month. There were high disputes for some time, and some officers that accused him, reproached him loudly with cowardice and treachery. This however did not hinder his judges to declare him innocent, whether they thought him so indeed, or whether swayed by particular interest, is left for others to determine. The Earl, as soon as he was acquitted, gave orders to some of the Captains, as a mark of his retaining his authority, and then returned in triumph up the Thames, carrying the Admiral's flag on his yacht; the judges having declared, that his commission was in force till the King took away his patent. Many people were much surprized at this judgment, and even his Majesty himself seemed to be astonished. The next day he sent for this Earl's commission, and at the same time dismissed him from his command of one of the marine regiments. He desired to have the honour to kiss the King's hand, and to have laid his commission at his royal feet, but that was refused him. However, upon the 26th, he went to the House of Lords, and took his seat among the Peers, but the greatest part of the members looked upon him but with an indifferent eye. He is therefore preparing to retire to his house in the country. A resolution also has been taken, to give no employment to any of his judges, which confirms the opinion of those who thought that they did not observe the strictness of law. Upwards of forty sea officers have been removed, some, because they are suspected not to have done their duty in the last engagement; some being thought too much devoted to the Lord Torrington's interests; and others for different reasons. Mr Russell is made Admiral of the Red squadron; Sir John Ashby, Vice-Admiral, and Captain Rook, Rear-Admiral; Captain Killigrew of the Blue; Sir Ralph Delaval,

(43) Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 67. Life of King William III. p. 275.

(44) Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. IX. p. 959.

(45) Burchet's Naval History, p. 428.

(46) Collier's Columna Rostrata, p. 257, 258.

(47) History of his own times, Vol. II. p. 67, 68.

(48) Mercure Historique & Politique, Tom. X. p. 85, 86, 87.



whole tenour of his Lordship's conduct after this heavy misfortune, and in which it does not appear that he was at all prejudiced or diverted from his former principles by resentment. On the contrary, during the very next session of Parliament, he acted precisely in the same manner as when he was in power, though he never afterwards courted any administration. He had the misfortune to lose his youngest brother, Colonel Charles Herbert, who was killed at the battle of Aghrim in Ireland, on Sunday July 12, 1691, after having passed a bog up to the middle, at the head of his regiment, and forcing the Irish to quit the hedges they had occupied beyond it. But pushing them briskly to their main body, he was unluckily taken prisoner; and the enemy perceiving that he was like to be rescued, they, to prevent it, barbarously put him to death. The honours of this noble Peer were entailed on him and his heirs male, and his dying immaturally, and without being ever married, made this loss so much the greater. In 1692, Admiral Russell was charged with not making so much use as he might have done of the glorious victory at la Hogue, which he positively affirmed was owing to the loose intelligence and ill-judged orders that were sent him by the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State. The House of Commons were so well satisfied with this, that they thanked him over and over. But the courtiers in the House of Lords supported the Earl of Nottingham; and the King having

Delaval Vice, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Rear-Admiral of the same squadron.

We have now reported this affair, as stated on all sides, that the reader may be the better able to judge of it, and without attempting to bias his opinion, we shall likewise speak our own. The courage of the Earl of Torrington had never been called in question, these memoirs that we have collected, shew that it ought not. There is however something farther that deserves to be mentioned upon this occasion, which was his behaviour the year before in attacking the French squadron, though superior to himself, in Bantry-Bay. King William saw this in it's true light, and spoke of it like a great Prince and a wise Captain, he said (49), 'That such instances of courage were necessary at the beginning of a war, but might be fatal in the course of it.' This was a lesson to the Earl of Torrington, who in this attack had a mind to see whether in action, the French ships were as formidable as in their appearance, and having found they were, he very probably resolved not to fight again but upon equal terms. His abilities were never questioned, he knew the state of the fleet he commanded this summer, he found it assembled slowly, he felt the want of intelligence, he understood better than any body the superiority of the enemy, which did not dispose him to fighting, more especially as he expected to be joined by the Portsmouth squadron, and except a little confusion, did not foresee any great impression the French could make upon our coasts. The rest of the Admirals, Dutch as well as English, who should have been, and very probably were, the best judges of these matters, thought as he did, concurred in the expediency of declining an engagement in such circumstances, and in doing this, which was all that was fit to be done, Admiral Evertzen himself admits, that the Earl acted very ably. But the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State (50), alarmed by the general consternation which the appearance of the French fleet had occasioned, sent him the Queen's orders to fight, which he could not but obey; and yet, unless he could have commanded fortune and the winds, should not be entirely answerable for the consequences. The French Fleet was in all respects superior, by at least a fourth; the Dutch behaved gallantly, and are said to have made some impression, but it does not appear that any of the enemies ships were disabled; so that after their misfortune, the English were still left to contest with the whole French fleet. If the Earl did not come up time enough to support the Dutch, he alledged that this was owing to their eagerness and the sinking of the wind; and that this really was so, appeared by his exposing himself extremely for their preservation. It is on all hands allowed, that he acted with great prudence and presence of mind in making the retreat, which by the way is incompatible with every article of the charge; and discharges him alike from treason, treachery, and cowardice (51). But after all it may be said, the fault lay some where. No doubt it did. But might it not as well lie in an overbearing Secretary, who would undertake the direction of all things, whether he understood them or not? was it not this Secretary who supported the clamour against the Admiral, who wrote the letter to Lord Dursley, who dictated the message to Mr Harbord, who prejudiced the King and Queen a-

gainst Torrington, and who two years after did the same with regard to Admiral Russell (52)? Things being considered in this light, the judgment of the Court Martial might be agreeable to truth and reason, though being contrary to their expectations it might be ill received at Court. But that the members of it were never employed afterwards is a glaring falsehood, since Sir Ralph Delaval, who was President of the Court Martial, was one of the joint Admirals of the fleet the very next year (53); and as to the great interest of the Earl of Torrington in the English navy, the reader will be pleased to consider how that is to be reconciled to the character that is given him, of being one of the haughtiest and most intractable men living. However, impartial historians of all parties have done him justice, and it is particularly to the honour of Mr le Clerc, that he has treated this affair with all the candour imaginable (54), and without suffering himself to be carried away by the calumny of those times, whether Dutch or English. It would have been as well, if Mr Bruzen de la Martiniere had observed the same moderation, more especially as he seems to have been but very indifferently acquainted with facts. In order to support so harsh a charge as this, we will produce his own account of the confederate fleet at the time of the engagement. 'The Dutch, says he, commanded by Admiral Hevertzen, had the rear guard; the English, under the orders of Herbert, otherwise called the Earl of Torrington, were in the van, and the main body was composed of the ships of both nations (55).' In all this there is not one word of truth, any more than colour of decency, or propriety of diction; for it was Rear-Admiral Evertzen, who commanded the van; the Earl of Torrington was in the center, and the English blue squadron formed the rear, as the English, French, and Dutch accounts agree (56). We need not wonder therefore that this writer should say the English Admiral fought ill, almost always kept the wind, and seemed to engage from a point of complaisance, and precisely to such a degree, as that it might not be said that he fled. He cites (with what justice the reader knows) for these suggestions the authority of Bishop Burnet. The French writers themselves have treated this matter with more modesty and justice, except in a single instance, where they convert the burning a very considerable village in Devonshire with three fishing smacks, into an expedition of consequence, in which Martiniere (57) has followed them very exactly, he says, that on the 5th of August, they landed under the fire of their gallies, within half cannon shot of Tingmouth, that two hundred English militia abandoned an intrenchment which they were posted to defend, upon the approach of the Count D'Estrees at the head of four hundred men, who made themselves masters of the town and port, in which they burnt four armed vessels and eight merchantment. Before we put an end to this article it will not be amiss to remark, that the French never had so great an advantage over us at sea; that for six weeks they were masters upon our coasts, that we had hardly any regular troops in the kingdom; that the spirit of division never reigned so strong as at that juncture throughout the nation; and that notwithstanding all this, and though opposed only by militia, the burning of Tingmouth was the sole fruits of their victory.

(52) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 648.

(53) Life of King William III. p. 363.

(54) Histoire des Provinces Unies, Tom. III. p. 419.

(55) Histoire de Louis X. V. Tom. IV. p. 488.

(56) See the notes [I] [K] [L].

(57) M. de Quincy, Histoire Militaire, Tom. II. p. 330. P. Daniel, Histoire de France, Tom. X. p. 155. Histoire de la Milice François, Tom. II. p. 491. Histoire de Louis XIV. Tom. IV. p. 490.

(49) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 564.

(50) Life of King William III. p. 274.

(51) Ralph's History of England, Vol. II. p. 226.



having demanded the advice of both Houses, upon the then state of affairs, it was proposed to appoint a joint commission to consider the condition of the kingdom, that, upon a strict enquiry, they might concur in making a suitable return to the Crown. This proposition, however, was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of twelve, against which the Earl of Torrington and seventeen other peers entered their protest. In this his Lordship may be presumed to have acted with great impartiality, since Admiral Russell was not looked upon as his Lordship's friend, and had formerly shewn a reluctance at least, if not refused, to act under him. Yet the same influence that had prevailed against the Earl of Torrington, engaged the King to lay aside Admiral Russell also for the present; though the conduct of the Secretary appeared so exceptionable, that the King found it at last requisite to remove him, and to give the Seals to the Earl of Shrewsbury the year following, when Admiral Russell was also restored to the command of the fleet (*u*). As for the Earl of Torrington, it does not in the least appear that he ever sought to come again into employment, or to enter farther into the management of public business, than as the cognizance of it belonged to the House of Peers, where he constantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the least; which is a manifest proof, that he was not governed by caprice but by principle (*w*). He was always on the side of the Crown, and very rarely in an opposition to its Ministers; sometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly protested, that the reasons of his opposition might appear, and that the world might not ascribe his disagreement with men in power to spleen. In matters that related to the marine, he was generally most forward; and, in respect to them, the House heard him with attention; and, upon such occasions, he shewed himself commonly a friend to strict discipline, and a frugal management in the Navy. His Lordship was twice married, first to Anne, daughter of Mr Hadley, and the widow of Mr Pheasant, who was near seventy years of age, and very rich, having estates in Yorkshire, and other parts of the kingdom, to a great value. After her decease, he espoused Anne, daughter to Sir William Airmine, of Osgoodby in the county of Lincoln, Baronet, who had been twice married before; first to Sir Thomas Woodhouse of Kimberley, in the county of Norfolk, Baronet; and secondly, to Thomas, Lord Crew of Stene, in the county of Northampton; so that, exclusive of the moiety of her father's great estate, she brought him two large jointures, which he enjoyed during his life (*x*). His Lordship deceased on the 13th of April, 1716, being then upwards of seventy (*y*). He left all his estate, which was very considerable, to the Right-Honourable Henry late Earl of Lincoln, on account of that noble person's steady adherence to his principles, and because, as some say, he was dissatisfied in his own mind, as to a vote he had given, in a matter of private property, against that noble peer; which is very consistent with that nice sense of honour, and disinterested spirit, which his Lordship had shewn upon other occasions. Anne, Countess dowager of Torrington, his widow, deceased April 2, 1719 (*z*).

In respect to this title, which was often conferred and often extinct, and of which there were several dowagers of different families, which has occasioned some confusion, it may not be amiss to shew, at the close of this article, by whom it was borne, and how it has been bestowed, since it became a title of honour, to this time. It first gave the title of an Earl to General George Monk, who, by letters patent, bearing date July the seventh, in the twelfth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, was created Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tyes, Earl of Torrington, and Duke of Albemarle. In his life-time, his son Christopher was stiled Earl of Torrington; and his consort, Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, daughter to Henry Lord Ogle (successively Dukes of Albemarle and Montague), was called Countess of Torrington. It was very soon after the decease of Christopher Duke of Albemarle and Earl of Torrington, that King William bestowed the latter title upon Admiral Herbert. But this noble person had not been long dead, before his late Majesty created the honourable Mr Thomas Newport, brother to the Earl of Bradford, by letters patent, bearing date the 25th of June, in the second year of his reign, Baron of Torrington. He was also a Teller of the Exchequer, and one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council; but his Lordship died May the twenty-seventh, 1719, by which demise this title became extinct. However, his widow, who was the daughter of Francis Pierpoint of Nottingham, Esq; and was his Lordship's third wife, survived him, and bore the title of Lady Torrington to the year 1735, when she deceased. After the signal Victory obtained over the Spaniards in the Straights of Messina, his said late Majesty created, by letters patent, dated September the nineteenth, in the seventh year of his reign, Sir George Byng, Knight and Baronet, Baron Byng of Southill in the county of Bedford, and Viscount Torrington in the county of Devon. His Lordship died January 17, 1732, but his widow Margaret, daughter of James Master of East-Langden in the county of Kent, survived to March 30, 1755. The title is now enjoyed by their grandson by their second son, George, Lord Viscount Torrington, who deceased April 7, 1750.

(*u*) Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 662.  
Life of King William III. p. 375.

(*w*) See the Debates in the House of Lords, Vol. I.

(*x*) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 259.

(*y*) Historical Register for the year 1716, p. 219.  
Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 129.

(*z*) Historical Register for the year 1719, p. 15.



HEYLIN [PETER], an eminent English divine and writer in the XVIIth century, was the second son of Henry Heylin, Gentleman (a), by Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Clampard of Wrotham in Kent (b). He was born at Burford in Oxfordshire, November 29, 1600 (c), and in the free-school of that place he acquired the principles of grammatical learning. Here likewise he first displayed his growing abilities, by some compositions that were thought well of at that time, and from one of his tender years; particularly a tragi-comedy on the wars and fate of Troy, with some other historical exercises (d). In 1613, he was, by his father, entered of Hart-hall in Oxford (e). Here he studied under two tutors successively, one of which was a zealous Puritan. In the year following, he set up for a Demy's place in Magdalen-college; but being thought rather too young, and the majority of the fellows having been previously engaged in the interest of another, he lost the election: however, in the next year he was chosen, when he gave sufficient evidence of his having made a considerable progress in academical literature (f). Shortly after this, he gave a farther proof of his talent for dramatic poetry, by composing a tragedy in English, entitled *Spurius*, which had the general approbation of the society to which he belonged; insomuch, that the President, Dr Langton, ordered it to be acted in his apartments (g); but it was not printed (h). On the 17th of October, 1617, he was created Bachelor of Arts (i). After this, 'till his taking the degree of Master, he, every long vacation, read cosmographical lectures in the common refectory of the college (k). As this was an unusual thing, and he was very conversant in the subject, he gave great satisfaction to the auditors. The very first of these discourses, which he delivered towards the end of July, 1618, was so well approved, that he was elected Probationer-Fellow, and Moderator of the senior form in the Hall; and, on July 19, 1619, was admitted Perpetual Fellow (l). July 1, 1620, he was made Master of Arts (m). In the year ensuing he appeared in the character of a writer, when he set forth his *Microcosmus: or, A Description of the Great World*. The chief materials of this work were the abovementioned lectures. He began the composing of it on the 22d of February, 1619; and finished it on the 29th of April following (n). It was first published in quarto; November 7, 1621 (o). It was dedicated and presented to Prince Charles, who received it and the author very graciously. It was universally liked, and speedily bought up; so that, in 1624, it was reprinted in the same size, but with considerable additions, and again presented to it's royal patron. It was soon after put into the hands of King James, by Dr Young Dean of Winchester. His Majesty, at first view, seemed greatly pleased with it; 'till, meeting with a passage therein, where Heylin gave precedence to the French King, and stiled France the more famous kingdom, he was, forsooth, so exceedingly offended, forgetting how much more he had degraded both himself and the British nation, in the eyes of all Europe, that he ordered the Lord-Keeper to suppress the book. Heylin was then at Oxford, whither Dr Young sent him notice of this untoward circumstance, persuading him to repair immediately to London, and endeavour the appeasing of his angry sovereign. But, by the advice of his friend Lord Danvers, who knew better how to estimate that King's wrath, he stayed where he was, and only wrote back to the Doctor an apology, wherein he declared, that the error, in one of the exceptionable passages (p), was entirely the Printer's, who had put *is* instead of *was*; and that when he himself mentioned the precedence of France before England, 'besides, that he did not speak of England as it then stood augmented by Scotland, he took what he did say from Camden in his *Remains*.' James was hereby satisfied, and Heylin took care, on the other hand, that the whole clause, which gave so much disgust, should be left out of all future impressions (q). This work was successively enlarged, 'till it became a great folio [A]. In 1623

(a) Theologo-Historicus: or, the true Life of Peter Heylin, D. D. by his son-in-law John Barnard, D. D. p. 75. edit. London, 1683.

(b) Ibid. p. 80.

(c) Ibid. p. 74.

(d) Ibid. p. 81, 82.

(e) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 276. ad edit.

(f) Ibid.

(g) Barnard, ubi supra, p. 86.

(h) Wood, ubi supra, col. 279.

(i) Idem, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 203.

(k) Idem, Athen. Oxon. col. 276.

(l) Idem.

(m) Wood, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 216.

(n) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 276.

(o) Life of Heylin, by Dr Barnard, p. 89.

(p) Microcosmus, p. 441, l. 1. edit. 1624.

(q) Barnard, ubi supra, p. 94—101.

[A] 'Till it became a great folio.] Intituled, COSMOGRAPHY, in four Books; containing the Geography and History of the whole World, and all the principal Kingdoms, Provinces, Seas, and the Isles thereof. Several editions of it, in this size, were printed at London, 1652, 1664, 1667, 1682: the last was in the year 1703; said to be improved beyond all the former, with an historical continuation to that time, by Edmund Bohun, Esquire. It was towards the expiration of the year 1648, that Heylin set about the enlarging of this work, which has done him more honour than all his other writings, whereof he has given some account in his preliminary advertisement to the reader. He there says, That being, by the unhappiness of his destiny, or the infelicity of the times, deprived of his preferments, and divested of his ministerial function, as to it's public exercise, he had leisure enough, and opportunity of spending more idle hours than he ever expected or desired. Under these circumstances, being willing to do somewhat whereby ensuing times might know how he had passed away those vacant seasons; and considering of some particulars within his power, and answerable to that small stock of books which he had recruited, (his own being taken from him, and disposed of, contrary unto public order) he was requested by some friends of no common quality, to review

his Geography, to make it more compleat; and so render it more useful to an English reader. This motion he at first neglected. His default from those younger studies, his great want of books, the sad complexion of the times, and the unhandsome entertainment which his endeavours for the public had lately met with, seeming sufficient to dissuade him from the undertaking — But, afterwards, being pressed to it by some Members of Parliament, and by others of great rank, but such different interests, that he wondered how they could all center on the same proposal, he thought it, at the last, a more Christian duty, to satisfy the honest desires of so many men, than to sacrifice any longer to his own privacy and retiredness, to which he had intended to devote himself; and accordingly resolved to venture on it. An accident which happened in the month of January, 1640, had likewise an influence on him in this matter. It was then his ill fortune to suffer under some misapprehensions which had been entertained against him, and to be brought before the Committee for the Courts of Justice, on the complaint of Mr Prynne, then newly returned from his confinement; and in great credit with the vulgar. Heard by those Commissioners he was, with a great deal of ingenuous patience, and dismissed by them without any censure; but most despitely reviled and persecuted, with



(r) Wood, ubi  
supra.

1623 he took Orders, being ordained Deacon and Priest by Dr Howson, Bishop of Oxford, at St Aldate's-church in that city (r). In 1625, he passed over into France, and continued abroad about six weeks; in which time he also visited some of the adjacent islands. However he might like that country as to the soil and climate; he certainly entertained but a mean opinion of the people, whether as individuals, or as a nation; and has expressed a great contempt of them, in the relation of his journey that he published thirty years after. April 24, 1627, he answered, *pro forma*, upon these two questions, 1. *An Ecclesia unquam fuerit invisibilis?* i. e. 'Whether the Church was ever invisible?' 2. *An Ecclesia possit errare?* i. e. 'Whether the Church can err?' Both of these he determined negatively. This raised a mighty clamour against him, as a Papist, or, at least, a favourer of Popery. And, to say the truth, there are some doctrines very friendly to that religion, which we may suppose this disputant was not over desirous of undermining. With regard to the first of these queries, it may be observed, The rigid Calvinists of that day were for unchurching the whole Romish Communion, alledging, they had utterly destroyed Christianity by their idolatrous corruptions; while Mr Heylin, and his Arminian party, were for doing the same good turn for all of the Calvinistical stamp, as having departed from Christ when they left the Bishops. The Calvinists (denying the Church of Rome to be a true Church) when pressed with this question, *Where the Church of Christ was for several ages preceding the Reformation*, were used to have recourse to the Berengarians

with excessive noise and violence, by such as thronged about the doors of that committee, to expect the issue, and even in the streets.—Amongst others, he was encountered, in his passage from Westminster to Whitehall, by a tall big gentleman, who thrusting him rudely from the wall, and looking over his shoulder at him, in a scornful manner, said, in a hoarse voice, *Geography is better than Divinity*; and so passed along. Whether his meaning was, that the Doctor was a better Geographer than Divine; or that Geography had been a study of more credit and advantage to him in the eyes of men, than Divinity was like to prove, Heylin could not determine; but sure it is, he afterwards very often thought of it; and the thought thereof had it's effect, in drawing him to look back on those younger studies, in which he was resolved to have dealt no more: and thereto, in the preface of his Microcosm, had obliged himself; where he had solemnly declared, that the reader 'should not fear any further enlargements, which might make him repent his (then) present markets; that it had received his last hand; and that from thenceforth he would look upon it as a stranger only.' But it was meant withal, the Doctor says, and expressed accordingly, unless it were for the 'amending of such errors, of which, by the strength of his own judgment, or any ingenuous information, he should be convicted.' And errors he found so many, on this last perusal, and those not only verbal but material, as did not only free him from that obligation, but did oblige him to a further review thereof. For being written in an age on which the pride of youth and self-opinion might have some predominancies, he thought it freer from mistakes, than he, on examination, found it. And those mistakes, by running through eight editions, six of them without his perusal or supervising, so increased and multiplied, that he could no longer call it his, or look upon it with any tolerable degree of patience. So that if the importunity of friends had not enforced him, in a manner, on this employment, the necessity of consulting his own fame, and leaving the work fair behind him, would have persuaded him, in the end, to do somewhat in it. Now, as to what the world might expect from so great enlargements, the Doctor says, his design, originally, was only to look over the former book, to purge it of the errors it had contracted; and not so much to make a new book, as correct the old. But when he had more seriously considered of it, he found sufficient reason to change that purpose, to make it new both in form and matter; and to present it to the world with all those advantages which a new book might carry with it. In the pursuance of this work, as he has taken on himself the parts of an Historian and Geographer, so he has not forgotten that he is an Englishman, and, which is somewhat more, a Churchman. As an Englishman, he has been mindful on all occasions, to commit to memory the noble actions of his country, exploited both by sea and land, in most parts of the world.—Though the History and Chorography of the world be his principal business, yet he has apprehended every modest occasion of recording the heroic acts of his native soil, and filing on the registers of perpetual fame, the gallantry and brave at-

chievements of the people of England; exemplified in their many victories and signal services in Italy, France, Spain, Scotland, Belgium; in Palestine, Cyprus, Africa, and America, and indeed, where not? nor has he pretermitted their great zeal and piety, in converting to the faith so many of the German and Northern nations, Franconians, Thuringians, Hessians, Saxons, Danes, Frisians; as also amongst the Scots and Picts; together with those of Lithuania, and the people of Norway.—And as he has been zealous to record the actions, so he has been as careful to assert the rights of the English nation, inherent personally in their Kings, by way of public interest in the subject also. Of this kind are, the true stating of the title of the Kings of England to the Crown of France; demonstrating the vassalage of the kingdom of Scotland to the Crown of England; vouching the legal interest of the English nation, in right of the first discovery or premier seizure, to Estotiland, Terra Corterialis, Newfoundland, Novum Belgium, Guaiana, the countries near the Cape of Good-Hope, several of the Indian islands, and some other places, against all pretenders: insinuating the precedency of the English kings before those of Spain, with their sovereignty in the British ocean. Next, as a Church-man, he has taken especial notice of the antient and present face of Christianity, in all parts of the world; the planting and government of Churches, also the heterodoxies and opinions of those several sects into which it doth now stand dismembred. As a Geographer, he has been exact in giving every province it's peculiar bounds, in laying out their several land-marks, tracing the course of most of the principal rivers, and setting forth the situation and estate of the chiefest towns.—And herein he has taken pains in searching out the first inhabitants of each several country, as far as he could see by the light of letters, or go by probable conjectures in finding out the place of such ancient cities as are now decayed, not easily visible in their ruins; and adding to such cities as are now in being (if of any antiquity) their original names.—Lastly, as an Historian, he has traced the affairs of each several country, from the first inhabitants thereof, 'till these later times. For the better doing of which, he has taken extraordinary care, to settle all the first adventurers (after the proud attempt at Babel) in their right plantations; and that in the way of an introduction, that he might the easier know where he was to find them, and that he might go on with their affairs undisturbedly. The rest of their occurrences he has summed up into so short an abstract, as may be useful to the learned in the way of a remembrancer; to the less knowing man in the way of a tutor.—Nor has he only kept himself to the story of kingdoms, or the greater nations, which are, or have been, of the greatest consideration in the sway of the world; but looked on the estates of such Dukes, Earls, and inferior Princes, as in their times have had the government of those parts which gave title to them; whose actions and successions are distinctly specified, and all such alterations noted, as have happened either in the ruin of such estates, or the translating of them from one house to another: until the year 1648.



Berengarians in Italy, the Waldenses in France, the Wicliffists in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia. But this way of accounting was not approved by Mr Heylin. He would not be obliged to the scattered conventicles (as he calls them) of these sculking schismatics, for any defence of the Protestant Church (and consequently of the renowned Church of England), seeing they themselves could hardly be deemed Churches. By recurring to these sects, that succession of the Hierarchy, which the Church of England claims from the very Apostles and their immediate successors, he judged would be utterly discontinued: and therefore he chose rather to find out a visible Church in Asia, Ethiopia, Greece, yea Rome itself, as also in the western provinces, then subject to the Roman Bishop, when he was chief Patriarch: and as there were Episcopal Churches at all times, conspicuously, in those places, there was a sufficient ground, as he thought, for his decision concerning the Church's *perpetual visibility*. However, Mr Heylin was not easy under the charge of being popishly affected; for which reason, to clear himself from that imputation, he took an opportunity, preaching before the King in November following, on John iv. 20. of declaring vehemently against some of the errors and corruptions of the Romish Church (s). (1) Barnard, p. 3.

In the beginning of the year 1628, the Earl of Danby recommended him to the favour of Bishop Laud, then of Bath and Wells, as a man deserving some good preferment in the Church: for the power and splendour of which he was a most hearty advocate (t). In the latter end of this same year he waited on that nobleman, in quality of Chaplain, to Guernsey, of which island his Lordship was Governor. He continued there about three weeks only; and after his return wrote an account of that voyage, which was printed and published along with the relation of his former journey, abovementioned. June 13, 1629, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (u); and, by the interest of his aforesaid noble patron, was made one of the Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty (x). On Asc-Sunday, 1630, he preached before the University of Oxford, at St Mary's, on Matth. xiii. 25. In his sermon, he freely delivered his sentiments in respect of an affair, which, at first sight, had a specious appearance of promoting the honour and emolument of the ecclesiastical state, but was, in reality, a most iniquitous scheme, to the prejudice of the laity, and of no service where it was pretended to avail. This was a seoffment, that some designing persons had obtained, for the buying in of impropriations. Mr Heylin saw through the disguise, and laid bare the knavery. This made a noise, and greatly incensed those whose views were thereby in danger of being disappointed. About this time he resigned his fellowship, having been married almost two years before to Letitia, a daughter of Thomas Highgate of Heys, Esq; According to the statutes he should have quitted his fellowship before he altered his condition, or immediately after; and his being suffered to retain it so long, illegally, was, because those who would otherwise have obliged him to relinquish, were ignorant of his nuptials. They were indeed celebrated in his own college-chapel, on St Simon and Jude's day, between ten and eleven in the morning, before witnesses enough, of both sexes, and the wedding-dinner given in his own chamber, to which even some of the Fellows were invited; and yet the thing was so managed, that these gentlemen knew not it was a marriage-feast, but supposed it merely a friendly entertainment; the rest of the company keeping the hymenial rites, whereat they had been just before, a profound secret. Mr Heylin's behaviour in this case was not quite justifiable; for, undoubtedly, the circumstances thereof were intentionally so ordered, as to evade the laws of the society, and defeat the founder's institution, which to be sure he had engaged to observe and maintain: he hearkened to the voice of interest, and not to his conscience, in the matter. The fact is not to be questioned; we have the testimony, for it, of Wood (y), Barnard (z), and Vernon (a). The last justifies our reflections; he says of the marriage, 'It was a marriage clandestinely, a marriage in masquerade, a marriage incognito to the college, because the President and Fellows neither knew nor believed there was a true solemnization of marriage in their chapel; and though some of them were invited to the wedding-dinner, they took the invitation to a merriment and not to a marriage. In truth, it was not clandestine against the laws of the Church and Realm, because the usual ceremonies and formalities of both were performed in the solemnization betwixt the parties; but such marriage was expressly against the laws and statutes of the college-founder, and much more for a married Fellow to keep his fellowship after.' In 1631, Mr Heylin published his *History of that most famous Saint or Soldier of Jesus Christ, St George of Cappadocia, asserted from the fictions of the middle ages of the Church, and opposition of the present*. To this was subjoined, *The Institution of the most noble Order of St George, named the Garter, and a Catalogue of all the Knights of the Garter from the first Institution to this present; as also of the principal Officers thereto belonging*. There were two impressions of these pieces at London, quarto, in the years 1631 and 1633. At the end of the latter edition is a review of the whole performance, consisting of additions and emendations. Mr Wood intimates, as if the motive of Heylin's undertaking this work, soon after his being appointed Chaplain to the King, was a desire of becoming known to the great ones at Court, and conciliating their favour in order to his advancement (b). Be that as it will, it is certain his Majesty accepted the work very graciously, when he attended him with it at Whitehall, on the second of February, 1630-31, being introduced to his presence by Dr Laud, then raised to the see of London. Soon after this, he received several tokens of this Prince's benevolence; for, in October 1631, he was presented by him to the rectory of Hemingford in Huntingdonshire; to a prebend of Westminster, on the first of

(1) Barnard, p. 3.

(t) Heylin's Life of Laud, lib. iii. ad annum 1627.

(u) Wood, Fasti Oxon. V. l. I. col. 247.

(x) Idem, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 277. and Barnard, p. 120, 121.

(y) Athen. Vol. II. col. 277.

(z) In his Life of Heylin, p. 17.

(a) In his Life of Heylin, p. 13.

(b) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 277.



(c) Ibid.

(d) Barnard, p. 142, 143.

(e) Wood, ut supra, col. 279, 280.

Barnard, p. 124.

(f) Appendix to the Advertisements in Sander-son's History.

(g) See Sander-son's Post-haste. A Reply to Peter's Appendix to his Treatise, intitled, *Respondet Petrus*, p. 13.

(h) Fagii Oxon. Vol. I. col. 258.

(i) Appendix to the 2d part of Heylin's *Exam. Historicum*.

(r) Historical and critical Essay on the 39 Articles, introduction, p. 28.

November following; and shortly after to the rectory of Houghton, in the bishoprick of Durham, worth nearly four hundred pounds a year (c). This last he afterwards exchanged with Dr Marshall for the rectory of Alresford in Hampshire; and this he did by desire of his Majesty, that he might be more in the neighbourhood of the Court (d). After waiting on the King with it, he carried his History to all the Knights of the Garter and Persons of Quality which happened to be then in London. He met with a genteel reception from all, but Archbishop Abbot and the Earl of Exeter. The former had a contemptuous opinion of the subject, and the latter of the author, whom he treated as a begging scholar; an indecency, of which that nobleman was afterwards ashamed (e). The book was no sooner published, than it was attacked by Dr Hakewill, in a discourse (as Heylin says) *full of most base and malicious calumnies, both against the person and religion of the author* (f). The King being informed of this circumstance by Laud, took part in the matter, so far as to command Heylin to consider Hakewill's objections; and that he might be the better qualified for such a task, he sent him to search the records of the Order of the Garter at Windsor. Having so done, he printed a second edition of his History, in 1633, wherein he endeavoured to invalidate the exceptions of his antagonist. This seems to have had some effect on Hakewill; for, in a second edition of his *Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God*, he retracted those passages in the first which related to St George. However, it is plain that he was far from being entirely reconciled to Heylin's book: for though he made no formal reply to what concerned him in the second impression of it, he, about the same time, acquainted his friends what his sentiments were thereof, in several letters; in one of which he writes thus (g). 'In the second impression of this book [the History of St George], where he hath occasion to speak of the Roman writers, especially the legendaries, he magnifies them more, and when he mentions our men, he vilifies them more, than he did in his first edition. But the matter is not much what he saith of the one or the other, the condition of the man being such, that his word hardly passeth for commendation or slander, &c.' April 13, 1633, Mr Heylin was created Doctor of Divinity (h). In his Latin exercises for this degree he disputed on the ensuing questions, I. *Whether the Church hath authority in determining controversies of Faith?* II. *Whether the Church hath authority of interpreting the Sacred Scriptures?* III. *Whether the Church hath authority of appointing rites and ceremonies?* Of all which he maintained the affirmative. This gave fresh offence to Prideaux, and all the puritanical members of the university. This orthodox divine accused him on the spot, of falsifying the doctrine of the Church, in charging the article with that sentence, *Habet Ecclesia ritus sive ceremonias, &c.* which was not found in the whole body of it. And, for proof thereof, he read the article out of a book there before him, beginning thus, *Non licet Ecclesiæ quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur, &c.* This book was the Harmony of Confessions, published at Geneva, 1612, which was indeed, in this particular, conformable to the articles, as they stood in the time of Edward the Sixth, 1552, wherein that sentence was not found. Heylin, guessing the book by the size of the volume, answered, that however it might be there, it was otherwise, and as he had affirmed, in the articles agreed on by the Convocation in 1562, to which most of the clergy had subscribed. This assertion of our new doctor did not stop the mouth of Prideaux, or quite satisfy others that were present, and of the same opinion with him. Whereupon, Heylin sent immediately to a neighbouring bookseller for a book of Articles; which being brought, he read out of it the disputed one in English, thus, *The Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith, &c.* which done, he delivered the book to a bystander, who desired a sight of the passage, and it was handed from one to another, 'till all were convinced by ocular demonstration (i), and Prideaux, as well as his partizans, silenced [B]. This warm man, in the course of the dispute, uttered some tenets, that gave no less disgust to Laud, Chancellor of Oxford, and to the King, whom that prelate informed of them, than Heylin's had to him. He asserted, *The Church was a mere chimera.—That it did not teach or determine any thing.—That controversies had better be referred*

[B] And Prideaux, as well as his partizans, silenced.] Anthony Collins remarks on this (1), that they were satisfied with very little reason; 'for the English edition produced, which was in all probability the late edition set forth with the King's Declaration, seems very improper to determine the controversy, when the question related to the Latin articles. If any Latin copy of the articles, printed by authority, had been brought into the schools, the assembly must have been satisfied of the contrary, if they had judged of the authority of the clause by a printed copy of the articles.' But, after all, what is there in the Latin article, as read by Prideaux, any more than in the English one, produced by Heylin, that contradicts the position of this latter which gave so much offence. Where is the difference, in sense, between *Non licet ecclesiæ quicquam instituere quod verbo Dei scripto adversetur*; and, *The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of Faith: yet not so as to ordain any thing contrary to*

God's written word. Here is no real, but a seeming diversity only. For though the Latin is negatively, and the English affirmatively, expressed; yet the affirmation of the one is implied in the negation of the other: for, is it not an absurdity to talk of limiting a power which does not exist? if the Church, then, had not, generally, a power of decreeing, it would be nonsense to say, she might not decree contrary to God's word. The saying, she may not ordain any thing contrary to the Scriptures, infers, she may ordain any thing, relating to her province, that is consistent with them.—Whether the Church always confines herself within due bounds, or may not sometimes misuse her authority?—Whether she has any authority in such things at all?—Or, finally, whether there is such a thing as a Church, according to Heylin's acceptance of that term? are other points: but, most certainly, the twentieth article of the Church of England, whether Latin or English, seems as favourable as need be wished, to the cause Heylin defended.

[C] Of



red to Universities than to the Church, and might be decided by the Literati there, even though Bishops were laid aside (k). Heylin afterwards found an opportunity of revenging himself on Prideaux [C], for the ill treatment he had from him, at the times of his taking the two aforesaid degrees. In 1636 he published his *History of the Sabbath* (l), which he wrote for reconciling the people to that order the King had lately issued, for permitting (if not enjoining) public games and diversions on the evenings of the Lord's day. This treatise endeared him greatly to his Majesty, and the less pious (whether lords or prelates) of the Court; but rendered him no less odious to those of a more religious cast throughout the kingdom. This book was twice printed in quarto, at London, in the space of about a year. He now likewise published *A Coal from the Altar: or, An Answer to the Bishop of Lincoln's Letter to the Vicar of Grantham, against placing the Communion-Table in the manner of an Altar*. The Bishop, in 1637, replied in a piece intitled, *The Holy Table, name and thing*. In this last year he put out the following tracts, I. *A brief Discourse, by way of Letter, touching the Form of Prayer appointed to be used by Preachers before their Sermons*. II. *A brief and moderate Answer to the seditious and scandalous Challenge of Henry Burton, in two Sermons preached by him on the fifth of November 1636, and in the Apology set before them*. III. *Antidotum Lincolnense: or, An Answer to a book, intitled, the Holy Table, name and thing*. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, having incurred the King and Laud's displeasure, was now suspended and imprisoned; whereupon Heylin was made Treasurer of the Church of Westminster, and was also presented by the Prebendaries, his brethren, to the rectory of Islip near Oxford, in value about two hundred pounds a year: this he exchanged, in 1638, for that of South-Wainborough in Hampshire; and, the same year, was made one of the Justices of the Peace for that county. In 1639 he was employed by Archbishop Laud to translate the Scotch liturgy into Latin. On the tenth of April, 1640, he was chosen by the College of Westminster their Clerk, to represent them in Convocation (m). About this time he was involved in new troubles by his old antagonist Bishop Williams [D], and William Prynne (n). This was a season when men of his principles might well be under apprehensions. A cloud was gathered, which threatened to overwhelm all, who, like him, had distinguished themselves as champions for royal or ecclesiastical prerogative. To shelter him from the impending storm, he retired from the metropolis, where he had long basked in the shine of a Court, to his parsonage of Alresford; but not thinking himself there sufficiently secure, he retreated to Oxford, then garrisoned by the King, and the seat of his residence. On this the Parliament voted him a delinquent, and dispatched an order to their committee at Portsmouth

(k) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278. Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 340.

(l) Athen. Oxon. ut supra.

(m) See, for these particulars, Barnard's Life of Heylin, p. 172, 173, 174, 177. and Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278.

(n) Some Account of what he suffered, by means of this latter, may be seen in note [A].

to

[C] *Of revenging himself on Prideaux.* This divine had delivered a lecture on the Sabbath, which was somewhat freer than suited the rigid orthodoxy of that time. However, it should seem, the matter had then passed without much, if any, observation or censure. But shortly after, when the King, by publishing the book of sports on sundays, had raised a violent outcry throughout the nation against himself, his evil counsellor Laud, and all who were in the least suspected of doubting the divine institution of that holy day, or that did not zealously urge even a Jew-like observation of it; Heylin translated this lecture into English, to which he prefixed a preface, and published it in Hilary-Term, 1633-4, to the great vexation of Prideaux, who hereby suffered much in the esteem and affection of the Puritans (2).

[D] *By his old antagonist Bishop Williams.* The Doctor preaching at Westminster-Abbey, and (oddly enough, considering his own temper and behaviour) exhorting Christians to moderation, love, and charity among themselves, for the preservation of the public peace, although they differed in some opinions; proceeded (not very consistently) to justify the Church in imposing doctrines and rites, and to censure any opposition thereto, in these words, 'Is it not that we are so affected with our own opinions, that we condemn whatsoever shall opine the contrary; and so far wedded to our own wills, that when we have espoused a quarrel, neither the love of God, nor the God of Love shall divorce us from it? instead of hearkening to the voice of the Church, every man hearkens to himself, and cares not if the whole miscarry, so that himself may bravely carry out his own devices. Upon which stubborn height of pride what quarrels have been raised? what schisms in every corner of this our Church? to inquire no further, some rather putting all into open tumult, than that they would conform to the lawful government, derived from Christ and his Apostles to these very times.' At the speaking of these words, the Bishop of Lincoln, sitting in the great pew, knocked aloud with his staff upon the pulpit, saying, *No more of that point, no more of that point, Peter.* To whom the Doctor readily answered, *I have a little more to say, my Lord, and then*

*I have done*; which was as follows: 'Others coming into close and dangerous factions, because some points of speculative divinity are otherwise maintained by some than they would have them; also regardless of the common peace, that rather than be quiet, we will quarrel with our blessed peace maker for seeking to compose the differences, though to the prejudice of neither party. Thus do we foolishly divide our Saviour, and rent his sacred body on the least occasion, rarely conceiving that a difference in a point of judgment must needs draw after it a disjoining of the affections also, and that conclude at last in an open Schism. Whereas diversity of opinions, if wisely managed, would rather tend to the discovery of the truth, than the disturbance of the Church, and rather whet our industry than excite our passions. It was St Cyprian's resolution, not to suspend any man from the communion of the Church, although the matter then debated, was, as I take it, of more weight than any of the points now controverted: which moderation if the present age had attained unto, we had not then so often torn the Church in pieces, nor by our frequent broils offered that injury and inhumanity to our Saviour's body, which was not offered to his garments.' One would think there was nothing in these words that could displease a bishop; but they occasioned an altercation between his Lordship and the Doctor, in which the latter acted with an unconquerable resolution, and, at last, got the better of the prelate. For when Heylin was brought before the committee, a second time, as may be seen in note [A], and this matter was there alledged against him, it was declared by the unanimous voice of all then present, that there was nothing in the aforesaid passage which did not become an honest man to speak, and a good christian to hear; and not only so, but that the Bishop was transported beyond his bounds, and failed in his accustomed prudence.—The troubles also into which he was brought by Mr Prynne, who summoned him before the committee for the Court of Justice, and there accused him of being one of the chief agents and contrivers of all his sufferings; soon came to an end, without any grievous consequence.

[E] There

(2) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 278. Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. i. p. 340.



to sequester his whole estate, and seize upon his goods. In consequence of this severe decree, he was deprived of his most curious and valuable library; it being carried, with other his household furniture, to that town. As he was thus stripped of his substance, and the income of his livings withheld, his condition at Oxford would have been very distressed, if the King had not appointed him to write a periodical paper, that was published weekly in that city, intitled *Mercurius Aulicus*: Which, for some time before, had been penned by one John Birkenhead, who, as Wood tells us, pleased the generality of readers with his waggeries and buffooneries, far more than his successor did. This political performance for a while afforded him a subsistence. But, in 1645, the King's affairs becoming almost desperate, and the *Mercurius Aulicus* no longer supported, the forlorn author quitted Oxford, and wandered from place to place, himself and family reduced to the utmost straits. At Winchester he stayed for a while with his wife, &c. 'till that city was delivered up to the Parliament, when he was forced again to remove. In 1648, he went to Minster-Lovel in Oxfordshire, the seat of his elder brother, which he farmed for the six or seven following years of his nephew, Colonel Heylin, where he spent much of his time in writing. He now in some measure recovered the enjoyment of his temporal estate, for which he compounded with the Commissioners at Goldsmith's-hall. On his quitting the aforesaid farm, he went to Abingdon in Berkshire, residing at a mansion called Lacy's-court. Here too he employed himself in the composing of several treatises, which he printed. In 1657, he suffered afresh in his fortune by decimation. Upon the restoration of Charles the Second, he was likewise restored to all his spiritualities. But he undoubtedly expected from that prince some very eminent dignity in the Church, then re-established, as he had heroically exerted himself in the behalf of it, as well as of the Crown, and endured so much on that account, during their suffering condition. However, herein he was utterly disappointed, being never raised above the sub-deanery of Westminster. This was matter of great vexation to him, and of wonder to many others, who did not sufficiently consider the disposition, figure, and qualities of the man; which, though well enough for the tool of a party, were not the properest recommendations to preferment, or most suitable to a sublime station. He died on the 8th of May, 1662, and was interred before his own stall, within the choir of the abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory (o). Wood and Barnard have each of them left us a character of him, but there is nothing extraordinarily engaging in the features of either [E]. His works are numerous, but not very valuable; we shall especially recite the titles of those that have not been mentioned in the course of these memoirs [F].

(o) See, for the foregoing particulars. Barnard's *Life of Heylin*, p. 202, 203, 204, 205. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 278, 279.

(3) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 279.

[E] *There is nothing extraordinarily engaging in the features of either.* Wood tells us (3), that he was 'A person endowed with singular gifts, of a sharp and pregnant wit, solid and clear judgment. In his younger years he was accounted an excellent poet, but very conceited and pragmatistical; in his elder a better historian, a noted preacher, and a ready or extemporaneous speaker. He had a tenacious memory to a miracle. He was a bold and undaunted man among his friends and foes (though of very mean port and presence) and therefore by some of them he was accounted too high and proud for his function.—A constant assertor of the Church's right and the King's prerogative; a severe and vigorous opposer of rebels and schismatics, a despiser of envy, and in mind not at all discouraged.—In some things too much a party to be an historian, and equally an enemy to Popery and Puritanism.' Dr Barnard informs us (4), that, 'He was of a middle stature, his face oval, his complexion florid, his hair short and curling, his eyes quick and sparkling, before he lost his sight; that he had a prodigious memory; and that he was of great generosity and charity.'

(4) Barnard, p. 258, 259.

[F] *That have not been mentioned in the course of these memoirs.* I. *Theomachia*, a comedy, never printed. II. *Augustus*, an Essay, printed 1682, and since inserted into his *Cosmography*. III. *An uniform Book of Articles to be used by all Bishops or Archdeacons in their Visitations*. London, 1640, quarto. IV. *De jure paritatis Episcoporum*, written, 1640, on occasion of a question in the House of Lords, whether Bishops should be of the committee for the preparatory examinations in the cause of the Earl of Strafford. It is printed among his *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts*. V. *Reply to Dr Hakewill's Dissertation touching the Sacrifice of the Eucharist*, London, 1641, quarto. VI. *An help to English History*, &c. London, 1641, octavo. VII. *History of Episcopacy*, London, 1642, quarto. VIII. *Historical Narration of Liturgies*, &c. IX. *A Relation of Lord Hopton's Victory near Bodmin in Cornwall*, &c. X. *A brief Relation of two remarkable Occurrences in the Northern Parts, viz. The landing of the Queen in Burlington-Bay from Holland, and of the Repulse of the Rebels at Newark*, Oxford, 1642,

quarto. XI. *A View of the Proceedings in the West for a Pacification*. XII. *A Letter to a Gentleman in Leicestershire about the Treaty at Uxbridge, shewing that all the Overtures, which have been made for Peace and Accommodation, have proceeded from his Majesty only*. XIII. *The Round-Head's Remembrances: Or a true and particular Relation of the great Defeat given to the Rebels by his Majesty's Subjects of Cornwall*, &c. 1643. XIV. *A Relation of the Proceedings of Sir John Gell*, &c. printed 1643. XV. *The Black Cross; shewing that the Londoners were the Cause of the present Rebellion*. XVI. *The Rebel's Catechism, composed in an easy and familiar way, to let them see the heinousness of their offence*, printed 1643, quarto. XVII. *Discourse in Answer to the common, but groundless, clamour of the Papists, nick naming the Religion of the Church of England, by the Name of a Parliament Religion*. This piece was written in 1644, at the request of a friend; but when printed next year, at Oxford, quarto, it was intitled, *Parliament Power in Laws for Religion: Or an Answer to that old and groundless Calumny*, &c. It went through other editions, with a different title from the two former. XVIII. *A brief Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the most reverend and renowned Prelate the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, with a Copy of his Speech, and other Passages on the Scaffold*, &c. Oxford, 1644, quarto. XIX. *Bibliotheca Regia: Or the Royal Library*, Lond. 1649, 1650, 1659, 8vo. XX. *The Stumbling-block of Disobedience and Rebellion, cunningly laid by Calvin in the Subject's Way, discovered, censured, and amended*, London, 1658, quarto. XXI. *The promised Seed*, in English verse. XXII. *The undeceiving the People in Point of the Tythes*, &c. London, 1648, 1651. XXIII. *Theologia Veterum: The Sum of Christian Theology contained in the Creed, according to the Greeks and Latins*, &c. London, 1654, 1673, Folio. XXIV. *Observations on the History of the Reign of K. Charles, published by Hamon L'Estrange, Esq; for the Illustration of the Story*, London, 1656, octavo. L'Estrange answered this, and Heylin replied in a piece intitled, XXV. *Extraneous Vapulans; Or the Observer rescued from the violent but vain assaults of Hamon L'Estrange, Esq; and the back Blows of Dr Barnard, an Irish Dean*, &c. XXVI. *Ecclesia vindicata; Or the Church of England justified*, 1. In



1. *In the Way and Manner of her Reformation, &c.*  
 2. *In officiating by a publick Liturgy.* 3. *In prescribing a set Form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons.* 4. *In her Right and Patrimony of Tithes.* 5. *In retaining the episcopal Government, and therewithal the canonical Ordination of Priests and Deacons,* London, 1637, quarto. XXVII. *Respondet Petrus; Or the Answer of Peter Heylin, D. D. to so much of Dr Barnard's Book entitled, The Judgment of the late Primate of Ireland, &c. as he is made a Party by the said Lord Primate in the Point of the Sabbath, &c.* London, 1638, quarto. XXVIII. *An Appendix in Answer to certain Passages in Mr Sanderfon's History of the Life and Reign of K. Charles, &c.* XXIX. *Short View of the Life and Reign of K. Charles (the second Monarch of Great-Britain) from his Birth to his Burial,* London, 1638, octavo. XXX. *Examen Historicum; Or a Discovery and Examination of the Mistakes and Defects in some Modern Histories, &c.* These were, Fuller's Church History of Britain; and Sanderfon's Histories of Mary Queen of Scots; and of her son K. James the VIth; of King James the First of Great-Britain; and of K. Charles the First, from his cradle to his grave. XXXI. *The Parable of the Tares, expounded and applied in ten Sermons, with three other Sermons by the same Author,* London, 1639, 1661, quarto. XXXII. *Certamen Epistolare: Or the Letter Combat, managed by Peter Heylin, D. D. with, 1. Mr Baxter of Kidderminster. 2. Dr Barnard of Gray's-Inn. 3. Mr Hickman of Magdalen-College, Oxon. 4. James Harrington, Esq; &c.* London, 1650, octavo. XXXIII. *Historia Quinquarticularis: Or a Declara-*

*tion of the Judgment of the Western Churches, and more particularly of the Church of England, in the five controverted Points, reproached in these last Times by the Name of Arminianism, &c.* London, 1660, quarto. XXXIV. *A Sermon preached in the Collegiate Church of St Peter's in Westminster, on the 29th of May, 1661, on Psalm xxvi. 21* London, 1661, quarto. XXXV. *History of the Reformation of the Church of England, from the first Preparations to it made by K. Henry VIIIth, until the legal settling and establishing of it under 2. Elizabeth, &c.* London, 1661, 1670, 1674, folio. XXXVI. *Cyprianus Anglicus: Or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.* London, 1668, 1671, folio. XXXVII. *Aerius Redivivus: Or the History of the Presbyterians. Containing the Beginning, Progress, and Successes of that Sect; their oppositions to Monarchical and Episcopal Government; their Innovations in the Church; and their Imbroylments of the Kingdoms and Estates of Christendom in the Pursuit of their Designs, from the Year 1536 to 1647,* London, 1670, 1672, folio. XXXVIII. *Historical and Miscellaneous Tracts,* London, 1681, folio. Some of these tracts were separately published before this edition of them, and have been already mentioned in this note. Dr Heylin wrote also, *A Discourse of the African Schism*; and, in 1637, at Laud's desire, drew up, *The Judgment of Writers on those Texts of Scripture, in which the Jesuits found the Popedom and the Authority of the Roman Church*: both which pieces were intended by the Archbishop as materials towards his answer to Fisher, which was printed, 1639, in folio. I

H O B B E S [THOMAS], a celebrated writer in the XVIIth century, was born at Malmesbury in Wiltshire, April 5, 1588. His father was a minister of that town, of the same name, not very remarkable for his learning, and who contented himself with reading to his congregation the Homilies set forth by authority, rather than adventure on composing discourses of his own (a). His mother was so frightened with the news of the Spanish fleet, then upon the English coast, that she was brought to bed of her son Thomas before her time, who, notwithstanding, was of a strong and healthy constitution. At four years of age he was taught to read, and, when he was about six years old, he began to apply himself to the learned languages (b). When he was in the eighth year of his age, he was put under the care of Mr Robert Latimer, then Master of the grammar-school at Malmesbury; who, having a great opinion of his parts, treated him with much kindness and indulgence, and gave him all possible assistance in his studies. In these he made so extraordinary a progress, that, before he was sent to the university, he translated the *Medea* of Euripides out of Greek into Latin verse (c). In 1603, he was entered of Mary-Magdalen-hall in Oxford, of which Dr Hufsee was then Principal, who was afterwards knighted, and became Chancellor of the diocese of Salisbury, a learned man, and a true patron of letters. While at college, he was chiefly supported by an allowance from his uncle, who was Alderman of Malmesbury, the chief office in that corporation, and who at his death left him a small annuity, that he might not be obliged to desert his studies (d). In 1607, our author took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; the year following, by the recommendation of Mr John Wilkinfon, Principal of Magdalen-hall, he was taken into the family of the Right-Honourable William Cavendish, Lord Hardwicke, soon after created Earl of Devonshire, in quality of tutor to his son William Lord Cavendish; with whom, being much of an age, he was admitted to an extraordinary degree of intimacy, so as not only to assist him in his studies, but to be his companion also in the sports of the field, to which that young lord was much inclined. By his prudent behaviour, Mr Hobbes recommended himself so effectually, both to this young nobleman and his father, that he was sent abroad with him on his travels in 1610, and made the Tour of France and Italy, which gave him an opportunity of making himself compleatly master of the languages of those countries, as well as of the politer parts of learning (e). Upon his return with the Lord Cavendish, finding that his stock of academical knowledge was somewhat decayed, he applied himself with such diligence to the study of the best authors of antiquity, that he arrived at a clear strong Latin stile, and acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. These accomplishments, with a good address, made him known to persons of high rank, as well as men eminently distinguished for their parts and learning; such as the Lord-Chancellor Bacon, who admitted him to a great degree of familiarity, and, it is said, made use of his pen for translating some of his excellent works into Latin. He was likewise much in the favour of that learned and accomplished nobleman, Edward, Lord Herbert of Chirbury. Another of his intimate friends was, Sir Robert Ayton, Secretary to Queen Anne consort to King James the First, one who had raised himself a high reputation by the elegance with which he wrote Latin verse (f). The celebrated Benjamin Johnson was likewise of his acquaintance, and had so great an esteem for him, that he revised the first of his works that our author made public, viz. an English translation of the History of Thucydides, undertaken from an honest and laudable desire of preventing those

(a) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburienſis vita, carmine expreſſa. Authore ſeipſo. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. *Historia & Antiquitates Oxoniensis, lib. ii. p. 376.*

(b) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 1. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. p. 641.

(c) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 23. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. 641.

(d) Vitæ Thomæ Hobbes, p. 1. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 25, 26. *Historia & Antiquitates Oxoniensis, lib. ii. p. 376.*

(e) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburienſis Vita. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 27—30. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

(f) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 34, 35.



(g) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 3.  
Vita Hobbianæ  
Auctarium, p.  
36—40.  
Historia & Anti-  
quitates Oxoniens-  
is, p. 377.

(b) Thomæ  
Hobbes Malmes-  
burienfis Vita.  
Vita Thomæ  
Hobbes, p. 3.  
Wood's Athen.  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
p. 642.

(i) Thomæ  
Hobbes Malmes-  
burienfis Vita.  
Vita Hobbianæ  
Auctarium, p.  
41.  
Wood's Athen.  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 641.

disturbances he was apprehensive might arise in his own country, by shewing the fatal consequences of intestine troubles. But while he meditated this design, his noble patron, William Earl of Devonshire, departed this life in 1626; and, in 1628, the very same year that work was published, his son and successor, who was of the same Christian name, died likewise; in whose service Hobbes had lived twenty years, first in quality of his tutor, and afterwards of his secretary (g). These strokes affected him to such a degree, that he willingly accepted an offer made him of going abroad with the son of Sir Gervase Clifton, whom he accompanied into France, and stayed there some time. As he had never been any great admirer of the Logics, Physics, and Metaphysics of the schools, he thought his time might be better employed in the pursuit of the Mathematics. He began therefore with the works of Euclid, which he read with great application and extraordinary pleasure; not so much on account of the subject, for he thought the properties and relations of lines and angles, speculatively considered, was of very little consequence to the business of human life, though of very great use when reduced to practice; but his sagacity taught him to admire, in the writings of that Philosopher, the clearness of his reasoning, the connection of his arguments, and the wonderful perspicuity of his method, from whence truth appeared incontestible (b). While his hours were thus employed, he found himself solicited to return to England, and resume his concern for the hopes of that family, to which he owed so many and so great obligations. The Countess-dowager of Devonshire, a lady more conspicuous from her virtues than her quality, desired to put the young Earl of Devonshire under his care, who was then about the age of thirteen (i). This was very suitable to Mr Hobbes's inclinations, who discharged this trust with great diligence and fidelity. He took occasion from this employment to republish his translation of Thucydides, to which he prefixed a dedication to that worthy young nobleman, in which he gives a large character of his father, and represents, in the strongest terms, the gratitude he owed to that illustrious family [A]. The same year he accompanied his pupil to

[A] *The gratitude he owed to that illustrious family.*

In the life of himself, written by Mr Hobbes in Latin verse, we are told the motive of his translating the Peloponnesian War, the same, which we have mentioned in the text; but he says nothing there of the time of it's publication. However, we find it expressly mentioned in the Latin prose life, which has also been attributed to Mr Hobbes, that he published his English translation of Thucydides in 1628 (1). He must therefore have republished it in 1634, as appears from the date of the dedication, as well as that prefixed to such of the first edition as are commonly met with; for the same book being again printed in 1676, with the title only of a second edition, is a very plain proof that the fact really stood as we have stated it. This has been always esteemed one of the best translations that we have of any Greek writer, and the author himself took care of the maps and indexes. There is one thing which must not be passed by, the learned Dr Tennison, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the ablest, as well as one of the fairest antagonists Mr Hobbes ever met with, is clearly of opinion, that he borrowed the fundamental maxims of his politics, from the oration of Euphemus the Athenian Ambassador, which is printed in the sixth book of that history (2). At the time it was published, Mr Hobbes was esteemed a very sagacious and public spirited man, one who had nothing so much at heart as promoting the peace and prosperity of his country, by exposing the bad designs of those, who under the specious pretence of zeal for religion, and a patriot concern for liberty, meant to overturn the constitution, and to erect each the edifice of his private fortune out of, as well as upon, the public ruins (3). As to his dedication, it has been ever esteemed a most masterly composition in point of matter, as well as form, and is an excellent specimen of our author's stile, which in those days was very highly applauded, and to this hour has many admirers. We for these reasons produce it, and the reader will (though somewhat long) find nothing tedious in this elegant performance.

To the Right Honourable Sir William Cavendish,  
Knight of the Bath, Baron of Hardwicke, and Earl  
of Devonshire.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

I take confidence from your Lordship's goodness, in the very entrance of this epistle, to profess with simplicity, and according to the faith I owe my master now in Heaven, that it is not unto yourself, but to your Lordship's father, that I dedicate this my labour, such as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may present it as a

voluntary oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an account to him, by whose indulgence I had both the time and ammunition to perform it: nor if such obligation were removed, know I any to whom I ought to dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many years I had the honour to serve him, I know this, there was not any who more really, and less for glory's sake, favoured those that studied the liberal arts, liberally, than my Lord your father did; nor in whose house a man should less need the University than in his. For his own study, it was bestowed for the most part, in that kind of learning which best deserveth the pains and hours of great persons, history and civil knowledge; and directed not to the ostentation of his reading, but to the government of his life and the public good. For he so read, that the learning he took in by study, by judgment he digested, and converted into wisdom and ability to benefit his country: to which also he applied himself with zeal, but such as took no fire, either from faction or ambition. And as he was a most able man for soundness of advice, and clear expression of himself in matters of difficulty and consequence, both in public and in private; so also was he one whom no man was able either to draw, or juggle out of the straight path of justice. Of which virtue, I know not whether he deserved more by his severity in imposing it (as he did to his last breath) on himself, or by his magnanimity in not exacting it to himself from others. No man better discerned of men; and therefore was he constant in his friendships, because he regarded not the fortune nor adherence, but the men, with whom also he conversed with an openness of heart, that had no other guard than his own integrity, and that Nil Conscire. To his equals he carried himself equally, and to his inferiors familiarly, but maintaining his respect fully and only with the native splendour of his worth. In sum, he was one in whom might plainly be perceived, that honour and honesty are but the same thing in the different degrees of persons. To him therefore, and to the memory of his worth, be consecrated this, though unworthy, offering. And now, imitating in this civil worship, the religious worship of the Gentiles, who, when they dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and presented the same to their images; I bring and present, this gift of mine, The History of Thucydides, translated into English, with much more diligence than elegance, to your Lordship, who are the image of your father; for never was a man more exactly copied out than he in you, and who have in you the seeds of his virtues already springing up: Humbly intreating your Lordship to esteem it amongst the goods that descend upon you, and in your due

(1) Vita Thomæ  
Hobbes, p. 3.

(2) The Creed of  
Mr Hobbes exa-  
mined, p. 172.

(3) Wood's A-  
then. Oxon. Vol.  
II. col. 643.



to Paris, where he applied his vacant hours to Natural Philosophy, and more especially to the understanding of mechanism, and the causes of animal motion. Upon these subjects he conferred with Father Marin Merſenne, a man of extensive learning, and of unblemished probity, who entertained a literary correspondence through all Europe (k). From Paris Mr Hobbes attended his pupil into Italy, where, at Piſa, he became known to that great Aſtronomer Galileo Galilei, who communicated to him his notions very freely; and after having ſeen whatever was remarkable in that country, he, in 1637, returned with his patron into England (l). His attachment to that noble perſon retained him in the family, where he had already ſpent ſo great a part of his life; and his long reſidence in the noble palace at Chatſworth, had afforded him an opportunity of exerciſing his inclination to Latin poetry, in celebrating the wonders of the Peak [B]; which poem

(k) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 4.  
Vita Hobbianæ Auſtariæ, p. 46, 47.  
Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 641.

(l) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburienſis Vita. Vita Hobbianæ Auſtariæ, p. 47.

of

' due time to read it. I could recommend the author unto you, not impertinently, for, that he had in his veins the blood of Kings; but I chooſe rather to recommend him for his writings, as having in them profitable inſtructions for noblemen, and ſuch as may come to have the managing of great and weighty actions. For I may confidently ſay, that notwithstanding the excellent, both examples and precepts of heroic virtue you have at home, this book will confer not a little to your inſtitution; eſpecially when you come to the years to frame your life by your own obſervation. For in hiſtory, actions of honour and diſhonour do appear plainly and diſtinctly, which are which; but in the preſent age they are ſo diſguiſed, that few there be, and thoſe very careful, that be not groſſly miſtaken in them. But this (I doubt not) is ſuperfluouſly ſpoken by me to your Lordſhip: therefore I end with this prayer, That it will pleaſe God to give you virtues ſuitable to the fair dwelling he hath prepared for them, and the happineſs that ſuch virtues lead unto, both in and after this world.

' Your Lordſhip's

Anno Dom.  
1634.

' moſt humble ſervant,

THO. HOBBS.

[B] *The wonders of the Peak.* Our author in this poem, which is inſcribed to the Right Honourable William Earl of Devonſhire, in heroic verſe, deſcribes the wonders of the Peak in Derbyſhire, and as the firſt of theſe is the palace of Chatſworth, he takes occaſion from thence to celebrate the Cavendiſh family, and that famous Counteſs of Shrewſbury, to whoſe prudence and oeconomy ſo many noble families ſtood ſo much obliged, and from whom the three Earls of Devonſhire, Newcaſtle, and Kingſton were deſcended. Theſe of all Mr Hobbes's poetical performances have been eſteemed the beſt verſes, which however deſerve not any extraordinary commendation. We are ſomewhat at a loſs for a reaſon, but the fact is very certain, that their author himſelf undervalued them much in the latter part of his life, which was not a little contrary to his character, as he manifeſted upon every other occaſion a ſufficient eſteem for his own writings. It is not altogether improbable, that having delivered ſome things in them as a poet, which did not perfectly agree with the ſentiments he afterwards maintained as a philoſopher, he had a mind to let the world ſee he could deſpiſe even his own Performances, when convinced there was any thing in them erroneous, which notwithstanding was an unneceſſary nicety, ſince no candid critic would ever object matters thus delivered, againſt the notions laid down by the author in another character; where, from the nature of his ſubject, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have a ſtrict regard to truth, whereas fiction is allowed to be not only requiſite, but eſſential to poetry. We will likewiſe give the reader a citation from theſe, as a ſpecimen of our author's talent in poetry, which in his own time was highly admired, the rather becauſe we have been favoured with a tranſlation, which though it be very cloſe, is far from being ſo literal or ſo bald as thoſe that have been hitherto published, and will of conſequence afford the Engliſh reader a better idea of our author's work, than he could hitherto any where acquire.

De Mirabilibus Pecci,  
Carmen  
Thomæ Hobbes, Malmesburienſis.

Alpibus Angliacis, ubi Pecci nomine, ſurgit,

Derbenſis regio, montes ad ſidera tollens,  
Fœcundasque rigans, non uno flumine, valles,  
Stat Chatſworth præclara domus, tum mole ſuperba,  
Tum domino, magnis, celerem Deroentis ad undam.

Miranti ſimilis portam præterfluit amnis;  
Hic tacitus, ſaxis, infra ſupraque, ſonorus  
At mons terga domus rapidis defendit ab Euris,  
Oſtendens longe exertis juga conſita ſaxis,  
Præſectoque die, producens tempora ſomni.  
Summovet a tergo rupes gratiſſimus hortus,  
Pinguis odoratis ubi tellus floribus halat;  
Arbor ubi in mediis ſylvis ſibi libera viſæ,  
Dat fructus injuſſa ſuos; ubi frondea teſta  
Arboreis præbent invito frigora ſole  
Porticibus, potiora tuæ (Maro) tegmine fagi;  
Ars ubi (diſſimulans artem) ſimulavit (ineptos  
Conſocians ferro lapides, guttaque pereſos)  
Informes ſcopulos; & frigida fontibus antra.  
Libera nativis veniens a rupibus unda  
Accedit poſitis, patrio captiva metallo,  
Et tellure latens, duplicem jaculatur in orbem  
Juſſa, ſuum laticem, per mille foramina cæca,  
Et ſcopulum complexa tenacibus undique venis,  
Juſſa fugat miſſo ſubeuntes deſuper imbre.  
Hinc aveſta creat ſublimem marmore fontem,  
Atque ingreſſa domum Promos conſerva Cocosque  
Adjuvat; in mediis ſurgitque penatibus, alto  
Infudens nitidam manibus de marmore lympham.  
Et quamvis tubulis tantum effluat illa quaternis,  
Non tam Calliroë pulchre fluit Enneacrune.  
Rejeſto paulum fluvio, ſeſe ingerit horti  
Angulus alterius, teſta alta a fronte videntis.  
Diſpoſita hic gemino collucent ordine ſtagna,  
Immerſum tremulis undis quatiencia ſolem,  
Queis magno numero ſalit, & laſcivus innerrat  
Non intellectu concludus carcere piſcis.  
Quam juvat, hic, quoties piſcatrix candida prædam

Abjicit illeſtam, morem obſervare puellis  
Innatum, captare viros, & ſpernere captos!  
Quam libet in mediis mirari fluctibus, alto  
Aggere ſuſpenſos hortos! quæ Cæſare moles  
Digna Cavendiſiæ certe eſt in gente, puſillum  
Fœmineumque opus. At quota pars ea laudis  
Elizæ

Salopicæ? quæ multa, & magna palatia ſtruxit;  
Magnas divitias; magnamque bonamque paravit  
Famam; quæ magnos ſibi conciliavit amicos,  
Ornavitque humiles; multam, magnamque reliquit

Prolem, qua regio late nunc uſque beatur.  
Quam dulce eſt, inter, circumque nitentia ſtagna  
Inſternente vias, æſtivâ ſemper, arena,  
Discipulum memet naturæ tradere rerum;  
Aut Domino exiguum meditari carmine Munus,  
Et multum Muſis, deſcribere rura, rogatis.  
Commodiore loco non uſquam habitare, nec uſquam

Candidiore



of his, though written some years before, was not made public 'till about this time. The troubles in Scotland now grew high; and, as popular discontent is always contagious, began to spread southward, and to threaten the utter subversion of the peace of the whole island. As few foresaw this earlier, and none apprehended it more than Mr Hobbes, he thought it might contribute to the public tranquillity, if he bent his thoughts to politics, and compos'd an antidote against those pestilential opinions which began to prevail. It was this that engag'd him to commit to paper certain principles, out of which he first compos'd

Candidiore frui Musæ censentur amico.  
Hinc, ad tecta, solo surgente, ascenditur, Extra,  
Augusta aspectû, sublimia, Regia; & intra,  
Commoda, culta, capacia, splendida, ditia tecta.  
At tu marmoreis quæ sint descripta figuris  
Ficta Poetarum, priscorum aut facta virorum,  
Ne cures duro nec certans marmore gypsum.  
Ingenuos nec cupias numerare ministros;  
Sed Dominum mea Musa, colas, cui gente vetusta  
Orto, dat titulos Devoniam, Derbiam Curas.  
Acrem judicio; constantem pectore; lautum;  
Utentemque opibus, luxu sine, & inter amicos.  
Ille Chori vestri summum decus; ille benigna  
Otia dat Musis; sed & illi Musa disertio  
Ore loqui atque animo discernere turpia honestis.  
Tum Dominam spectes, altâ de gente Brusorum  
Magnanimo proavos spirantem pectore Reges.  
Amborumque vide Sobolem, imprimisque Puellam  
Dignam, qua caleat Superi, binosque Puellâs  
Angelicos, casti communia pignora lecti.  
Hos tu mireris, sobolemque & utrumque parentem;  
Cætera quæ referes miracula, sunt minoris.  
Alti censenter septem miracula Pecci.

In English thus.

Where the fam'd P E A K, our English A L P S  
ascend,  
And D E R B Y's mountains to the skies extend;  
Where silver streams, enrich the fruitful soil,  
Fair C H A T S W O R T H stands, inimitable pile!  
Great of itself, and from it's master great,  
Near D E R W E N T's rapid tide,—struck with it's state  
Silent the waters slide;  
Tho' from above, with restless rage they pour,  
Impetuous down, and at a distance roar.  
Behind, a mountain shades it from the East,  
And day excluding, favours lengthen'd rest.  
Beyond the rocks, a beauteous garden lies,  
Where fragrant flowers, in lovely order rise;  
And as in native woods, unprun'd appear,  
Luxuriant trees, that fruit spontaneous bear,  
Whose spreading boughs, no noon-tide rays in-  
vade,  
But rival M A R O even thy *Beechen* shade.  
Art, but like nature dress'd, joins iron and stone,  
So that for rugged rocks they here are shewn,  
And there, if Phœbus hurts th' aching sight,  
A gelid grotto hides you from the light.  
Free from the crag, the silver stream descends,  
Which it's own country metal, quickly bends  
Thro' double circles, o'er the stony maze,  
The winding pipes, the fetter'd rill conveys,  
Till from on high, by this coercive power,  
At will descends, in drops, the mimic shower.  
From thence, a spacious marble fount receives  
It's tide and to domestic uses gives,  
Falling in chrystal streams, for ev'ry rite,  
That might of old, the household gods delight,  
From four fair ducts, it pours it's chrystal tide,  
Callirotæ's stream, from nine scarce more sup-  
ply'd,  
Tho' by Athenian artists, taught to glide.

Such labours o'er these waters are convey'd,  
Where from the palace, other front survey'd,  
Another garden lies.  
Here thro' a double row of fish-ponds strays,  
And back reflects the sun's insulting rays;  
The scaly shoals in wanton motions rove,  
Unconscious of restraint in which they move.  
Pleas'd we behold, the female fisher take,  
The finny prey, and but for pleasure's sake,  
Rejecting soon, their captives in the lake.  
Innate in women's breasts, such passions rise,  
Fond to subdue, what sickly they despise.  
How sweet the sight! how pleasing is the theme  
A pensile garden, rising o'er the stream.  
C E S A R I A N works! yet in the C A N' D I S H line  
A woman form'd and finish'd this design.  
S A L O P' S E L I Z A! by whose wond'rous thought,  
More stately palaces, with skill were wrought,  
Wealth she attain'd, by prudence all approv'd,  
The highest courting, whom the poorest lov'd;  
Sprung from herself, a num'rous line expand,  
Which then adorn'd, and still adorn our land;  
How pleasant 'midst these silver pools to stray,  
Attentive nature's labours to survey  
In this sweet place?—Or frame some trifling song  
Like this, that may to it's great Lord belong;  
For sure to sing, no scene could more invite,  
No Lord than him more worthy to delight.  
See how without, the dome affects the eye,  
Augustly fair, firm, beautiful, and high!  
Commodious, pleasant, splendid, and, in fine,  
Capacious, neat, and elegant within.  
I mind not ancient tales in marble wrought,  
The sculptor imaging the poets thought,  
Nor stop to number all the faithful band  
Of servants, who in decent order stand,  
Intent to sing their Lord.  
Of an illustrious line, the noble heir,  
Him Devon title gives, and Derby care,  
Of judgment piercing, firm, and constant mind,  
Courteous to all, to those about him kind;  
Free, not profuse, yet often he unbends,  
And treats, tho' not luxuriously, his friends;  
His favours oft the Muses voice inspire,  
Himself no stranger in the Muses choir;  
Returning thus, their just respect he pays,  
Who flattery well distinguishes from praise:  
His consort next with due regard produce,  
Whose charms confess the royal blood of B R U C E.  
Now view their progeny—a lovely maid,  
Whose heavenly eyes might heavenly breasts in-  
vade,  
Two youths of form divine, to virtue bred,  
The lovely pledges of their nuptial bed,  
These could my verse in proper colours dress,  
With ease my following subjects I'd express;  
And tho' the labours long, alert and gay,  
The seven strange wonders of the P E A K dis-  
play,  
Wonders indeed! which of themselves might  
please,  
Yet hardly wonders—if compar'd with These.

[C] With



composed his book *De Cive*, and which at length grew up into that system he stiled his *Leviathan*. The short scope of his discourse was no more than this, That security can be only enjoyed where there is peace, that peace cannot be maintained without dominion, that dominion cannot be supported without arms, that arms will prove but a weak defence, if not put into one hand, and even then, that they will scarce restrain such as shall be prompted to discord, by the fear of an evil greater than death itself (m). Not long after the meeting of the Long-Parliament, November 3, 1640, when all things fell into confusion here, he withdrew, for the sake of living in quiet, to Paris, where he associated with those learned men, who, under the protection of the famous Cardinal de Richelieu, sought to promote every kind of useful knowledge. He had not been long there, when, by the good offices of his friend Father Mersenne, he became known to the celebrated Rénatus Des Cartes, and held a correspondence with him upon several mathematical subjects, as appears from the letters of Mr Hobbes, which are published in that author's works (n). But when this great man printed afterwards his meditations, wherein he attempted to establish points of the highest consequence from innate ideas; Mr Hobbes, as well as some other judicious men, took the liberty of dissenting from his opinion. Amongst these was the celebrated Peter Gassendi, the King's Professor in Mathematics, a man justly esteemed for his extensive knowledge, and for his communicative disposition, as well as for his reviving the Philosophy of Epicurus; with whom Mr Hobbes entered into a strict friendship, which suffered no interruption till the death of the former (o). In 1642, our author printed a few copies of his famous book *De Cive*; which, in proportion as it became known, raised him many opponents, who charged him with instilling dangerous principles [C]. In 1645, he embarked in a mathematical controversy about the quadrature

(m) Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, p. 5.

(n) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 53, 54, 55.

(o) Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburienis Vita.

(p) Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 64. Historia & Antiquitates Oxoniensis, p. 377.

[C] *With instilling dangerous principles.* The title of this extraordinary work, by which our author became conspicuous abroad, ran in Latin thus, *Elementa Philosophica de Cive. Auctore Thom. Hobbes, Malmesburienfis*. In the English translation, the title was more diffuse, being conceived in the following terms, viz. 'Philosophical Rudiments concerning Government and Society: or a Dissertation concerning Man in his several Habitudes and Respects as the Member of a Society, first secular, and then sacred: Containing the Elements of Civil Polity in the Agreement which it hath both with natural and divine Laws; in which is demonstrated, both what the Origin of Justice is, and wherein the Christian Religion doth consist, together with the natural Limits and Qualifications both of Regimen and Subjection.' This work is also dedicated to William Earl of Devonshire, and in the dedication, he apologizes both for the method and the design of his treatise, opening thereby a true and fair account of the manner in which he was led to these inquiries; which, as it will afford the reader an opportunity of entering into the character of the man, we will exhibit to his view. After shewing what vast advantages, have been derived to the world, from that skill and certainty with which mathematicians have handled their science, and how much greater benefits might have resulted from morality, if it had been as judiciously treated; he affirms, that the want of this arises from the writers on that subject taking various and improper methods; 'For, says he, we may not, as in a circle, begin the handling of a science from what point we please. There is a certain clue of reason, whose beginning is in the dark, but by the benefit of whose conduct, we are led as it were by the hand into the clearest light; so that the principal of tractation is to be taken from that darkness, and then the light to be carried thither for the irradiating it's doubts. As often therefore as any writer doth either weakly forsake that clue, or wilfully cut it asunder, he describes the footsteps, not of his progress in science, but of his wanderings from it. And upon this it was, that when I applied my thoughts to the investigation of natural justice, I was presently adverted from the very word justice, which signifies a steady will of giving every one his own; that my first enquiry was to be, from whence it proceeded that any man should call any thing rather his own than another man's. And when I found that this proceeded not from nature, but consent; for what nature at first laid forth in common, men did afterwards distribute into several impropriations. I was conducted from thence to another enquiry, namely; to what end, and upon what impulsives, when all was equally every man's in common, men did rather think it fitting, that every man should have his inclosure; and I found the reason was, that from a community of goods, there must needs arise contention whose enjoyment should be greater, and from that contention

all kind of calamities must unavoidably ensue, which by the instinct of nature every man is taught to shun. Having therefore thus arrived at two maxims of human nature, the one arising from the concupiscible part, which desires to appropriate to itself the use of those things in which all others have a joint interest; the other proceeding from the rational, which teaches every man to fly a contra-natural dissolution, as the greatest mischief that can arrive to nature, which principles being laid down, I seem from them to have demonstrated, by a most evident connection in this little work of mine, first the absolute necessity of leagues and contracts, and thence the rudiments both of moral and of civil prudence. That appendage, which is added, concerning the regimen of God, hath been done with this intent, that the dictates of God Almighty in the law of nature, might not seem repugnant to the written law revealed to us in his word. I have also been very wary in the whole tenor of my discourse, not to meddle with the civil laws of any particular nation whatsoever; that is to say, I have avoided coming on a shore which the times have so infested both with shelves and tempests. At what expence of time and industry I have been in this scrutiny after truth I am not ignorant, but to what purpose I know not. For being partial judges of ourselves we lay a partial estimate upon our own productions. I therefore offer up this book to your Lordship's not favour but censure; first, as having found by many experiments, that it is not the credit of the author, nor the newness of the work, nor yet the ornament of the stile, but only the weight of reason which recommends any opinion to your Lordship's favour and approbation. If it fortune to please, that is to say, if it be found, if it be useful, if it be not vulgar, I humbly offer it to your Lordship as both my glory and my protection. But if in any thing I have erred, your Lordship will yet accept it as a testimony of my gratitude; for that the means of study, which I enjoyed by your Lordship's goodness, I have employed to the procurement of your Lordship's favour. The God of Heaven crown your Lordship with length of days in this earthly station, and in the heavenly Jerusalem with a crown of glory.' Immediately after the appearance of this book, the famous Mr Des Cartes gave this judgment upon it in one of his letters (4). I am of opinion, that the author of the book *De Cive*, is the same person who wrote the third objections against my meditations. I think him a much greater master of Morality than of Metaphysics or Natural Philosophy, though I can by no means approve of his principles or maxims, which are very bad and extremely dangerous, because they suppose all men to be wicked, or give them occasion to be so. His whole design is to write in favour of monarchy, which might be done to more advantage than he has done, upon maxims more virtuous and solid. He has wrote likewise very much to the disadvantage

(4) Epist. Ren. Cartes, Tom. III. p. 104.



(q) Vid. Con-  
trov. de verâ cir-  
culi menturâ,  
4to. Amst. 1647.

(r) Vita Thomæ  
Hobbes, p. 6, 7.

(s) Considerations  
upon the Repu-  
tation, Loyalty,  
Manners, and  
Religion, of  
Thomas Hobbes  
of Malmesbury,  
p. 7.

(t) Vita Hobbi-  
æ Aucstarium,  
p. 93.

(u) Wood's A-  
then. Oxon.  
Vol. II. col. 644.

(w) Vita Tho-  
mæ Hobbes, p. 9.

(x) See the arti-  
cle of D'AVE-  
NANT [Sir  
WILLIAM].

(5) De Civil.  
Prudent. cap.  
xiv.

(6) De Jur. Nat.  
& Gent. Præf.  
ad Lector.

(7) Præfat. in  
Element. Jurisp.  
Universal.

ture of the circle; in which, though many of the greatest men in Europe were likewise engaged, yet none of them gained higher reputation by their writings than our author (q). Amongst many other worthy persons, who upon the shipwreck of the royal cause retired for safety into France, was Sir Charles Cavendish, brother to the loyal Duke of Newcastle; and this gentleman, who was distinguished by his perfect acquaintance with every branch of mathematical science, proved a constant friend, and to the utmost of his power a kind patron, to our author; whose fame for that kind of learning was now so well established, that, in 1647, he was recommended to instruct Charles Prince of Wales, afterwards King Charles the Second (r). His care in the discharge of this office gained him the esteem of that prince in a very great degree (s); and though he afterwards withdrew his public favour towards Mr Hobbes, on account of those writings which will be hereafter mentioned; yet he always retained a sense of the services he had rendered him, of which he afforded him various marks after he was restored to his dominions, and, it is reported, had his picture always hanging in his closet (t). This year also came out a second and more compleat edition of his book *De Cive*, which was neatly printed in Holland by the care of Dr Sorbriere, who also made a translation of it into French. To his edition of the original, there are prefixed two Latin letters to the editor in commendation of the book, one written by Mr Gassendi, and the other by Father Merfenne, which, however, could not reconcile the world in general to the notions contained in that piece (u). While his time was thus employed at Paris, Mr Hobbes was attacked by a violent fit of sickness, which brought him very low, insomuch, that many of his friends began to despair of his recovery. Amongst those who visited him in so weak a condition, was his old acquaintance Father Merfenne beforementioned, who taking this for a favourable occasion, began, after a few general complements of condolence, to mention the power of the Roman Church to forgive sins. But Mr Hobbes immediately replied, Father, all these matters I have debated with myself long ago, such kind of disputes would be troublesome to me now, you can entertain me on subjects more agreeable. When did you see Mr Gassendi? His visitant, easily understanding his meaning, troubled him no farther, but suffered the conversation to turn, as Mr Hobbes desired, upon general topics. Yet some days afterwards, when Dr John Cosins, afterwards Bishop of Durham, came and proposed to pray with him, he very readily accepted the proposal, provided he used the offices appointed by the Church of England; and also received the Sacrament from his hands (w). By degrees, however, he recovered his health, and his former robust constitution. In 1650, he wrote an answer to a long letter, written to him by Sir William D'Avenant, who had submitted his poem, called *Gondibert*, to his perusal; which answer of his, together with Sir William's letter, was prefixed to that poem, when it was published, but did not answer the intention of defending this performance from the fury of the critics, who, notwithstanding Mr Hobbes's approbation, censured it very severely (x) [D]. The same year

' advantage of the Church, and of the Roman Catholic religion; so that if he is not particularly supported by some powerful interest, I do not see how he can escape having his book censured.' Our author Hobbes foresaw and obviated his first objection in his preface, in which he says, that to suppose all mankind wicked, is a false deduction from his principles, which only incline us to act towards mankind as if we actually supposed them wicked, because it is impossible to distinguish who are, and who are not so. Whence he infers that his caution is well founded, and yet his premises do not afford room for any such conclusion. The learned Herman Conringius (5) censures our author in pretty rough terms, for boasting that though physics were a new science, yet civil philosophy was still newer, since it could not be stiled older than his own book *De Cive*. Whereas, says that great man, there is nothing good in that work of his, which was not always known. But the celebrated Samuel Puffendorf, speaks another language (6). 'Thomas Hobbes,' says he, in those parts of his works which regard civil science, has many excellent things, and no-body who is well versed in studies of this nature, can deny that he has looked so closely into the principles of human and civil society, that there are very few who wrote before him upon these subjects, to whom he does not deserve to be preferred. Nay, even where he has gone out of the way, he suggests nevertheless things to our consideration, which otherwise would very probably never have entered into any man's head. The same worthy and judicious person, in his preface to another work, has these words (7): 'Neither are we a little indebted to Thomas Hobbes, whose hypothesis, in his book *De Cive*, though it favours somewhat of prophaneness, yet in other respects is certainly sensible and sound.' Thus we see, that even those who were offended with some of his notions, which we are also very far from approving, were nevertheless persuaded that he was a great man, and had

entered more deeply into this subject than some of his harshest censurers could perhaps conceive.

[D] Censured it very severely.] We have in another place given a large account of this poem, and of our author's judgment upon it, which had not that weight with the world that he expected; his client's poem being severely and almost unanimously condemned by the critics, and even to this day that judgment remains unreversed. But as we sometimes admire the eloquence of an advocate who defends a cause that is none of the best, and applaud apologies that are well written in the defence of characters that remain nevertheless as odious as before; so in the present case, whatever becomes of the merit of the cause, what our author has offered upon the subject, will with all candid persons, do him great honour. He read a long poem, and wrote his sentiments upon it in a week (8); and yet, whoever peruses them will find his labour not thrown away, but on the contrary, will be surprized to discover so much strength of judgment, such an acute penetration, so large a fund of solid and substantial learning so suddenly drawn together, and compressed into so narrow a compass. In order to justify this character of his performance, we will produce a single passage as a sample, by which the reader may safely judge of the whole singular piece, and at the same time conceive a notion of that perspicuity, and of that strong and correct stile, for which, even by the best judges, this writer was generally admired (9). 'Time and education, says he, begets experience; experience begets memory, memory begets judgment and fancy, judgment begets the strength and structure, and fancy begets the ornaments of a poem. The Ancients therefore fabled not absurdly in making Memory the mother of the Muses. For memory is the world (though not really, yet so as in a looking-glass) in which the judgment, the severer sister, busieth herself in a grave and rigid examination of all the parts of nature, and in registering by letters their order, causes, uses, differences, and re-

(8) Compare the dates of the letters as they stand before the *Gondibert* in the first edition.

(9) From the author's answer to Sir William Davenant's preface prefixed to the *Gondibert*.

' semblances,



year was published at London, a small treatise of our author's, entitled *Human Nature*, which was much esteemed by some, who expressed afterwards a bad opinion of Mr Hobbes [E]. Another larger treatise of his, entitled *De Corpore Politico*: or, Of the Elements of the Law, made likewise it's appearance the same year. All this time he had been digesting, with great care and pains, his religious, political, and moral principles, into a compleat system, which he entitled *Leviathan*, and which was printed in English at London in that and the year following. He caused a copy of the *Leviathan*, very fairly written on vellum, to be presented to King Charles the Second. But after that monarch was informed of the bad opinion entertained by the English Divines of this performance, who considered it in a very disadvantageous light, and as abounding with doctrines equally irreconcilable to true religion, and the principles of civil government, he is said to have withdrawn his countenance from the author, and to have restrained him by a message, delivered by the Marquis of Ormond, from coming into his presence, which was the highest punishment then in his power (y) [F]. It has been very confidently suggested, that his principal view in

(y) M-reur. Politic. No. 84.

composing

'semblances, whereby the Fancy, when any work of art is to be performed, finds her materials at hand and prepared for use, and needs no more than a swift motion over them, that what she wants and is there to be had, may not lie too long unespied. So that when she seemeth to fly from one Indies to the other, and from heaven to earth, and to penetrate into the hardest matter and obscurest places, into the future, and into herself, and all this in a point of time; the voyage is not very great, herself being all she seeks, and her wonderful celerity consisteth not so much in motion, as in copious imagery discreetly ordered, and perfectly registred in the memory, which most men under the name of philosophy have a glympse of, and and is pretended to by many that grossly mistaking her, embrace Contention in her place. But so far forth, as the fancy of man has traced the ways of true philosophy, so far it hath produced very marvellous effects to the benefit of mankind. All that is beautiful or defensible in building, or marvellous in engines, and instruments of motion, whatsoever commodity men receive from the observations of the heavens, from the description of the earth, from the account of time, from walking on the seas, and whatsoever distinguisheth the civility of Europe from the barbarity of the American savages, is the workmanship of fancy, but guided by the precepts of true philosophy. But where these precepts fail, as they have hitherto failed in the doctrine of moral virtue, there the architect (fancy) must take the philosopher's part upon herself. He therefore that undertakes an heroic poem (which is to exhibit a venerable and amiable image of heroic virtue) must not only be the poet to place and connect, but also the philosopher to furnish and square his matter; that is, to make both body and soul, colour and shadow of his poem, out of his own store: which how well you have performed, I am now considering.'

[E] *A bad opinion of Mr Hobbes.* This performance, which makes fewer than one hundred and seventy pages in a small duodecimo, is dedicated to William Earl of Devonshire, Governor to the Prince of Wales, and is said to have been composed by his Lordship's commands, out of materials delivered and approved by the Earl, in many familiar and private conversations. This dedication is dated May 9th, 1640. But besides this dedication, there stands before the first and second editions of this small treatise (10), the following advertisement, which is worthy of being well considered.

'READER,

'It was thought good to let you know that Mr Hobbes hath written a body of philosophy, upon such principles, and in such order, as are used by men conversant in demonstration; this he hath distinguished into three parts, *De Corpore*, *De Homine*, *De Cive*, each of the sequents beginning at the end of the antecedent, and insisting thereupon, as the latter books of Euclid upon the former. The last of these he hath already published in Latin beyond the seas; the second is this now presented; and if these two receive justice in the world, there is hopes we may obtain the first. He whose care it is and labour to satisfy the judgment and reason of mankind, will condescend so far, we hope, to satisfy the desire of those learned men whom these shall either have found or made, which cannot be until they shall analytically have followed the grand phenomena of states and kingdoms, through the passions

'of particular men, into the elemental principles of natural and corporeal motions. The former work was published by the author, and so is out of danger, this by a friend with leave from him; and to secure this, you are intreated to consider the relation wherein it stands, especially to the book *De Cive*. It was thought a part of religion, not to make any change without the author's advice, which could not suddenly be obtained, and so it comes forth innocently, supposing nothing to have happened since the dedication of it, which if it seems a solecism to some, it may to others give a satisfaction, in calling to mind those times and opportunities to which we are indebted for those admirable compositions.

'F. B.'

These initial letters were intended to stand for Francis Beaumont, the bookseller at Oxford, for whom the treatise was printed; but it may be presumed, that few readers believed it was of his writing. A certain author tells us plainly (11), that it was written for him by Dr Seth Ward, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who became within the space of a few years one of our author's bitterest enemies; though it plainly appears from the foregoing advertisement, that he had read and considered the whole scope of his philosophy before that difference began. The only inference we draw from hence is, that at this time the clergy, who knew the aim of Mr Hobbes's system as well as they ever could, did not apprehend any tendency therein to impiety, which the author always disavowed, but freely acknowledged it was his judgment, that the ecclesiastical should be dependent on the civil power, in point of order and discipline; and that religion should dispose men to love one another, and not be made the source of heart-burnings, seditions, and disturbances, as it had been for so many years; and while the sectaries continued triumphant and could be alone affected by it, this doctrine was thought innocent enough, and it's author a very wise man. A stronger proof of this cannot be desired, than the most elegant copy of Latin verses prefixed to it by the then reverend Ralph Bathurst, Master of Arts, then of Trinity-college, afterwards the celebrated Dr Bathurst, Dean of Bath, and one of the worthiest men his time affords. With regard to the remaining tract which was to compleat the body of his philosophy, his book *De Corpore Politico*, it came abroad without any dedication, having only an anonymous advertisement to the reader, purporting this was the piece promised by the advertisement prefixed to the tract on *Human Nature*. This was received no less favourably than the rest both at home and abroad, inasmuch that we are assured, that being presented to and read by the very learned Peter Gassendi (12), a very few months before his death, he first kissed it, and then delivered his opinion of it in these words. 'This treatise is indeed small in bulk, but in my judgment it is the very marrow of science.'

[F] *Then in his power.* The title of this work which made so great a noise in the world was, *LEVIATHAN: or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil. Written by Thomas Hobbes, London 1651, folio.* In his introduction he observes, that nature is the art by which God made the world; which, says he, man has sometimes imitated in making a kind of artificial animal. Such in his opinion, may a watch be esteemed; for, says he, what is the heart, but the spring; the nerves, but so many strings; and the joints, but as many wheels? The art of man, adds he, has gone yet further, and attempted no less, than

(11) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 643.

(12) Sam. Sorbier. Præf. in Oper. Gassendi.

(10) This second impression is printed at London for Thomas Newcomb, and for Francis Beaumont at Oxford, anno Domini 1651.



(x) Lord Clarendon's Brief View and Survey of Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan*, p. 7, 8.

composing this work, was to open a passage for his safe return into England, by exhibiting the only system of policy that either could justify or support the government of Oliver Cromwell (x); and in this he is said so far to have succeeded, as to have had some overtures

(13) Introduction to the *Leviathan*, p. 1.

than making the resemblance of the most perfect work of nature, which is man (13). 'For by art is created, that great *Leviathan* called a *Commonwealth* or *State* (in Latin *Civitas*) which is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength, than the natural, for whose protection and defence, it was intended, and in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion to the whole body, the magistrates, and other officers of judicature and execution, artificial joints; reward and punishment (by which, fastened to the fear of the sovereignty, every joint and member is moved to perform its duty) are the nerves that do the same in the body natural; the wealth and riches of all the particular members, are the strength (*Salus Populi*) the people's safety; its business, counsellors; by whom all things needful for it to know, are suggested to it, are the memory; equity and laws, an artificial reason and will; concord, health; sedition, sickness; and civil war, death. Lastly, the pacts and covenants, by which the parts of this body politic were at first made, set together, and united, resembled that fiat, or the *Let us make Man*, pronounced by God in the *Creation*.' Thus perhaps the true meaning and scope of his performance is as fully explained, and as clearly expressed as our own, or perhaps any other language would permit. One sees plainly, that the same sentiments inspired our author in this, as in his former performances; he was scandalized at the vicious lives of many pretended Enthusiasts, and he was frightened at the mischiefs which they brought upon mankind, by the great influence they had on their deluded followers. His great end therefore was to divest them of an ill-grounded power, of which he thought they made likewise a very bad use, and to put all authority into the hands of men, who were to act from clearer principles and more intelligible motives. That he carried his notions in this respect too far, no reasonable man or true christian can doubt, but that he meant any private advantage to himself, beyond what he desired to procure for the rest of mankind, seems very far from being so clear a case; and that he doubted himself of the reception that this work of his would meet with on either side of the water, is abundantly evident from his dedication to Mr Francis Godolphin, the brother of the celebrated Mr Sidney Godolphin, to whom the author was well known, and by whom he had been very much obliged. This dedication, which is very short, it is for many reasons necessary the candid reader should peruse, and therefore we place it here.

HONOURED SIR,

'Your most worthy brother, Mr Sidney Godolphin, when he lived, was pleased to think my studies something, and otherwise to oblige me, as you know, with real testimonies of his good opinion, great in themselves, and the greater for the worthiness of his person. For there is not any virtue that disposeth a man either to the service of God, or the service of his country, to civil society or private friendship, that did not manifestly appear in his conversation, not as acquired by necessity, or affected upon occasion, but inherent and shining in a generous constitution of his nature. Therefore, in honour and gratitude to him, and with devotion to yourself, I humbly dedicate unto you, this my Discourse of Commonwealth. I know not how the world will receive it, nor how it may reflect on those that shall seem to favour it. For in a way beset with those that contend on one side for too great liberty, and on the other side for too much authority, 'tis hard to think between the points of both unwounded. But yet methinks, the endeavour to advance the civil power, should not be by the civil power condemned, nor private men by reprehending it, declare that power too great. Besides, I speak not of the men, but (in the abstract) of the seat of power, like to those simple and impartial creatures in the Roman Capitol, that with their noise defended those within it, not because they were there offending none, I think, but those without, or such within (if there were any such) as favour them. That which perhaps may most offend, are certain texts of

'Holy Scripture alledged by me to other purpose than ordinarily they use to be by others. But I have done it with due submission, and also in order to my subject necessarily, for they are the outworks of the enemy, from whence they impugn the civil power. If notwithstanding this, you find my labour generally decryed, you may be pleased to excuse yourself and say, I am a man that love my own opinion, and think all true I say; that I honoured your brother, and honour you, and have presumed on that to assume the title (without your knowledge) of being as I am,

'S I R,

Paris, April  $\frac{15}{23}$ ,  
1651.

'Your most humble, and most

'obedient servant,

'THO. HOBBS.'

It is very possible, and indeed it is highly probable, that our author in the framing this work might have his return to England in view, but that he had any notion of fortifying and securing the government that then subsisted in this country, much more that he had any malicious intentions against his royal pupil, will not appear very likely to those who either examine strictly into his conduct, or look very closely into his book (14). Such as suggest the contrary, begin with laying down a false fact, which is, that Oliver Cromwell was then at the head of the government, and if this had been so, what they say would have been plausible at least, though not certain. However, there was abundantly enough in the *Leviathan* to oblige, and consequently to justify, King Charles in doing as he did, if we consider where he was, how supported, and by whom attended. But that his majesty was full as well instructed as to the real intentions of Mr Hobbes, as any other man could pretend to be, may fairly be presumed from the present that the author made him of it upon vellum; which if it had been directly written to subvert his title, to fix the power that then prevailed at home, and prevent the return of that Prince, and the restitution of the ancient free government in these kingdoms, would not have been more extraordinary than impudent. It might therefore be with some other view, and what that view was, and with how much propriety at least in his own judgment, may be perhaps collected from this conclusion of his second part.

'Thus far concerning the constitution, nature, and right of sovereigns, and concerning the duty of subjects, derived from the principles of natural reason. And now considering how different this doctrine is from the practice of the greatest part of the world, especially of these western parts, that have received their moral learning from Rome and Athens, and how much depth of moral philosophy is required in them that have the administration of the sovereign power, I am at the point of believing this my labour as useless as the Commonwealth of Plato; for he also is of opinion, that it is impossible for the disorders of state and change of government by civil war, ever to be taken away till sovereigns be philosophers. But when I consider again, that the science of natural justice, is the only science necessary for sovereigns and their principal ministers, and that they need not be charged with the sciences mathematical (as by Plato they are) further than by good laws to encourage men to the study of them, and that neither Plato nor any other philosopher hitherto hath put into order, and sufficiently or probably proved all the theorems of moral doctrine, that men may learn thereby, both how to govern and how to obey. I recover some hope, that one time or other this writing of mine may fall into the hands of a sovereign, who will consider it himself (for it is short, and I think clear) without the help of any interested or envious interpreter, and by the exercise of entire sovereignty in protecting the public teaching of it, convert this truth of speculation into the utility of practice.'

(14) Considerations on the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes, p. 25.



overtures made him, to enter into the service of the Protector in quality of his Secretary (a). The great Earl of Clarendon, once his very particular friend, and never his personal enemy, has given the world an account of some circumstances, which attended the writing and publication of this book, from his own knowledge, which are very curious [G].

Whatever

(a) Dowell's *Leviathan Heretical*, Oxon. 1683, 12mo. p. 137.

(15) Clarendon's *Survey of the Leviathan*, p. 2.

[G] Which are very curious.] This great man wrote, during his banishment in 1670, a book against Mr Hobbes, which was printed six years afterwards at Oxford, with this title, *A brief View of the dangerous and pernicious Errors to Church and State, in Mr Hobbes's Book entituled, LEVIATHAN* (15). In the introduction, the Earl observes, 'That Mr Hobbes's *Leviathan* contains in it good learning of all kinds, 'politely extracted, and very wittily and cunningly digested, in a very commendable and in a vigorous and pleasant stile;' and that Mr Hobbes, 'was a man of excellent parts, of great wit, some reading, and somewhat more thinking. One who has spent many years in foreign parts and observations, understands the learned as well as modern languages, hath long had the reputation of a great philosopher and mathematician, and in his age hath had conversation with very many worthy and extraordinary men; to which it may be, if he had been more indulgent in the more vigorous part of his life, it might have had greater influence upon the temper of his mind; whereas age seldom submits to those questions, enquiries, and contradictions, which the laws and liberty of conversation require. And it hath been always a lamentation among Mr Hobbes's friends, that he spent too much time in thinking, and too little in exercising those thoughts, in the company of other men of the same, or of as good faculties; for want whereof, his natural constitution, with age, contracted such a morosity, that doubting and contradicting men were never grateful to him. In a word, Mr Hobbes is one of the most ancient acquaintance I have in the world, and of whom I have always had a great esteem, as a man, who besides his eminent parts of learning and knowledge, hath been always looked upon as a man of probity, and a life free from scandal.' The Earl informs us, that when Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles the Second, went first to Paris from the Isle of Jersey, and the Lords Capel and Hopton continued with him at Jersey, he heard shortly after, that Mr Hobbes, who was then at Paris, had printed his book *De Cive* there. The Earl, then Sir Edward Hyde, wrote to Dr Earl, who was then the Prince's chaplain and tutor, to remember him kindly to Mr Hobbes, with whom he was well acquainted, and to desire him to send him that book, by the same token that Mr Sidney Godolphin, who had been killed in the civil wars, had left him a legacy of two hundred pounds. The book was immediately sent to Sir Edward by Mr Hobbes, with a desire that he would tell him, whether he was sure that there was such a legacy, or how he might receive it. Sir Edward sent Mr Hobbes word, that he might depend upon it, and believed that if he found a way secretly to demand it of Mr Francis Godolphin, brother of Mr Sidney Godolphin, who had told Sir Edward he would pay it. This information was the motive to the dedication of the *Leviathan* to Mr Francis Godolphin, whom Mr Hobbes had never seen. When Sir Edward went some few years after from Holland with King Charles II. to Paris, Mr Hobbes visited him, and told him that Mr Godolphin had confessed the legacy, and had paid one hundred pounds, and promised to pay the other, for all which he thanked him, and said he owed it to him, for he had otherwise never known of it. When Sir Edward returned from Spain, by Paris, Mr Hobbes frequently came to him, and told him that his book, which he would call *Leviathan*, was printing in England, and that he received every week a sheet to correct, of which he shewed him one or two sheets, and thought it would be finished in little more than a month; and also communicated to him, the epistle to Mr Godolphin which he intended to prefix to it, and concluded that he knew, when Sir Edward read his book he would not like it; and therefore mentioned some particulars, upon which Sir Edward asked him, why he would publish such doctrine, to which, after a discourse between jest and earnest, upon the subject, he said (16); *The truth is, I have a mind to go home. Within a short time after, I came, says the Earl, into Flanders, which was not much more than a*

month, from the time that Mr Hobbes had conferred with me, *Leviathan* was sent to me from London, which I read with much appetite and impatience. Yet I had scarce finished it, when Sir Charles Cavendish (the noble brother of the Duke of Newcastle, who was then at Antwerp, a gentleman of all the accomplishments of mind, that he wanted of body, being in all other respects a wonderful person) shewed me a letter he had then received from Mr Hobbes, in which he desired he would let him know freely, what my opinion was of his book; upon which I wished he would tell him, that I could not enough wonder, that a man who had so great a reverence for civil government, that he resolved all wisdom and religion itself into a simple obedience and submission to it, should publish a book, for which by the constitution of any government now established in Europe, whether monarchical or democratical, the author must be punished in the highest degree, and with the most severe penalties. With which answer, which Sir Charles sent to him, he was not pleased, and found afterwards, when I returned to the King to Paris, that I very much censured his book, which he had presented engrossed in vellum, in a marvelous fair hand to the King, and likewise found my judgment so far confirmed, that a few days before I came thither, he was compelled secretly to flee out of Paris, the Justice having endeavoured to apprehend him, and soon after escaped into England, where he never received any disturbance. After the King's return, he came frequently to the Court, where he had too many disciples, and once visited me. I received him very kindly, and invited him to see me often, but he heard from so many hands that I had no good opinion of his book, that he came to me only that one time, and methinks I am in a degree indebted to him, to let him know some reasons, why I look with so much prejudice upon his book, which hath gotten him so much credit and estimation with some other men.' The Earl afterwards observes, 'That the review and conclusion of the *Leviathan*, is only an abridgment and contracting the most contagious poison that runs through the book into a less vessel or volume, lest they who should not take the pains to read the book, or reading it, may by inadvertency and inconsistency not be hurt enough by it, may here in less room, and more nakedly, swallow his choicest doctrine at one morsel, and is in truth a sly address to Cromwell, that being then out of the kingdom, and so being neither conquered nor his subject, he might by his return submit to his government, and be bound to obey it: which being uncompelled by any necessity or want, but having as much to sustain him abroad, as he had to live upon at home, could not but proceed from a sincere heart, and uncorrupted. This review and conclusion he made short enough, to hope that Cromwell himself might read it, where he should not only receive the pawn of his new subjects allegiance, by declaring his own obligations and obedience, but by publishing such doctrine, as being diligently infused, by such a master, in the mystery of government, might secure the people of the kingdom (over whom he had no right to command) to acquiesce and submit to his brutal power (17). The latter part of this charge, though very positively asserted by many others, as well as this noble Peer, cannot certainly be made out, unless Mr Hobbes was a prophet, as well as a politician; for Cromwell, was then no more than General of the forces, and if there had been any evident sign of his becoming master of the government, it is more than probable, some of the eagle-eyed people of that age would have discerned it, as soon as Mr Hobbes (18). But it is easy to find the meaning of a passage, or rather to apply it, when events have pointed the presumed occasion. Yet at the juncture the *Leviathan* was published, no mortal could imagine that it was a complement to General Cromwell, though it is very possible that from the doctrine contained in it, the author had been so inclined (which it does not appear he ever was) might have afterwards found his account, in paying his court

(17) *Ibid.* p. 317.  
(18) *Considerations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of Th. Hobbes*, p. 18, 19.

(16) *Ibid.* p. 7.



(b) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 10. Historia & Antiqu. Oxon. P. ii. p. 377. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(c) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 9, 10. Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium, p. 83, 84. Considerations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of T. Hobbes, p. 11, 12.

Whatever his motives might be to the writing his *Leviathan*, certain it is, that, not long after it's publication, he returned to England, partly, as he himself affirmed, from his apprehensions of the consequences that might follow, from the offence taken against him by the Popish clergy, and partly on account of an indisposition in his stomach, from which, by the use of proper medicines, he perfectly recovered (b). But it does by no means appear, that he sought for any favour from the hands of those then in power, beyond that of living in quiet. And finding the Church of England subverted, and the churches filled with those who made no use of any liturgy, and whose sermons, in his opinion, were often blasphemous, he omitted, for three months, communicating with any body of Christians; but being afterwards carried to a congregation, where the service of the Church of England was with great privacy used, he joined in communion with them, and continued to resort thither (c). This, and his conduct in his sickness, he afterwards urged as a proof that he was no Atheist; but, on the contrary, a Christian, and sincerely attached to that Church in which he was educated (d) [H]. After his coming over into his own country,

(d) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 11.

to the Protector. But notwithstanding things of this sort were no doubt carried to the King's ear, yet they did not make such an impression upon him, as upon his ministers, in complaisance to whom, though he forbid our author his presence, yet he could not help declaring at the same time, *that he did not believe Mr Hobbes intended him any hurt* (19). We have shewn in the former note that he had good reason to be of this opinion, and yet it must be allowed, that *the Leviathan* was in two respects a noxious book, or rather an obnoxious book. In the first place, it set the impiety, superstition, and tyranny of the Papists, in the strongest light possible; and in the next, it evidently disposed men's minds (by furnishing a plausible apology for their conduct) to submit and to live quietly, under the power whatever it was that prevailed in England. By this, the author provoked the Romish clergy, whom, tho' he had not been a timorous man, he might have good reason to fear, and disgusted the high Royalists, that is such as were proscribed, and could not go home; so that he had the strongest motive that could be to leave France, and, after the King's message, scarce any means left to stay.

[H] In which he was educated.] At the time that our author sent abroad his *Leviathan*, there was a kind of state news paper circulated here, written by one Marchmont Needham, from which it plainly appears, that from the moment Hobbes's book was published, it was ill received at King Charles's Court, though at the same time not at all displeasing on this side the water (20).

The author, says this writer, sent one of his books when he had published it, as a present to the King of Scots, which he accepted, in regard he had been his tutor in the mathematics; but being afterwards informed by some of his Priests, that that book did not only contain many principles of Atheism and gross impiety (for so they call every thing that squares not with the clergy interest) but also such that were prejudicial to the Church, and reflected dangerously upon the Majesty of sovereign Princes; therefore when Mr Hobbes came to make a tender of his service to him in person, he was rejected, and word brought him by the Marquis of Ormond, that the King would not admit him, and withal told him the reason. By which means Mr Hobbes declines in credit with his friends there of the Royal stamp. One of Mr Hobbes's antagonists asserted in his lifetime, as is said in the text, that *the Leviathan* was so acceptable to Cromwell, that he made him an offer of being his Secretary (21). If this was true, it does indeed prove, that the Government then subsisting in England were well satisfied with Mr Hobbes's notions; but it does at the same time also prove, that he was not satisfied with their authority, and that though he thought it consistent with his principles, to live peaceably under their protection, yet he did not care, by accepting preferment, to acknowledge, that either the Parliament, or the Protector, had made a legal acquisition of power. This shews his attachment to the State. He affirms himself, that he was not at all less steady in his principles as to the Church. He fondled upon his coming over, a public profession of religion, and preaching and praying in abundance, yet for three months he declined going to any public place of worship; but being informed by a friend, that a clergyman of the established Church, ventured to officiate every Sunday, and to read the service prescribed by the Common Prayer, he went, though it was a mile distant from the place of his residence, constantly to hear it so

read by him, and received the Sacrament from his hands (22). In one of his works written by way of dialogue against Dr Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, afterwards Primate of Ireland, he puts his Lordship's state of the case from *the Leviathan*, and then his answer to it in these words (23).

(22) Vita Thomæ Hobbes, p. 10, 11.

(23) Hobbes's Answer to the catching of the *Leviathan*, p. 107, 108, 109.

JOHN DERRY,

His fifth conclusion may be, that the sharpest and most successful sword in any war whatsoever, doth give sovereign power and authority to him that hath it, to approve or reject all sorts of theological doctrines concerning the kingdom of God, not according to their truth or falsehood, but according to that influence which they have upon political affairs. Hear him, *But because this doctrine will appear to most men a novelty, I do but propound it, maintaining nothing in this or any other paradox of religion, but attending the end of that dispute of the sword concerning the authority (not yet amongst my countrymen decided) by which all sorts of doctrine are to be approved or rejected, &c. For the points of doctrine concerning the kingdom of God, have so great influence upon the kingdom of man, as not to be determined, but by them that under God have the sovereign power.*

————— Careat successibus opto  
Quisquis ab eventa, facta notanda putat.

Let him evermore want success, who thinketh actions are to be judged by their events. This doctrine may be plausible to those who desire to fish in troubled waters. But it is justly hated by those which are in authority, and all those who are lovers of peace and tranquillity. The last part of this conclusion smelleth rankly of Jeroboam; Now shall the kingdom return to the house of David, if this people go up to do sacrifice in the house of the Lord at Jerusalem; whereupon the King took counsel, and made two calves of gold, and said unto them, It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem, behold thy Gods, O Israel, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. But by the just disposition of Almighty God, this policy turned to a sin, and was the utter destruction of Jeroboam and his family. It is not good jesting with edge-tools, nor playing with holy things. Where men make their greatest fastness, many times they find most danger.

THOMAS HOBBS,

His Lordship either had a strange conscience, or understood not *English*. Being at Paris when there was no Bishop nor Church in England, and every man writ what he pleased; I resolved when it should please God to restore the authority ecclesiastical, to submit to that authority, in whatsoever it should determine. This his Lordship construes for a temporizing and too much indifferency in religion, and says further, that the last part of my words do smell of Jeroboam. To the contrary, I say my words were modest, and such as in duty I ought to use. And I profess still, that whatsoever the Church of England (the Church, I say, not every Doctor) shall forbid me to say, in matter of faith, I shall abstain from saying it, excepting this point, That Jesus Christ the Son of God died for my sins. As for other doctrines, I think it unlawful, if the Church define them, for any Member of the Church to contradict them. These sentiments of Mr Hobbes were certainly very consistent with

(20) Mercurius Politicus, No. 84. from Jan. 8. to Jan. 15. anno 1651-2.

(21) The *Leviathan* Heretical, p. 137.



country, he passed the summer commonly at Chatsworth, the Earl of Devonshire's seat in Derbyshire, and some of his winters in town, where he had, for his intimate friends, several of the greatest men of that or of any age; such as, Dr William Harvey, the great light and restorer of Physic; John Selden, Esq; that prodigy of learning; Sir John Vaughan, afterwards Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas; Abraham Cowley; no less distinguished by the innocency of his life than the elegance of his writings; and Sir Charles Scarborough, afterwards the King's Physician, a man famous for mathematical learning, his exquisite skill in Physic, and for his open, generous, and communicative temper (e). In 1654, Mr Hobbes published his Letter upon Liberty and Necessity, which occasioned a long controversy between him and Dr Bramhall, Bishop of Londonderry, afterwards Lord-Primate of Ireland. About this time, likewise, began the controversy with Dr Wallis of Oxford, which lasted as long as our author lived, and in which he had the misfortune to have all the Mathematicians against him (f). It is indeed said, that our author came too late to this kind of study, for a man who would excel in it; and that though for a time he maintained his credit, while he was content to proceed in the same track with others, and to reason in the accustomed manner, from the established principles of the science; yet when he began to digress into new paths, and set up for a reformer, inventor, and improver of Geometry, he lost himself extremely (g). But, notwithstanding these debates took up much of his time, he published several philosophical treatises in Latin, in compliance with the promises which he had formerly given, and in which he made it his rule to be very punctual. Such were his occupations 'till the year 1660, when, upon the King's restoration, he came up to London; where, being at Salisbury-house with his patron, when the King passed by in his coach, he accidentally saw him, and sent for him, gave him his hand to kiss, and enquired kindly after his health and circumstances. Some time after this, his Majesty directed that eminent Limner, Mr Samuel Cooper, to go to him and draw his picture (h). He likewise afforded our author another private audience, spoke to him very kindly, assured him of his protection, and settled a pension upon him of one hundred pounds a year out of his privy-purse; which last circumstance is very particularly mentioned by himself, in his account of his own life in Latin verse (i) [I]. Yet this

(e) Vitæ Hobbesianæ Auctarium, p. 84, 85, 86.

(f) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 11. Vitæ Hobbesianæ Auctarium, p. 95, 96, 97. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 645.

(g) See the note [8].

(h) Vitæ Hobbesianæ Auctarium, p. 91, 92, 93. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

(i) Thomæ Hobbes Vita, p. 14. Vitæ Hobbesianæ Auctarium, p. 80. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 642.

with his practice, so that such as reproached him with disrespect for the Christian Religion, Impiety, and Atheism, could do it no otherwise than from their own interpretation of his writings, which was very different or rather opposite to the sense in which he declared he meant them, and for the proof of his sincerity appealed to his practice, and in respect to this, even his noble antagonist, as in the former note appears, had not a word to say.

[I] In Latin verse.] In these metrical memorials relating to himself, for one can hardly call them with any propriety a poem, he gives a very particular account of his estate, and of the changes it underwent, as we have mentioned in the text. He likewise intimates in these, as well as in his prose memoirs, and in other parts of his works, that he knew well enough who they were that represented him, or at least his writings, in a disadvantageous light to the King. Of him however he professes he never had any just reason to complain, not even for listening to these representations, and in consequence of them, forbidding him his presence and his Court. The reason he renders is this \*.

————— Nam tunc adolescens  
Credidit ille, quibus credidit ante Pater.

He then a youth, believ'd it was but just,  
To trust in those, who had his father's trust.

We find that his sentiments in this respect were very well founded, for his noble antagonist, in that admirable dedication of his to the King, clearly and candidly avows what our author only suggests. 'I have often,' says he, heretofore when I had liberty for that presumption, advertised your Majesty of the wickedness of very many of the principles upon which that whole book is supported, and was not without some hope of prevailing with your Majesty, to give yourself the leisure and the trouble to peruse and examine some parts of it, in confidence, than they would no sooner be read than detested by you: whereas the frequent reciting of loose and disjointed sentences and bold inferences, for the novelty and pleasantness of the expressions, the reputation of the gentleman for parts and learning, with his confidence in conversation, and especially the humour and inclination of the time to all kind of paradoxes, have too much prevailed with many of great wit and faculties, without

reading the context or observation of the consequences, to believe his propositions to be more innocent or less mischievous, than upon a more deliberate perusal they will find them to be, and the love of his person and company, have rendered the iniquity of his principles less discernable.' There is no doubt that these were this noble person's real sentiments, or that they were those also of many others; but at the same time there were others of the King's friends, who thought that Mr Hobbes's book might do his Majesty very effectual service, by giving many of his exiled subjects an opportunity of going home and of getting into the possession of their estates again, by submitting to a composition, which they considered as giving a part to retrieve the whole. It was also apprehended, that those who returned, would not be less the King's subjects, or less likely to serve him from that circumstance, and that perhaps this book might likewise open the eyes of the people, and shew them upon what principles their new government stood. Taken in this light, however dangerous the principles laid down in the Leviathan might be, they could not be dangerous to the King, more especially when the author was publicly disgraced by him for publishing them. That this was really the case, and that Mr Hobbes had some reason to take it amiss, to have any malice imputed to him against the King or his government, may appear in his apology to that Prince, published within two years after his Restoration (24). 'I will not break the custom of joining to my offering a prayer, and it is, that your Majesty will be pleased to pardon this following short apology for my Leviathan, not that I rely upon apologies, but upon your Majesty's most gracious general pardon. That which is in it of theology, contrary to the general current of divines, is not put there as my opinion, but propounded with submission to those that have the power ecclesiastical. I did never after, either in writing or discourse, maintain it. There is nothing in it against episcopacy. I cannot therefore imagine what reason any episcopal man can have to speak of me, as I hear some of them do, as of an Atheist, or man of no religion, unless it be for making the authority of the Church depend wholly upon the regal power, which I hope your Majesty will think is neither Atheism nor Heresy. But what had I to do to meddle with matters of that nature, seeing religion is not philosophy but law? It was written in a time, when the pretence of Christ's kingdom was made use of for the most horrid actions that can be imagined, and it was in just indignation

(24) Prefixed to seven Philosophical problems, and two propositions in Geometry, A. D. 1662.



this did not render him intirely safe; for, in 1666, his book of the *Leviathan*, and his treatise *De Cive*, were censured by Parliament, which alarmed him very much; as did also the bringing in of a bill in the house of Commons, to punish Atheism and Profaneness. It is thought, that, upon this occasion, he composed his Historical Narration of Heresy, and the punishment thereof, or rather detached it from his *Leviathan*, and added to it some fresh remarks, with a view of demonstrating that he could not be legally guilty of Heresy, in writing or publishing that book, because the High-Commission-Court was the only judicature in England that could declare what was Heresy; and that court being abolished at the beginning of the troubles, and not restored afterwards, whatever was contained in his book, written in the interim, could never, in a legal sense, be adjudged Heresy (k) [K]. When this storm was a little blown over, he began to think of procuring a beautiful

(k) See the note [K].

of that, that I desired to see the bottom of that doctrine of the kingdom of Christ, which divers ministers then preached for a pretence to their rebellion, which may reasonably extenuate though not excuse the writing of it. There is therefore no ground for so great a calumny in my writings, there is no sign of it in my life, and for my religion, when I was at the point of death at St Germans, the Bishop of Durham can bear witness of it, if he be asked. Therefore I most humbly beseech your sacred Majesty, not to believe so ill of me, upon reports that proceed often (and may do so now) from the displeasure which commonly ariseth from difference in opinion; nor to think the worse of me, if *snatching up all the weapons to fight against your enemies, I lighted upon one that had a double edge.* It must be allowed, that how truly or justly soever this was certainly very elegantly said, and that both the logic and rhetoric therein, has more the air of the Court than of the Cloister. Indeed from the hour he left Oxford, Mr Hobbes spent his time chiefly amongst persons of great quality and distinction, from whose conversation no doubt, he borrowed much of that vivacity and facility, and perhaps also of that conciseness and perspicuity for which his writings were then admired; and that they were admired at Court, and not publickly disapproved by the King, was what chiefly kept up the old man's spirits, and enabled him to employ his pen at an age when other men are sometimes past reading.

[K] *Be adjudged Heresy.* Amongst all the pieces that fell from our author's pen, which were not a few, we may with great truth assert, there is none in which he shewed more ingenuity, learning, or address, than in this. To say the truth, there was nothing imported him so much in the circumstances he then stood, as to set this matter in a clear light, or at least in such a light as might interest most of his readers in his cause, by shewing the possibility of it's becoming their own; and setting up at the same time such a defence of his own conduct, as might secure him against any proceedings, which were not founded on a law *ex post facto*; which he knew, for their own sakes, the Commons, would never be brought to pass. The method he took was this; he began with explaining the term *Heresy*, which he observed was a Greek word, signifying the taking of any thing, and which came to be particularly applied to the taking of an opinion. When Philosophy was freely taught in Greece, there arose several wise and great men, who laboured to explain the general system of things in very different manners. As for instance, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno. The doctrine that each of these taught was stiled his *Heresy*; and, in process of time, as each of these different opinions came to be embraced by many, the followers of them were stiled *Sects*, from the Latin *à sequendo*; and this is his notions of Heresy and Sects while confined to Philosophy. But when the Christian Religion began generally to prevail, it was embraced by Philosophers of all kinds, who quickly began to conciliate and explain scriptures themselves according to their former notions; and their sentiments being embraced by others, this introduced Heresies and Sects into the Church. As this was productive of many and manifest inconveniences, and gave great scandal to unbelievers, the remedy applied was, to convene the Pastors of the Church, who examined any new opinion as soon as it was broached; and if it appeared to them false, they summoned the author to retract it, which if he would not do they shut him out from their communion; the members of which considered him from thence forward as a heathen, branding him with the name of *Heretic*, as one persisting in his own private opinion, against the common sense of the

Church: hence arose the terms *Catholic* and *Heretic*, as relatives; and the latter grew a name of reproach and disgrace. He observes next, that the preserving the catholic faith made way for councils and creeds; in the former of which it was settled, and by the latter of which it was declared. In the first four general councils, the peace of the Church was the principal object, which soon after was changed for the power of the Church. As the authority of the Bishop of Rome, under a variety of titles, grew up, there was no doctrine which tended to the power ecclesiastical, or to the reverence of the clergy, the contradiction whereof was, not by one council or another, made heresy, and punished arbitrarily by the emperors with banishment or death. And at last, kings themselves, and commonwealths, unless they purged their dominions of heretics, were excommunicated, interdicted, and their subjects let loose upon them by the Pope; insomuch, as to an ingenuous and serious Christian, there was nothing so dangerous as to enquire concerning his own salvation of the Holy Scripture; the careless cold Christian was safe, and the skilful hypocrite a saint. The Pope, now possessed of the power of the Church, declaring what were Heresies, kings and other states made such laws, as they thought proper for the extirpation of them; the first that was made here was in the fifth of Richard the Second, against the Lollards, or followers of John Wicliffe; by which law, Sheriffs and some others were to have commissions to apprehend such, as the prelates certified to be preachers of Heresy, and their abettors; and them to hold in strong prison 'till they justified themselves, according to the law of the Holy Church. Richard the Second being deposed, Henry the Fourth, who in aspiring to the Crown stood in need of the bishops good will, in the second year of his reign, gave his assent to a law, by which every Ordinary might convene before him and imprison any person suspected of Heresy; and, if he remained obstinate, he was to be burnt before the people. His son and successor, Henry the Fifth, went farther; and, in the second year of his reign, consented to a law, declaring, that the intent of the Lollards was to subvert the Christian Faith, the Law of God, the Church, and the Realm; and that a heretic convict should forfeit all his free-simple, lands, goods, and chattels, and be burned besides. Henry the Eighth, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, enacted, that a heretic convict should abjure his Heresies; and if he refused so to do, or relapsed, then to be burned in an open place for example sake. This was after he had abolished papal power; which shewed, that his intention was not to alter religion, but to recover his own ecclesiastical authority. This, and all other laws against heresy, were repealed in the time of Edward the Sixth. Under the reign of Queen Mary, her father's statute was revived. Queen Elizabeth, in the fifth year of her reign, repealed all the ecclesiastical laws made by her sister, and all former laws concerning the punishment of heretics. By the same statute it was enacted, that the Queen, by her letters patent, constitute the Bishops, and others her Commissioners for executing ecclesiastical authority, to whom the power was attributed of declaring Heresy; but then they were restrained to such as had been declared so by one of the first four general councils. This was the origin of the High-Commission, which, upon the application of Parliament, King Charles passed a law to abolish (25). But, says our author, though the High-Commission were taken away, yet the Parliament having other ends besides the setting up of the Presbyterate, pursued the rebellion, and put down both Episcopacy and Monarchy, erecting a power, by them called the Commonwealth, by others the Rump; which men obeyed, not out of duty, but for fear; nor was there any

(25) An Historical Narration concerning Heresy, and the Punishment thereof, p. 25, 26.



a beautiful edition of such of his works, as were either written by himself, or translated into the Latin tongue, to be published in his life-time; and finding this to be a thing impracticable in England, he caused it to be undertaken abroad; where they were made public in 4to. in 1668, from the press of John Bleau (*l*). In 1669, he was visited by Cosmo De Medicis, then Prince, afterwards Duke, of Tuscany, who gave him ample marks of his esteem and respect; and having received his picture, and a compleat collection of his writings, caused them to be repositied, the former amongst his curiosities, the latter in his celebrated library at Florence (*m*). The like visits he received from foreign ambassadors, and other strangers of distinction, who were curious to see a person, whose singular opinions and numerous writings had made so much noise over all Europe; which not only gratified the old man's passion for applause, which was his greatest foible, but really raised his reputation; insomuch, that some young men at the universities began to study his Philosophy with great application, and embraced, with the passion natural to that season of life, all his opinions (*n*). Amongst these, there was one Daniel Scargill, Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow of Corpus-Christi-college in Cambridge, who undertook to defend some positions extracted from the *Leviathan*, which drew upon him a very severe academical prosecution, that ended in imprisonment, depriving him of his degree, removing him from his fellowship, and expelling him the university (*o*). The man himself afterwards published a very full recantation, in which he acknowledged himself to have been drawn into the grossest errors and impleties, by the study of our author's writings. This engaged him to write a vindication in reference to this matter, as he had often done upon other occasions; which, notwithstanding, was never published, but shewn only to a few intimate friends (*p*). In 1670, there was committed to the press in Latin, the *History and Antiquities of Oxford*, by Mr Wood, or, as he stiled himself, Anthony à Wood; which was written by the author in English, but translated and published at the expence of Dr Fell, Bishop of Oxford, who caused some considerable alterations to be made, as well as many things to be left out, in the account given of our author and his writings (*q*). Upon this, Anthony à Wood, in justification of himself, acquainted him with the whole of that transaction, pointing out the several alterations and omissions; and our author, in a Latin letter, dated April 20, 1674, addressed to Mr Wood, published all this to the world, with very warm and bitter complaints against Dr John Fell. To this, that great man vouchsafed to publish a reply; in which he asserted, that the article contained in Mr Wood's English book was not composed by himself, but was transmitted to him, either by our author, or by his great friend and disciple John Aubrey, Esq; justifying likewise his corrections and omissions, in as strong terms as those which had been made use of by Mr Hobbes in his charge; and this vindication of himself he caused to be annexed to the *History and Antiquities of Oxford* (*r*) [*L*]. In 1672, the Philosopher of Malmesbury wrote his life in Latin verse, when, as he observes, he had compleated his eighty-fourth year; in which, whatever may be thought of the poetry, there is certainly a great deal of spirit, and, it may be, of vanity also (*s*). He mentions at the close of it, that when he retired to France, his whole stock was five hundred pounds; as also the addition made to it;

(*l*) *Vita Hobbi-  
anae Auctarium*,  
p. 100.  
*Historia & Anti-  
q.* Oxon. P. II.  
p. 377.

(*m*) *Vita Hobbi-  
anae Auctarium*,  
p. 103.  
Wood's *Athen.*  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 642.

(*n*) *Vita Hobbi-  
anae Auctarium*,  
p. 104, 105, 106.  
Wood's *Athen.*  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 646.

(*o*) *Vita Hobbi-  
anae Auctarium*,  
p. 106.

(*p*) Wood's *A-  
then.* Oxon. Vol.  
II. col. 646.

(*q*) *Vita Hobbi-  
anae Auctarium*,  
p. 111, & seq.  
Wood's *Athen.*  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 645.

(*r*) *Vita Hobbi-  
anae Auctarium*,  
p. 123—147.  
*Hist. & Antiq.*  
Oxon. ad calcem  
Wood's *Athen.*  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 645.

(*s*) *Thomæ  
Hobbesii Vita*,  
auctore seipso,  
Lond. 1679.  
4to.  
*Vita Hobbianæ  
Auctarium*, p.  
162.  
Published in  
English verse,  
Lond. 1680. fol.

' any human laws left in force, to restrain any man  
' from preaching or writing any doctrine concerning  
' religion that he pleased; and, in this heat of the  
' war, it was impossible to disturb the peace of the  
' State, which then was none. And in this time it  
' was, that a book called *Leviathan* was written, in  
' defence of the King's power, temporal and spiritual,  
' without any word against Episcopacy, or against any  
' Bishop, or against the public doctrine of the Church.  
' It pleased God, about twelve years after the usurpa-  
' tion of this Rump, to restore His Most Gracious Ma-  
' jesty, that now is, to his father's throne; and pre-  
' sently his Majesty restored the Bishops, and pardoned  
' the Presbyterians; but then both the one and the  
' other accused in Parliament this book of Heresy,  
' when neither the Bishops before the war had declared  
' what was Heresy; when if they had, it had been  
' made void, by the putting down of the High-Com-  
' mission, at the importunity of the Presbyterians: so  
' fierce are men for the most part in dispute, where  
' either their learning or power is debated, that they  
' never think of the laws, but, as soon as they are of-  
' fended, they cry out *crucifige*, forgetting what St  
' Paul saith, even in case of obstinate holding of an er-  
' ror, 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. *The servant of the Lord*  
' *must not strive; but be gentle unto all men, apt to*  
' *teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that op-  
' pose; if God peradventure may give them repentance*  
' *to the acknowledging of the truth.* Of which coun-  
' sel, such fierceness as hath appeared in the disputa-  
' tion of divines, down from before the Council of  
' Nice to this present time, is a violation.

[*L*] *To the History and Antiquities of Oxford.*] In  
the English work of Anthony Wood, who was an  
honest and very sincere man, though sometimes a little

rude, in the catalogue he gives us of our author's  
treatises, he mentions this letter to himself, and then  
adds (26): ' It was written to Mr Wood, upon his  
' complaint made to Mr Hobbes, of several deletions  
' and additions made in and to his life and character,  
' which he had written of him in that book, by the  
' publisher (Dr John Fell) of the said *History and Anti-  
' quities*, to the great dishonour and disparagement of  
' the said Mr Hobbes. Whereupon, when that hi-  
' story was finished, came out a scurrilous answer to  
' the said epistle, written by Dr Fell, which is at the  
' end of that history.' The reader will observe, that  
in this passage, Mr Wood contradicts what is alledged  
by Dr Fell, that the article of Mr Hobbes was written  
by himself, or his friend Mr Aubrey, and sent to Mr  
Wood, whereas he who must know this best, affirms  
that it was of his own writing. There is certainly, as  
we have observed in the text, great spirit in Mr  
Hobbes's letter, and not less in Dr Fell's reply (27);  
the former, after all his complaints, declares himself  
satisfied, that his own fame at home and abroad stood  
beyond the reach of envy, and that though he held it  
his right to expose the ill usage he met with, yet this  
did not proceed in the least, from an apprehension that  
injuries of this kind could affect his reputation. On  
the other hand, the reply of the Dean is not at all less  
angry, and a great deal more rude, he stiles him *the*  
*most vain and waspish animal* of Malmesbury, treats his  
political performances as wicked and dangerous, and  
his mathematical writings as idle and ridiculous. He  
from thence infers, that as the editor of the work, in  
which this favourable character of Mr Hobbes was to  
appear, he had a right to expunge whatever was forced  
or false, in order to restrain it within the bounds of hi-  
storical truth.

(26) *Athen.*  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 645.

(27) *Vita Hob-  
bianæ Auctarium*,  
p. 109—147.



(r) Vita Hobbesii, p. 15.

(u) Vita Hobbesiana Auctarium, p. 150.  
Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

it, by the legacy of two hundred pounds from Sidney Godolphin, Esq; a man, whose virtue, loyalty, and learning, equally commended to the reverence of posterity. He takes notice likewise of an annuity granted him of fourscore pounds a year, by his patron the Earl of Devonshire, and the annual pension given him by the King of one hundred pounds; which provision, he declares, exceeded his wants, and adds very pleasantly, that, by computing his effects in French sols or Spanish maravedies, he could persuade himself that Cræsus or Crassus were not at all richer men than he (t) [M]. In 1674, he published in English verse four books of Homer's Odyssey, which were very well received by the public; and this excited in him a resolution of translating, not only the Odyssey but the Iliad. The same year, in the month of July, he took his leave of London, and went to spend the remainder of his days in Derbyshire, but without the least abatement of his natural spirit and vivacity; which, together with his parts, he preserved 'till within a very few days of his death (u). In 1675, he sent abroad his English version of the Iliad and Odyssey, with a short discourse prefixed; which were in those days generally esteemed, though they have been censured by a modern poet and an excellent judge [N], as if they were

[M] *Richer men than he.* It may without any danger of a breach of truth be asserted, that never any man had a higher opinion of himself than Mr Hobbes; nor is there indeed scarce any treatise of his, in which he does not tell us as much; and this not with any apology, or as if it were a foible, but as a point of fact, of which he neither was or ought to be ashamed. Nay, what was yet much stronger, when he was reproached with this by his antagonists, he was so far from prevaricating or denying it, that he avowed and justified it; and yet with such an air of pleasantry and good humour, that sometimes he had his reader on his side, which, considering the point he defends, perhaps never happened to any but himself and Montaigne. See how fairly he has stated the case between himself and Dr Wallis (29), who thought he had convicted him of this crime, or folly at least, of talking loudly and impertinently in his own praise.

(28) Considerations on the Reputation, Loyalty, &c. of T. Hobbes, p. 56, 57.

'To the rest of your (Dr Wallis's) calumnies the answers will be short, and such as you might easily have foreseen; and first, for his (that is T. Hobbes) boasting of his learning, it is well summed up by you in these words. *'Twas a motion made by one (whom I will not name) that some idle person should read over all his books, and collecting together his arrogant and supercilious speeches, applauding himself and despising all other men, set them forth in one synopsis, with this title, Hobbius de se. What a pretty piece of pageantry this would make, I shall leave to your own thoughts.'*

'Thus say you: now says Mr Hobbes, or I for him. Let your idle person do it, and set down no more than he has written (as high praises as they be) I'll promise you he shall acknowledge them under his hand, and be commended for it, and you scorned. A certain Roman Senator having propounded something in the assembly of the people, which they mistaking made a noise at, boldly bad them hold their peace, and told them he knew better what was good for the Commonwealth than all they: and his words are transmitted to us as an argument of his virtue, so much do truth and vanity alter the complexion of self-praise. Besides, you can have very little skill in morality, that cannot see the justice of commending a man's self, as well as of any thing else in his own defence: and it was want of prudence in you, to constrain him to a thing that would so much displease you. That part of his self-praise which most offends you, is in the end of his Leviathan in these words: Therefore I think it may be profitably printed, and more profitably taught in the Universities, in case they also think so, to whom the judgment of the same belongeth. Let any man consider the truth of it: Where did those ministers learn their seditious doctrine, and to preach it, but there? where therefore should preachers learn to teach loyalty but there? and if your principles produced civil war, must not the contrary principles, which are his, produce peace. And consequently his book, as far as it handles civil doctrine, deserves to be taught there. But when can this be done? when you shall have no longer an army ready to maintain the evil doctrine wherewith you have infected the people. By a ready army, I mean arms and money, and men enough, though not yet in pay, and put under officers, yet gathered together in one place or city, to be put under officers armed and payed, on any sudden occasion, such as are the people of a great and populous

town. Every great city is as a standing army, which, if it be not under the Sovereign's command, the people are miserable; if they be, they may be taught their duties in the universities safely and easily, and be happy. I never read of any Christian King that was a tyrant, though the best of Kings have been called so.'

In the two lives written by himself of himself, he speaks exactly in the same language, and with the same air of easy assurance. In the prose life, which was the later written of the two, speaking in the third person, he describes himself thus. 'In familiar conversation he was easy and pleasant, except to such as came to dispute with him about what he had already published concerning the right of sovereignty in civil and ecclesiastical causes. For in respect to these, he disputed sometimes a little more vehemently perhaps than was necessary. He was naturally very open, and amongst his adversaries, who were many, and some of them very potent, it was rather owing to his innocence than his skill that he remained safe. As no man understood justice better, so none practised it more strictly. Neither was this at all strange, as he was very careless about money, and the narrowness of his fortune considered, he was beyond measure beneficent, but through the kindness of his patrons, and of the best and most humane of Princes, Charles the Second, the old man lived very comfortably.' At the close of his life in verse, in the same singular and not unpleasing manner, he sings of himself thus (29).

(29) Thomas Hobbes Vita, p. 15.

*Nam mea vita meis non est incongrua scriptis:  
Justitiam doceo, justitiamque colo.  
Improbis esse potest nemo qui non sit avarus,  
Nec pulchrum quisquam fecit avarus opus.  
Octoginta ego jam complevi & quatuor annos:  
Penè acta est vitæ fabula longa meæ.*

In English thus.

Nor to my writings is my life untrue,  
Justice I teach, and justice I pursue.  
The root of wickedness is lust of gain,  
Good works from misers men expect in vain.  
Years having seen compleat, fourscore and four,  
The farce of life, with me, will soon be o'er.

In the first edition, the two last lines run somewhat differently, viz (30)

*Octoginta annos complevi jam quatuorque,  
Et prope stans distat Mors mihi, Ne metus;*

In English thus:

For having past, my four and fourscor'th year,  
Death beckons now, and bids me nothing fear.

[N] *By a modern poet and an excellent judge.* As good an opinion as our author had of himself, he resolved to make a trial of the public's taste in respect to his poetry, so much the more necessary as he now wrote in English, and was of course to have both the learned and the unlearned for his judges. His specimen consisted of the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth books of the Odyssey. How it succeeded, we learn from

(30) Ibid. London. 4to. 1679. p. 14.



were equally below the reputation of Hobbes and of the Grecian bard. In 1676, he caused his dispute with Dr Benjamin Laney, Bishop of Ely, concerning *Liberty and Necessity*, to be printed; for he loved not only to shew that he was living, by the exercise of his pen, but also to make the world take notice of it by annual publications (w). In 1678, appeared his *Decameron Physiologicum: or, Ten Dialogues of Natural Philosophy*; about the same time he revised and put the last hand to a work formerly published, though without his name, the *Art of Rhetoric*, collected from Aristotle and Ramus; to which he added a book, composed some years before at the request of a person of great distinction, entituled, *A Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common-Law of England*; which is a very singular performance, and very evidently proves, that, if Mr Hobbes had applied himself early to that, or indeed any other learned profession, he could not have failed of making a great figure therein; though, for want of that early application, there is in it an air of positiveness, which does no honour to the author's abilities [O]. In the month of June the same year, he sent another book of his, entituled *Behemoth: or, a History*

(w) Vita Hobbesiana, p. 191.  
Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 545.

(31) Vita Thomae Hobbes, p. 17.

from the author's prose life (31). 'His adversaries now silent, he published in the eighty-seventh year of his age, the *Odyssey* of Homer, and the next year the *Iliad* in English verse.' In less than ten years, both run through no fewer than three large editions. The modern poet mentioned in the text, is the celebrated Mr Pope, who in the preface to his own translation of the *Iliad* of Homer, has given us the following free and fair character of our author's performance: 'Mr Hobbes in his version, says he, has given a correct explanation of the sense in general, but for particulars and circumstances lops them, and often omits the most beautiful. As for it's being esteemed a close translation, I doubt not, many have been led into that error by the shortness of it, which proceeds not from the following the original line by line, but from the contractions abovementioned. He sometimes omits whole families and sentences, and is now and then guilty of mistakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen but through carelessness. His poetry, as well as Ogilby's, is too mean for criticism.' We readily admit all this to be true, and that though our author's translation is no longer to be considered as an elegant, or it may be as a passable poem, yet it may still perhaps be looked upon as a curiosity. For though in Pope's excellent versification, the genius, force, and majesty of Homer, appears to an English reader, and appears to great advantage, yet possibly he may wish to see somewhat more, and think it not time at all mis-spent to read a coarser composition, provided it conveys the plain sense of the Greek. We are in raptures at a finished picture by a first rate painter, but even a sketch too after such a master has it's merit. The reader may compare the following speech of Achilles, which is remarkably close, and takes in just twenty-seven lines of the Greek (32), with the same passage in Pope, and he will probably both understand and relish the latter better after the comparison.

Achilles still, nothing but choler breath'd,  
And Agamemnon thus revil'd anew.

Dog's-face, and drunkard, coward that thou art,  
That hat'st to lead the people out to fight:  
Nor yet to lie in ambush hast the heart,  
And painfully watch in the field all night.

But thou to take from other men their due,  
(Safe lying in the camp) more pleasure hast;  
But fools they are, that ruled are by you,  
Or else this injury had been your last.

But this I'll say, and with an oath make good,  
(Now by this scepter which hath left behind;  
The stock whereon it once grew in the wood,  
And never more shall have nor leaf nor rind,

And by Achean Princes now is born,  
By whom Jove's laws to th' people carried be)  
You hear now what a great oath I have sworn,  
If e'er the Acheans should have need of me,

And Agamemnon cannot them relieve,  
When Hector fills the field with bodies slain,  
And Agamemnon only for them grieve,  
They my assistance wish for shall in vain.

This said, Achilles threw the scepter down,  
That stuck all over was with nails of gold;  
And Nestor rose of Pyle that wore the crown,  
Wife and sweet orator and captain old.

His words like honey dropped from his tongue,  
Two ages he in battle honour gain'd;  
For all that while he youthful was and strong,  
And with the third age, now in Pyle he reign'd.

[O] *To the author's abilities* These two pieces of our author, which did not appear together till after his decease, are in effect but detached branches of his general system of philosophy. The first of them is a display of the art of convincing and persuading, which, according to his doctrine, took place in civilized states, of that violence which he ascribes to a state of nature, that is, mankind at large, and unreduced to society. The latter is an application of his principles to the government of England. In this, no doubt, he shoots beyond the mark, and having been once frightened out of his wits by anarchy; entertained too favourable an opinion of absolute power. But that he was very capable of entering into the genuine sense of our laws, and setting them in a clearer light than that in which they appear in the works of some very considerable persons, the unprejudiced reader will probably discern from the following passage (33).

La. All other crimes (that is except treason) merely temporal, are comprehended under felony or trespass.

Ph. What is the meaning of the word *felony*? Does it signify any thing that is in it's own nature a crime; or that only which is made a crime by some statute? for I remember some statutes, that make it *felony* to transport horses, and some other things out of the kingdom, which transportation before such statutes made, and after the repealing of the same; was no greater crime than any other usual traffic of a merchant.

La. Sir Edward Coke derives the word *felony*, from the Latin word *fel*, the *gall* of a living creature, and accordingly defines *felony*, to be an act done *animo felis*, that is to say, a *bitter*, a *cruel act*.

Ph. Etymologies are no definitions, and yet when they are true, they give much light towards the finding out of a definition; but this of Sir Edward Coke's carries with it very little of probability, for there be many things made felony by the statute law, that proceed not from any bitterness of mind at all; and many that proceed from the contrary.

La. This is matter for a critic, to be picked out of the knowledge of history and foreign languages, and you may perhaps know more of it than I do.

Ph. All that I, or I think any other, can say in this matter, will amount to no more than a reasonable conjecture, insufficient to sustain any point of controversy in law. The word is not to be found in any of the old Saxon laws set forth by Mr Lambert, nor in any statute printed before that of *Magna Charta*, there it is found. Now *Magna Charta* was made in the time of Henry the Third, grand-child to Henry the Second, Duke of Anjou, a Frenchman born and bred in the heart of France, whose language might very well retain many words of his ancestors, the German Franks, as ours doth of the German Saxons, as also many words of the language of the Gauls, as the Gauls did retain many words of the Greek colony planted at Marseilles. But certain it is, the French lawyers at this day, use the word *felon* just as our lawyers use the same. Whereas the common people of France use the word *filon* in the same sense; but

(33) Dialogue between a Lawyer and a Philosopher of the Common-Law of England, p. 102 — 105.

filon

(32) *Iliad* of Homer, by T. Hobbes, Lond. 1682. p. 6, 7.



(x) See that letter in note [P].  
Vitæ Hobbianæ  
Auctarium, p.  
152, 153.  
Wood's Athen.  
Oxon. Vol. II.  
col. 645.

*a History of the Civil Wars from 1640 to 1660*, to an eminent Bookseller, with a letter shewing the reasons for his communication, as well as for his request, that he would not publish it 'till a proper occasion offered (x). At that time, when things were fresh in memory, it was much read and admired [P]. Indeed the author gives his opinion very freely

*felon* signifieth not the man that hath committed such an act as they call *felony*, but the man that maketh it his trade to maintain himself by the breaking and contemning of all laws generally; and comprehendeth all those unruly people called cheaters, cut-purses, pick-locks, catch-cloaks, coiners of false money, forgers, thieves, robbers, murtherers, and whosoever make use of iniquity on land or sea, as a trading or living. The Greeks upon the coast of Asia where Homer lived, were they that planted the colony of Marseilles, they had a word that signified the same with *felon*, which was *φιλῆτης* *filetes*, and this *filetes* of Homer, signifies properly the same that a *felon* signifies with us: and therefore Homer makes Apollo to call Mercury *φιλῆτην* *fileteen*, and *ἀρχὴν φιλῆταν*. I insist not upon the truth of this etymology, but it is certainly more rational than the *animus felleus* of Sir Edward Coke. And for the matter itself it is manifest enough, that which we now call murther, robbery, theft, and other practices of *felons*, are the same that we call *felony*, and crimes in their own nature without the help of statute. Nor is it the manner of punishment that distinguisheth the nature of one crime from another, but the mind of the offender, and the mischief he intendeth considered together with the circumstances of person, time, and place.

Besides these, there were some other pieces printed after his decease, such as his Ecclesiastical History in Latin verse, and also some of those pieces that had been before published from surreptitious copies, were reprinted again from his originals, by Mr William Croke, who seems to have had the disposition of his writings in his life-time, and after his death. It must however be acknowledged, that they are very incorrectly printed, and that the sense is sometimes so much disturbed by typographical errors, that it is not easy to recover it with any tolerable certainty.

[P] *It was much read and admired.* In reference to the Behemoth, there is no doubt that the author was very solicitous to prevent it's coming abroad in his life-time, as will appear from the following extract of a letter (34), written in the month of June 1679, to his bookseller Mr William Croke, at the Green Dragon without Temple-bar. But as there were several transcripts of it, this had not the effect hoped, though it did prevent the genuine copy which he had deposited with Mr Croke, from being sent to the press; and those spurious editions were so faulty and imperfect, that they served only to raise the curiosity of the public for the true one. The letter is the more curious, from the matters of fact it contains, and because it is not printed as one might have expected, before the genuine edition.

CHATSWORTH, June 19th, 1679.

'I would fain have published my dialogue of the Civil Wars of England long ago, and to that end I presented it to His Majesty; and some days after, when I thought he had read it, I humbly besought him to let me print it. But his Majesty, though he heard me graciously, yet he flatly refused to have it published. Therefore I brought away the book, and gave you leave to take a copy of it, which when you had done, I gave the original to an honourable and learned friend, who about a year after died. The King knows better, and is more concerned in publishing of books than I am: therefore I dare not venture to appear in the business, lest it should offend him. Therefore I pray you not to meddle in the business. Rather than to be thought any way to further or countenance the printing, I would be content to lose twenty times the value of what you can expect to gain by it, &c.—I pray do not take it ill. It may be I may live to send you somewhat else, as vendible as that, and without offence. I rest,

The treatise itself is likewise valuable in many respects, as being wrote by a person of great penetration, strong judgment, and extensive information; one who lived in those times, saw the events, and conversed with the people of whom he speaks. It may be, that he had his prejudices, and that he writes with prejudice; but then we have some knowledge of these too, which is abundantly sufficient to prevent us from being

misled. The reader will form a judgment as to the propriety of these remarks, from the following quotation (35), in which, Mr Hobbes states the tempers and conditions of the people at the time of the breaking out of the civil war. It is to be observed, that this treatise likewise is written in dialogue; after observing that epidemic corruption preceded the civil war, he says,

B. But how came the people to be so corrupted? and what kind of people were they that did so seduce them?

A. The seducers were of divers sorts. One sort were ministers, ministers (as they called themselves) of Christ, and sometimes in their sermons to the people, God's ambassadors, pretending to have a right from God to govern every one his parish, and their assentibly the whole nation.

Secondly, There were a very great number, though not comparable to the other, which notwithstanding that the Pope's power in England, both temporal and ecclesiastical, had been by act of parliament abolished, did still retain a belief that we ought to be governed by the Pope, whom they pretended to be the vicar of Christ, and in the right of Christ, to be the governor of all Christian people, and these were known by the name of Papists, as the ministers I mentioned before were commonly called Presbyterians.

Thirdly, There were not a few, who in the beginning of the troubles were not discovered, but shortly after declared themselves for a liberty in religion, and those of different opinions one from another, some of them (because they would have all congregations free and independent upon one another) were called Independents: others that held baptism to infants, and such as understood not into what they are baptized to be ineffectual, were called therefore Anabaptists. Others, that held that Christ's kingdom was at this time to begin upon the earth, were called Fifth Monarchy Men, besides divers others sects, as Quakers, Adamites, &c. whose names and peculiar doctrines I do not well remember, and these were the enemies which arose against his Majesty, from the private interpretation of the scripture, exposed to every man's scanning in his mother's tongue.

Fourthly, There were an exceeding great number of men of the better sort that had been so educated, as that in their youth, having read the books written by famous men of the ancient Grecian and Roman Commonwealths, concerning their politie and great actions; in which books the popular government was extolled by that glorious name of liberty, and monarchy disgraced by the name of tyranny; they became thereby in love with their forms of government, and out of these men were chosen the greatest part of the House of Commons, or if they were not the greatest part, yet by advantage of their eloquence, were always able to sway the rest.

Fifthly, The city of London and other great towns of trade, having in admiration the prosperity of the Low-Countries after they had revolted from their monarch the King of Spain, were inclined to think that the like change of government here, would to them produce the like prosperity.

Sixthly, There were a very great number that had either wasted their fortunes, or thought them too mean for the good parts they thought were in themselves, and more there were that had able bodies, but saw no means how honestly to get their bread: these longed for a war, and hoped to maintain themselves hereafter by the lucky choosing of a party to side with, and consequently did for the most part serve under them that had greatest plenty of money.

Lastly, The people in general were so ignorant of their duty, as that not one perhaps of ten thousand, knew what right any man had to command him, or what necessity there was of King or Commonwealth, for which he was to part with his money against his will, but thought himself to be so much master of whatsoever he possessed, that it could not be taken from him upon any pretence of common safety without his own consent. King they thought was but a title of the highest honour, which Gentleman, Knight, Baron, Earl, Duke, were but steps to ascend to with the help of riches, and had no rule of equity but precedents and custom, and he was thought wisest and fittest to be chosen

(35) Behemoth,  
P. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

(34) Vitæ Hobbianæ  
Auctarium, p.  
152, 153.



freely upon abundance of delicate and important subjects, and lays open very roundly the faults of some great bodies of men, who, in his judgment, made but an indifferent use of that high and general respect which the world paid them. This was in some measure his legacy to the Public, since it was the last piece of his that went to the press during his life. About the middle of October, he was afflicted with a suppression of urine, for which he had the assistance of one of the Faculty, who promised to do all that was in his power to give him ease; but told him plainly, that, on account of his great age, he had little hopes of making a perfect cure (y). On the 20th of November, his patron the Earl of Devonshire removing from Chatsworth to another seat of his, called Hardwick, he obstinately persisted in desiring that he might be carried too, though this could be no other way done than as he lay upon a feather-bed. He did not seem to be much discomposed with this journey; and yet, within six or seven days afterwards, he lost, by a stroke of the palsy, the use of speech and of his right side entirely; in this condition he remained for some days, taking little nourishment, and sleeping much. He sometimes endeavoured to speak, but was not able. There did not appear, in the course of his last illness, any symptoms of a fever; so that he seemed to be quite worn out, and Nature being no longer able to furnish wherewith to feed the flame of life, he expired December 4, 1679, in the ninety-second year of his age (z). Mr Wood tells us, that after he received the answer, which has been beforementioned, from the learned person who attended him, he made use of this expression, *Then I shall be glad to find a hole to creep out of the world at (a)*. The same author observes, that his not desiring the company of a Minister to receive the Sacrament before he died, ought in charity to be imputed to his being so suddenly seized, and being afterwards deprived of his senses; the rather, because the Earl of Devonshire's Chaplain declared, that, within the two last years of his life, he had often received the Sacrament from his hands with seeming devotion. Two days after his decease, his corpse was removed from the house of his noble patron, and decently attended to the parish of Hault-Hucknall (b), where in an isle he was interred; with the service in the Common-Prayer-Book, close to the rail of the monument of the grandmother of the then Earl of Devonshire; and over his grave a black marble stone was laid, with an inscription mentioning the place and time of his birth, and of his decease [2]. As there

(y) *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, p. 155. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family, p. 113.

(z) *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, p. 157. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(a) *Id. ibid.*

(b) *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, p. 157. Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647. Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family, p. 116.

are

chosen for a Parliament, that was most averse to the granting of subsidies or other public payments.

[2] *And of his decease.* The chief and the most lasting monument erected to the memory of our author, is that tripartite life of him which appeared not long after his decease, and concerning which, there have been great controversies among some of the most eminent writers of literary history, the title of this work runs thus, *Thomæ Hobbes, Angli, Malmesburiensis, Philosophi vita*. That is, 'The life of Thomas Hobbes, an Englishman, Philosopher of Malmesbury;' and is said to be printed, *Carolopolis, apud Eleutherium Anglicum, sub signo Veritatis*. That is, 'In Charles's City, by Freeman English, at the Sign of Truth.' It may be supposed that this method of concealing, if it can be so called, the place where it was printed, and the person by whom it was published, was on account of the book's not being licensed; and yet at the end, it is said to be printed for William Crooke, at the Sign of the Green Dragon without Temple-bar. It is inscribed to the Right Honourable William Earl of Devonshire, by the editor: then follows a preface to the reader, wherein we are told, that a book concerning the life and manners of the deceased Mr Hobbes, written by some learned friend of his, coming by the interposition of J. A. i. e. John Aubrey, into his hands, he thought it his duty out of respect to the memory of the deceased to publish it. This preface is subscribed only with the initial letters R. B. which some very learned foreigners understood to signify Ralph Bathurst, Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Bath, who was indeed a great friend and admirer of Mr Hobbes, but not the person to whom those initials refer, who was, as Mr Wood tells us (36), Richard Blackbourn, Master of Arts of Trinity-College in Cambridge, and afterwards Doctor of Physic in the University of Leyden. After this short life, which contains no more than twenty pages, follows one much longer under this title, *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*: that is, 'A Supplement to the Life of Hobbes.' The account which Mr Wood gives of this matter, is in these words, speaking of the inscription upon the gravestone of Mr Hobbes, and of the account of his person, which, says he, 'You may see at large in *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, following the life in prose (written by himself) and published by Richard Blackbourn.' It appears from hence, that Mr Wood ascribes the first life to Mr Hobbes himself, and in the catalogue of our author's works, he sets it so down expressly;

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and the supplement to that life, is what he attributes to Dr Blackbourn. He adds farther, 'that the materials for this supplement were all, or at least the most part, taken from the English life in manuscript of Thomas Hobbes, largely and more punctually written by John Aubrey his ancient acquaintance.' This is very likely to be true, since besides what is said in the preface, such a life in English is promised by an advertisement from the bookseller to the reader, at the end of this supplement. The title of the third and last piece in this collection, which however in point of time is the first, is this, *Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburiensis vita Carmine expressa. Authore Seipso*: that is, 'The Life of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury metrically expressed: Written by himself.' About this there is no dispute at all, the author speaks in his own person, in his own stile, and with that pleasant kind of confidence which was familiar to him. In the course of these memoirs we have cited all the three lives, and have treated the short prose life upon Anthony Wood's credit, as written by Mr Hobbes, to whom it has been also ascribed by others; yet whoever will peruse carefully, and reflect a little on the first paragraph of the supplement to Mr Hobbes's life, will see reason to doubt at least, whether the author of that supplement was not the author of the short life in prose; and upon comparing both with the preface, whether the editor R. B. that is Dr Blackbourn, was the author of either, or of any thing more than that preface, and it may be the inscription to the Earl of Devonshire. If therefore the reader should ask, who was then the author of these lives, and why, if this was our opinion, we have attributed the prose life to Mr Hobbes? We shall answer clearly, that we have heard the short prose life was written by Thomas Rymer, Esq; the famous critic, in the life-time, and with the participation of Mr Hobbes; and our conjecture is, that he wrote the supplement after his decease, at the request and from the materials furnished him by Mr John Aubrey; but being desirous that this might remain a secret, he suffered that gentleman to put them into the hands of Dr Blackbourn, who published them; and this we take to be a probable at least, if not a certain account of this matter. But before we conclude this note, we will give the reader for the sake of a reflection that he will meet with in a subsequent note, the Latin inscription upon our author's tombstone, and the rather, because it is very short and simple (37).

(37) *Vitæ Hobbianæ Auctarium*, p. 221.



(c) *Vitæ Hobbesianæ Auctarium*, p. 158.  
 Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family, p. 116.

(d) *Vitæ Hobbesianæ Auctarium*, p. 164.  
 Wood, ubi supra.

are many particulars very worthy of remembrance in regard to his private life, we will add some account of his person, temper, and manners. In his stature he was pretty tall, of a spare habit of body, his skin remarkably tender; so that, to defend himself from the injuries of cold, he went commonly very warmly cloathed (c). His face was comely enough; his brow large and open, but, in the more advanced part of his life, it became deeply wrinkled; his eyes very quick and sparkling; his sight strong, penetrating, and tolerably good even to the last; his nose somewhat long, with a lively colour in his cheeks; his hair, before age turned it grey, was of a bright black, but his beard of a yellowish red; a little of which he preserved on his chin; but on his lip he wore his mustachoes thick and turning upwards. His complexion was a sanguine melancholy, as some stile it; that is, he was strong and vigorous, but, withal, of a calm and grave deportment. In his youth his health was tender, and he was frequently threatned with the jaundice; but by forty he came to have it more settled; however, he kept his bed but rarely through his whole life, and dealt sparingly in Physick. When he was about threescore his hand shook, and he was in other respects affected by the palsy towards his end (d). He was no way nice in his eating; on the contrary, there was hardly any kind of food came amiss to him. When he grew in years, he dined at a certain hour, smoked a little tobacco, but eat no suppers. In the vigour of his age he was not exempt from amorous failings, but persisted nevertheless in the resolution he had taken to continue a bachelor for the sake of his studies. He used a great deal of exercise on the score of his health; he played often at hand-ball, even after he was turned of seventy, and would even then take long walks, and at his return cause his limbs to be rubbed 'till he fell asleep. When age made this exercise painful to him, he contented himself with having his chamber artificially heated, and the circulation promoted by the same kind of frictions. The cheerfulness, activity, and soundness of mind, which he maintained to upwards of ninety, make even these trivial circumstances worthy of notice. In reference to his manners, religion claims the first place. He acknowledged God the author of all things, but thought, or at least pretended he thought, too reverently of him to believe his nature could be comprehended by human understanding. But what gave a handle to some to treat him as an Atheist was, the contempt he expressed for many of those scholastic terms, invented by assuming men, who would impose their own crude notions of the Divine Being on their fellow-creatures as so many articles of Faith. It is commonly reported, though without any proof, that he was afraid of ghosts, &c. which his Philosophy had exploded; yet it is very possible he might not affect solitude, that he might avoid exposing himself to the violence of the numbers who had declared themselves his enemies. He embraced the Christian religion as taught in the reformed Church of England, as by law established; and professed himself equally ready to defend her tenets, when attacked either by Papists or Sectaries. He had a great aversion to theological controversies, but was much inclined to whatever tended to promote piety or sound morals. He thought it more pious and reverent to believe in God, than to pretend to comprehend him. He would often blame such, whatever their profession might be, as pretended to innovate the simplicity of the Christian Faith, by intermixing vain, and sometimes profane, speculations of their own. He thought it would turn much more to the benefit of society, if, after establishing a due reverence for the Supreme Being, men, instead of contesting about these speculations, would apply themselves to study, and perform the several offices to which they are called, in civil and social life. In respect to this, he gave himself a good example, being always concerned for the welfare of his country, observant in his duty to his sovereign, religiously faithful in his friendships, and truly beneficent to his relations. The paternal estate of the family, which was of some value, he made over to his brother some years before his death. Several other acts of kindness he did in his life-time to those who were of kin to him, and distributed his little fortune very prudently amongst them at his demise. To the poor, he was in discourse compassionate, and charitable in act to the extent of his abilities; and, to the rest of the world in general, strictly just, and very decent in his addresses as far as became him. In his conversation, his custom was, to mingle with that sound language, which is suitable to grave subjects, a peculiar kind of pleasantry, that prevented the hearer from becoming weary. He had naturally a wonderful readiness in answering whatever was propounded to him; but this was regulated by his judgment, which taught him to deliberate

Condita hinc sunt Ossâ  
 Thomæ Hobbes Malmesburiensis  
 Qui per multos annos servivit  
 Duobus Devonæ Comitibus,  
 Patri & Filio;  
 Vir Probus, & Fama Euriditionis  
 Domi Forisque benè cognitus.  
 Obiit Anno Domini 1679  
 Mensis Decembris die 4<sup>o</sup>.  
 Ætatis suæ 91.

In English.  
 Here lie the Remains  
 Of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury  
 Who was for many years in the Service  
 Of two Earls of Devonshire  
 Father and Son;  
 A Man of Integrity and from the Fame of his Learning  
 At home and abroad well known.  
 He died in the year of our Lord 1679  
 On the 4th of December  
 Aged 91.

[R] And



berate and to think well with himself before he spoke. He was of a simple and open disposition, desirous of instructing others, and very willing to communicate what he knew; mild and complaisant to every body, except, perhaps, to some impertinent pretenders to learning, who, under pretence of displaying their abilities, came purely to contradict him. He never attacked others; but, whenever attacked himself, he shewed spirit enough in his own defence; yet was withal a little too tenacious of his own opinions. These are the strokes of a friendly pencil, inclined to draw a handsome likeness; but, if the reader inclines to see the portrait of our author in very different colours, he shall be gratified in that respect, and that too by an able hand [R]. The truth is, that all eminent persons, from this very circumstance, are liable to be represented in very different and even contrary lights;

[R] *And that too by an able hand.*] A celebrated writer, who had great opportunities of knowing the minutest particulars in regard to Mr Hobbes's manner of living, in his honourable retreat at Chatworth, has been pleased to give them to the public in this manner (38). 'The Earl of Devonshire, for his whole life, entertained Mr Hobbes in his family, as his old tutor rather than as his friend or confidant. He let him live under his roof in ease and plenty, and in his own way, without making use of him in any public or so much as domestic affairs. He would often express an abhorrence of some of his principles in policy and religion, and both he and his lady would frequently put off the mention of his name, and say he was an humorist, and that no body could account for him. There is a tradition in the family, of the manners and customs of Mr Hobbes, somewhat observable. His professed rule of health, was to dedicate the morning to his exercise, and the afternoon to his studies. And therefore at his first rising he walked out, and climbed any hill within his reach, or if the weather was not dry, he fatigued himself within doors by some exercise or other, to be in a sweat, recommending that practice upon this opinion, that an old man had more moisture than heat, and therefore by such motion, heat was to be acquired, and moisture expelled. After this he took a comfortable breakfast, and then went round the lodgings to wait upon the Earl, the Countess, and the children, and any considerable strangers, paying some short addresses to all of them. He kept these rounds 'till about twelve o'clock, when he had a little dinner provided for him, which he eat always by himself without ceremony. Soon after dinner he retired to his study, and had his candle with ten or twelve pipes of tobacco laid by him, then shutting his door, he fell to smoking, thinking, and writing for several hours. He retained a friend or two at Court, and especially the Lord Arlington, to protect him if occasion should require. He used to say, *That it was lawful to make use of ill instruments to do ourselves good. If I were cast, says he, into a deep pit, and the devil should put down his cloven foot, I would take hold of it to be drawn out by it.* Towards the end of his life he had very few books, and those he read but very little, thinking he was now able only to digest what formerly he had fed upon. If company came to visit him, he would be free in discourse, 'till he was pressed or contradicted, and then he had the infirmities of being short and peevish, and referring to his writings for better satisfaction. His friends, who had the liberty of introducing strangers to him, made these terms with them before their admission, that they should not dispute with the old man, nor contradict him.'—After mentioning the dread our author was under when the Parliament censured his book, he continues his account in the following terms (39). 'It is not much to be doubted, that upon this occasion he began to make a more open shew of religion and Church communion. He now frequented the chapel, joined in the service, and was generally a partaker of the Holy Sacrament. And whenever any strangers in conversation with him, seemed to question his belief, he would always appeal to his conformity in divine services, and referred them to the chaplain for a testimony of it. Others thought it a meer compliance to the orders of the family, and observed that, in city and country, he never went to any parish church, and even in the chapel on Sundays, he went out after prayers, and turned his back upon the sermon; and when any friend asked the reason of it, he gave no other but this, *They could teach him nothing but what he knew.* He did not conceal his hatred to the clergy, but it was visible, that the

hatred was owing to his fear of their civil interest and power. He had often a jealousy that the bishops would burn him, and of all the bench, he was most afraid of the Bishop of Sarum (Dr Seth Ward) because he had most offended him, thinking every man's spirit to be remembrance and revenge. — After the Restoration, he watched all opportunities to ingratiate himself with the King and his Privy Ministers, and looked upon his pension, to be more valuable as an earnest of favour and protection, than upon any other account. His following course of life, was to be free from danger: he could not endure to be left in an empty house; whenever the Earl removed, he would go along with him, even to his last stage from Chatworth to Hardwicke. When in a very weak condition, he dared not be left behind, but made his way upon a feather-bed in a coach, though he survived the journey but a few days. He could not bear any discourse of death, and seemed to cast off all thoughts of it: He delighted to reckon upon longer life. The winter before he died, he made a warm coat, which he said must last him three years, and then he would have such another. In his last sickness, his frequent questions were, *whether his disease was curable?* and when intimations were given, that he might have ease but no remedy, he used this expression, *I shall be glad then to find a hole to creep out of the world at,* which are reported to have been his last sensible words; and his lying some days following in a silent stupefaction, did seem owing to his mind more than to his body. The only thought of death that he appeared to entertain in time of health, was to take care of some inscription on his grave. He would suffer some friends to dictate an epitaph, among which, he was best pleased with this humour: *This is the true PHILOSOPHER'S STONE*, which indeed would have had as much religion in it, as that which now remains.'

It would have been very easy to have given the reader other accounts of the Philosopher of Malmesbury, that might have balanced the reflections contained in this; but we are not concerned to defend Mr Hobbes, our business is to distinguish truth. In order to this, it may not be amiss to remark, that besides dedications to the Earl of Devonshire, some of our author's treatises are no other than letters to him; in which, though without the least mixture of flattery, he acknowledges his kindness, and commends his familiarity. The manner in which he lived in his family, the giving a hundred pounds to the uses of his will, the directing the place of his interment, and the acceptance of the lives of Mr Hobbes, published by Dr Blackmore, will scarce incline us to believe that he detested his notions. But that he detested the notions ascribed to Mr Hobbes, there are the best grounds to believe, and his great civility to and friendship for, the old man, seem very conclusive arguments to prove, that they were only ascribed to, and not maintained by him. His going regularly to chapel at Chatworth, while he resided there, is attributed to apprehension, but what apprehensions had he when he desired the assistance of Bishop Cosins in France, or when he joined himself to the almost invisible Church of England, in England? Wood says (40), that the chaplain testified he received the Sacrament with all exterior marks of devotion; and he accounts, as is said in the text, for the manner in which he lay, and his not desiring any spiritual assistance at the time of his death, from his being suddenly struck with the palsy, and thereby losing his speech and senses, which consists very well with the Bishop's account, who records the last sensible thing he said; and men are not held responsible for their commissions, much less for their omissions, after they have lost their senses.

[S] *And*

(38) Bishop Kennet in his Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, p. 106—109.

(39) Ibid. p. 111—117.

(40) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II, col. 647.



lights; and there are very few characters transmitted to posterity, which have not been flattered by some writers; and injured by others. The Mathematicians, not without reason, have handled our author roughly; for which, he not only gave them occasion but example. This indeed was his weak part, and shewed the obstinacy of his temper; for though he was over and over refuted, and his mistakes pointed out, yet he adhered as pertinaciously as ever to his old opinions, and not only defended them as warmly as before, but rendered that a personal quarrel, which ought to have continued a literary dispute; and persisted to the last with the same keenness and asperity of language, as if he in reality had intended to establish a kind of tyranny in science, and to force his own opinions upon mankind, because they were so, though contrary to their reason, and those principles of knowledge which had been universally received, and which therefore no authority could subvert [S]. In respect to his moral, political, and religious sentiments, he was no less positive,

[S] *And which therefore no authority could subvert.* The history of that dispute, which subsisted for upwards of twenty years, between the Philosopher of Malmesbury and the most eminent Mathematicians of the age in which he lived, is a matter of more consequence, in respect to literary History, than any that has hitherto been discussed in this article; and yet, from the trouble and perplexity with which it is attended, has never been thoroughly or properly stated, though his life, and the lives also of Mr Hobbes's antagonists, have been so often written. We will therefore use our best endeavours to supply this defect. It began, then, upon our author's publishing the following work,

1. *Elementorum Philosophiæ, sectio prima, de Corpore.* That is, *The first section of the Elements of Philosophy, de Corpore, or, of Body,* 8vo. Lond. 1655. in Latin; again in English, in 4to. 1656. and at Amsterdam in 4to. 1668. in Latin.

This is the account of the several editions given by the writer of his life, by Mr Wood, and, indeed, by every body else, except one writer (41); who assures us, that this book *de Corpore*, was published in the beginning of the year 1653. But as this writer sent abroad his work when the parties were living, and for some other reasons which will hereafter appear, he seems most to be depended upon; for, in the succeeding year, the Reverend Mr Seth Ward, then Astronomy Professor in Oxford, published,

*Vindiciæ Academicarum*: containing some brief Animadversions upon Mr John Webster's book, entitled, *The Examen of Academies*; with an Appendix concerning what Mr Hobbes and Mr William Dell have published on the same arguments. Oxon. 1654. 4to.

Mr John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry in the same university, declared in the strongest and most express terms against the mathematical part of our author's Philosophy, in a treatise written directly against it, under the title of,

*Elenchus Geometriæ Hobbianæ.* That is, a Refutation of Hobbes's Geometry. Oxon. 1655. 8vo. in Latin.

These attacks were very speedily repulsed by Mr Hobbes, in a treatise entitled,

2. *Six Lessons to the Professors of Mathematics of the institution of Sir Henry Savile.* Lond. 1656. 4to.

To this they both replied; Dr Wallis in English, under the following title,

*Due Correction for Mr Hobbes: or, School-Discipline for not saying his Lessons right, &c.* Oxford, 1656. 8vo.

Dr Ward more at large, in a Latin treatise which bore this title,

*In Thomæ Hobbii Philosophiam, exercitatio Epistolica ad Dominum Johannum Wilkinsium, Guardianum Coll. Wadhami; cum Appendicula ad Calumnias ab eodem Hobbio, in sex documentis nuperrimè editis, in authorem congestas, responsoria.* Oxon. 1656. 8vo. That is, An Epistolary Dissertation against the Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes, addressed to Dr John Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; together with an Appendix, containing an Answer to the Calumnies thrown by the said Hobbes, in his six Lessons lately published, upon the author.

The very next year Mr Hobbes returned to the charge, and published in English, a very warm treatise, called,

3. ΣΤΙΓΜΑΙ, *The Marks of the absurd Geometry, rural Language, &c. of Dr Wallis.* London, 1657. 8vo.

Dr Wallis very speedily replied to this, in an English treatise, entitled,

*Hobbiani Puncti disjunctio: or, An Answer to a late Treatise &c.* Oxon. 1657. 8vo.

After the Restoration, our author renewed this paper war, by publishing a new work, which was,

4. *Examinatio & Emendatio Mathematicæ hodiernæ, sex dialogis comprehensa.* That is, *The Examination and Emendation of modern Mathematics.* Londini, 1660. 4to. in Latin; and again at Amsterdam, 1668. 4to.

The next year produced the two following books,

5. *Dialogus Physicus, five de Natura Aëris.* That is, *A Physical Dialogue concerning the Nature of the Air.* London, 1661. 4to. again at Amsterdam, 1668. 4to.

Against which the celebrated Mr Robert Boyle wrote more than one treatise (42).

6. *De Duplicatione Cubi.* That is, *Of the Duplication of the Cube.* London, 1661. 4to. the same at Amsterdam, 1668. 4to.

It appears, that, on the erection of the Royal Society, the King hoped some extraordinary things from Mr Hobbes; as is evident from the following passage, in a very useful work lately published (43).

'A proposition of Mr Hobbes, for finding two mean proportionals between two strait lines given, was delivered into the Society, by Sir Paul Neile, from the King, indorsed with his Majesty's own hand, and was ordered to be registered; as was afterwards the answer to the problem by Lord Viscount Brouncker (44).'

He published the next year,

7. *Problemata Physica; viz. 1. De Gravitate, 2. De Ætibus Marinis. 3. De Vacuo. 4. De Colore & Luce. 5. De Duro & Molli. 6. De Pluvia, Vento, aliisque Cœli varietatibus. 7. De Motuum specibus.* Adjunctæ sunt etiam Propositiones duæ, de Duplicatione Cubi, & Dimensione Circuli. That is, *Physical Problems relating to Gravity, to Tides, to a Vacuum; to Colour and Light, to Hard and Soft, to Rain, Winds, and other alterations of the Heavens; to the several kinds of Motion. To which are added, two Propositions, one concerning the Duplication of the Cube, and the other of the Dimension of the Circle.* Lond. 1662. 4to. again at Amsterdam, 1668. 4to. He also published this in English, under the title of *Physical Problems*; with an Address to the King; which is commonly called Mr Hobbes's APOLOGY, which has been already frequently cited.

To this Dr Wallis returned a most sarcastic answer, bearing the title of,

*Hobbiius Heautontimorumenos: or, A Consideration of Mr Hobbes his Dialogues.* Oxford, 1662. 8vo.

This gave our author occasion to send abroad,

8. *Considerations upon the Reputation, Loyalty, Manners, and Religion, of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, written by himself by way of letter to a learned person, i.e. Dr Wallis.* Lond. 1662. 4to. again 1680. 8vo.

His next performance was,

9. *De Principiis & Ratiocinatione Geometrarum, contra falsum Professorum Geometriæ.* That is, *Of the Principles and Reasoning of Geometricians, against the Vanity of certain Professors of Geometry.* Londini, 1666. 4to. again at Amsterdam, 1668. 4to. Our author's stock of patience seems to have been worn out when he wrote this piece, since he gives us the following state of the dispute. 'With respect to those who have written upon these kind of subjects, and myself either, I alone am mad, or they are all out of their senses; so that no third opinion can be taken, unless any will say that we are all mad.' There is a short account of this piece in the Philosophical Transactions

(41) R. R. in Præfat. ad Lucem Mathematicam.

(42) See Boyle's Works, as cited at large in note [T].

(43) Birch's History of the Royal-Society, Vol. I. p. 42.

(44) Register Book, Vol. I. p. 101.



positive, but not so easily refuted; because, in them, certainly there was a mixture of truth, and because he constantly denied the consequences which his antagonists endeavoured to draw from his principles. His desire, or rather his humour, of penetrating to the bottom of all things, and of dictating in matters, which, perhaps, are beyond the reach of the human understanding, at once exposed him to continual contradictions, and furnished him with the means of maintaining the dispute. This will be the more easily comprehended, if we reflect, that some of his ablest adversaries, while they laboured to disprove his doctrines, and to fix upon him a charge of Atheism, brought the same imputation from others upon themselves; which afforded the clearest evidence, that men, with the best intentions in the world, may, upon certain metaphysical subjects, excite notions in other men, utterly inconsistent with their own views, and for which notions they ought not certainly to be condemned. Besides, in those dangerous and distracted times, there were other wise and good men, as well as Mr Hobbes, who had recourse to weapons, which they afterwards found had a double edge; and if, from their being of milder tempers, they did not persist so long or so warmly as he did, yet even their apologies shewed, that men may be mistaken without malice, and in certain conjunctures advance positions, that they may afterwards find it equally hard to retract or to defend. At least this is certain, that if here at home there were many, and those too, persons of piety, learning, and honour,

(45) No. 14. p. 253. Transactions (45). There is also an answer to it by his old antagonist Dr Wallis. (46), written with as much acrimony as Hobbes had shewn in his work.

(46) No. 16. p. 289. His next mathematical performance was, 10. *Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi, breviter demonstrata.* That is, *The Quadrature of the Circle, the Cube of the Sphere, and the Duplication of the Cube, briefly demonstrated.* Lond. 1669. 4to.

To this Dr Wallis immediately gave an answer, which bore this title,

Tho. Hobbii *Quadratura Circuli, Cubatio Sphæræ, Duplicatio Cubi, confutata.* Oxon. 1669. 4to. There is some account of both of these in the Philosophical Transactions (47).

(47) No. 48. p. 971. The same year our author republished his work, 11. together with an Answer to the Objections made by Dr Wallis, and dedicated it to Cosimo de Medici, Grand Prince of Tuscany. To this Dr Wallis replied, and dedicated his work to William Lord Viscount Brouncker. It is dated December 21, 1669.

Though our author was now in the fourscore and fourth year of his age, he had spirit enough to undertake a new work, and to subjoin to it a criticism on one that had been published by his antagonist.

12. *Rosetum Geometricum*: five, Propositiones aliquot frustra antehac tentatæ, cum Censura Brevi Doctrinæ Wallisianæ de Motu. That is, *The Geometrical Rose-Garden: or, Some Propositions hitherto unsuccessfully attempted, with a brief Censure of the Wallisian Doctrine of Motion.* Lond. 1671. 4to.

The same year appeared,

13. *Three Papers, presented to the Royal Society, against Dr Wallis, together with Considerations on Dr Wallis his Answer to them.* London, 1671. 4to.

The year following, the public received a present of another work, bearing this title,

14. *Lux Mathematica, excussa Collisionibus Johannis Wallisii, Theol. Doctoris Geometriæ in celeberrima Academia Oxoniensi Professoris Publici, & Thomæ Hobbessii Malmesburiensis; multis & fulgentissimis aucta Radiis auctore R. R.* That is, *Mathematical Light, struck out from the Clashings between Dr John Wallis, Professor of Geometry in the celebrated university of Oxford, and Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury; augmented with many and shining Rays by the author R. R.* Lond. 1672. 4to.

This work contains a history of the disputes between our author and his opponents. It is written with wonderful perspicuity and vivacity, speaks every where of Mr Hobbes in the third person, but gives him clearly the victory over his antagonist in every point. We have a very succinct account of this in the Philosophical Transactions (48), and a very long answer by Dr Wallis (49), who lets us into the secret who this R. R. is. These letters, says he, stand for *Roseti Repertor*, that is, the Finder of the Rosary, or Mr Hobbes himself; and as the book was written, so he says it shall be answered, by R. R. that is, *Roseti Refutator*, or the Refuter of the Rosary. What seems to put Dr Wallis's conjecture out of doubt is, that we find this treatise in the list of our author's works, in that which is called Dr Blackburn's Supplement to his Life.

The last mathematical treatise, published by our author, bears this title,

15. *Principia & Problemata aliquot Geometrica, ante desperata, nunc breviter explicata & demonstrata.* That is, *Some Geometrical Principles and Problems, heretofore looked upon as desperate, now briefly explained and demonstrated.* London, 1674. 4to.

We have also an account of this performance in the Philosophical Transactions; which, because it is very short, and will, notwithstanding, afford the reader some notion of the nature of these disputes, we will subjoin it (50).

The famous author of this tract, having entertained the reader with some generals concerning the subject, principles, and method of mathematics, and with his doctrine of *ratio*, as also his sense of algebraical operations, together with two chapters of quadrate figures, quadrate numbers, and angles, undertakes to confirm his former doctrine, 1. Of the ratio of the circumference to the radius of a circle. 2. Of mean proportionals. 3. Of the ratio of a quadrat to the quadrat of a circle inscribed in it. 4. Of solids and their superficies: to which last he subjoins another method of demonstrating solids and their superficies by their efficient causes. Which done, he concludes the book with a discourse touching demonstrations, the principal and most frequent cause of fallacies in the mathematics, and the notion of the word infinite: complaining very much that Geometry hath received it's greatest prejudice, from those that discourse of a line without latitude, that take the side of a square for the root of a number, that understand not the true nature of ratio, and that speak unfavourably of infinity. Which accusations, how well they are grounded, we must leave to competent judges to determine.

The truth of the matter is, that Mr Hobbes had talked so much; and thought so long, of matter and motion, that, notwithstanding the quickness of his parts and the subtilty of his genius, not at all impaired by his age, he could apprehend nothing inconsistent with these notions, and had persuaded himself, and was desirous of persuading others, that, because a point could not be made without quantity, a line drawn without latitude, or a superficies represented without somewhat of depth or thickness, therefore they could not be so conceived; whereas, in truth, they cannot be conceived otherwise; for a point, a line, a triangle, as they subsist in the mind, have not quantity, latitude, or depth; though when, for the purposes of science, they are produced to the senses, they have all these; which yet if we conceive them to have, as he did, and reason upon them accordingly, it will lead us, as it led him, into an inextricable labyrinth of confusions and absurdities. This therefore was the plain foible of Hobbes; and which served to refute and overturn whatever was false or dangerous in his notions as to Divinity; so that there was no need of exaggerating, and charging him with consequences which he absolutely denied; adding once with some heat (51), *Nor can the clamour of his adversaries make Mr Hobbes think himself a worse Christian than the best of them.* He might err, as to the sense of the Scriptures, without being an Apostate; and he might be mistaken in his notions of the Deity, without being an Atheist.

(50) No. 97. p. 6131.

(51) Considerations upon the Reputation, &c. of Thomas Hobbes, p. 47.



honour, who conceived very ill of Mr Hobbes, there were others, as irreproachable in point of faith as well as morals, who did not condemn our author's sentiments, or look upon him in the light of an apostate from Christianity, and much less as an Atheist [T]. It may be, if he

(52) Harrington's Works, Lond. 1747. fol. p. 14, 38, 41, 45, 52, 58, 364.

(53) Observations concerning the Original of Government, § 1.

(54) Monarchy asserted, &c. p. 16.

(55) See Sir Edward Hyde's Letter to Dr Barwick, in the Appendix to Dean Barwick's Life p. 430.

(56) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 647.

(57) Observations, Centuries, and Confutations, of the notorious errors of Mr Hobbes in his Leviathan and other books. Lond. 1663. 4to. Occasional Animadversions on some Writings of the Socinians, and such other Heretics of the same opinion with Mr Hobbes. Lond. 1675. 4to.

(58) The Creed of Mr Hobbes examined, &c. Lond. 1670. 8vo.

(59) De Legibus Naturæ, Lond. 1670. 4to. cap. i. § 10, 11, 12.

(60) Opera Philosoph. Lond. 1670. Tom. I. cap. ii. § 9, 10, 11. cap. xxv. § 2. Tom. II. lib. i. cap. ix. x. lib. ii. cap. i. ii. iii.

(61) Idea Theologiæ Leviathanicæ. Cantab. 1673. 8vo.

(62) The great Law of Nature vindicated. Lond. 1673. 8vo.

(63) Lond. 1672. 8vo.

(64) Tentamina de Deo, Disp. i. § 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. Disp. ii. § 30.

(65) Intellectual System, Book I. chap. ii. § 21.

(66) Behemoth arraigned, &c. Lond. 1680. 8vo.

(67) Boyle's Works. Lond. 1744. 5 vols fol. Vol. I. p. 76, 119, 122, 124, 125, 126, 130, 133, 137, 140, 143, 149, 151, 153. Vol. II. p. 253, 254, 255, 280, 373, 374, 377, 378. Vol. III. p.

476, 478, 479, 480, 481, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 489, 491, 520. Vol. V. p. 360.

[T] And much less as an Atheist.] In this note, we will enumerate the antagonists our author met with at home, many of whom concurred in attacking his writings, even in those in which they attacked each other. As for instance, the ingenious James Harrington in his Oceana (52), falls upon our author's sentiments with great freedom and spirit, which was natural enough the repugnancy of their respective principles considered. But one would scarce have imagined that Sir Robert Filmer (53), should spend a whole section in refuting the doctrines contained in the Leviathan, which however he has done, though he confesses Mr Hobbes's book to be right in the main, only it stood on another foundation than his own *Patriarcha*. Doctor Matthew Wren, in an excellent work of his on the subject of Government, just mentions Mr Hobbes (54); but that he who opposed Harrington in every thing, was still far from Mr Hobbes's sentiments, appears from the pains taken by the Earl of Clarendon, to engage the Doctor to write against him (55). There was a furious paper war between our author and Dr Wallis, which lasted all the life-time of the former, and it was in answer to a treatise which the Doctor published, entitled *Hobbius Heautontimoromenos*, five contra Dialogos ejus Physicos dissertatio; that he wrote his *Considerations on the Reputation and Loyalty*, &c. which though not by name, is addressed to the Doctor. We have already mentioned the Primate of Ireland, Bramhall, who was one of our author's most early opponents, and the Bishop of Ely, as also Dr Seth Ward, who is thought to be the person mentioned by Mr Wood (56), when he says, *That one who was made a Bishop soon after the Restoration, would say some years before when this was little expected, that he had rather be the author of one of Mr Hobbes's books than be King of England*. At the time he said this, he could not surely think Mr Hobbes an Atheist. Dr William Lucy, afterwards Bishop of St Davids, wrote two treatises against the Leviathan (57), under the assumed name of William Pyke; as did also Dr Sharrock, whose books, though in other respects esteemed, were not thought to answer the end for which they were written. Archbishop Tennison, then only a country clergyman, published a very succinct and methodical performance dedicated to the Earl of Manchester (58). It is written by way of dialogue between Mr Hobbes and a Student in Divinity at Buxton Wells, and is penned with equal perspicuity and politeness, as well as with great judgment and learning; but above all is remarkable for its impartiality, there being nothing put in the mouth of Mr Hobbes, but what is taken out of his own writings, and expressed in his own words. Doctor, afterwards Bishop, Cumberland's excellent treatise of *The Laws of Nature* (59), was likewise written against our author's system, and is deservedly esteemed the closest and the best book of its kind; indeed, he is the only one of all Mr Hobbes's antagonists that understood the advantages the old map had, as appears by his chusing fresh ground, and disputing in a manner quite different from the rest. The famous Dr Henry Moore (60), has in different places of his numerous writings canvassed and refuted several propositions of Mr Hobbes: and the Philosopher of Malmesbury, is said to have been so ingenuous as to own, that whenever he discovered his own philosophy to be unsustainable, he would embrace the opinions of Dr Moore. Dr John Templar of Cambridge, published a Latin treatise (61) against our author; and Mr Shaftoe wrote likewise in English, in opposition to the notions of Mr Hobbes (62). Neither must we forget the two dialogues of Dr John Echard, between Timothy and Philalethes (63); or Dr Parker's, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, large work, in which our author is very roughly handled, though in very elegant Latin (64). His notions are likewise combated in Dr Cudworth's *Intellectual System*, though there is no mention of his name (65). There was one Mr Whitehall of the Inner-Temple (66), who wrote against his Behemoth; and we find several parts of his philosophy examined and refuted by the honourable Robert Boyle, Esq (67). But in the midst of these contentions, as we have already shewn, he wanted not patrons or friends who expressed a great esteem for him and his writings; the names of many of these we have already mentioned in

the text, to which without impropriety we may add (68), the famous Sir Kenelm Digby, who was himself a great philosopher; the judicious Mr Chillingworth, Edmond Waller of Beaconsfield, Esq; whose poetry will last as long as our language; Sir Henry Blunt, Francis Osborne, Esq; Mr Samuel Butler, who wrote that admirable poem entitled *Hudibras*; Sir William Davenant, Poet Laureat in two reigns; Dr Walter Charlton, distinguished for his extensive knowledge in every branch of useful literature; and Dr Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells, who, together with Mr Jasper Maine, Canon of Christ Church, were his constant admirers. Among later writers there have been two eminent and eloquent prelates, who, though they have hardly agreed in any thing else, have each had a stroke at the character of Mr Hobbes. Bishop Burnet (69), who has given a dreadful character of the Leviathan; and Bishop Atterbury, who in one of his sermons (70), has vouchsafed to assign the reasons why Mr Hobbes was continually terrified with the apprehensions of ghosts and apparitions. But to justify the great pains we have taken in this article, by shewing how highly our author was esteemed by some men, who were themselves distinguished even in that learned age for spirit and genius; and for the reader's entertainment, we shall cite a few poetical complements, that if they should not serve to support his character, will at least suffice to excuse his vanity. The first of these shall be the conclusion of Dean Bathurst's Latin poem on Human Nature (71), which has been always esteemed a very fine performance independent of the subject.

Consultor audax, & Promethæi potens  
Facinoris Anime! quis Tibi dedit Deus  
Hæc intueri Sæculis longè abdita,  
Oculisque luce tinxit Ambrosiâ tuos?  
Tu Mentis omnis, at tuæ nulla est capax,  
Hæc laude solus fruere: Divinum est opus  
Animam creare; proximum huic, ostendere.

The last stanza of Cowley's ode (72), is equally worthy of the reader's notice, from the perfection of its sense and the poetry; the former as sound; and the latter as animated as is perhaps any where to be met with in that author's writings.

Nor can the snow which now cold age does shed,  
Upon thy reverend head,  
Quench or allay the noble fires within;  
But all which thou hast bin,  
And all that youth can be, thou'rt yet;  
So fully still dost thou  
Enjoy the manhood and the bloom of wit,  
And all the natural heat, but not the fever too.  
So contraries on Ætna's top conspire;  
Here hoary frosts, and by them breaks out fire.  
A secure peace the faithful neighbours keep;  
Th' embolden'd snow next to the flame does sleep.  
And if we weigh, like thee,  
Nature, and causes, we shall see,  
That thus it needs must be;  
'To things immortal, time can do no wrong;  
And that which never is to die, for ever must be young.

His Grace of Buckinghamshire, when Earl of Mulgrave, wrote a poem on the death of our author (73), in which are the following beautiful lines.

While fame is young, too weak to fly away,  
Malice pursues her, like some bird of prey;  
But once on wing, then all the quarrels cease;  
Envy herself is glad to be at peace.  
Gives over, weary'd with so high a flight,  
Above her reach, and scarce within her sight.  
Hobbes to this happy pitch arriv'd at last,  
Might have look'd down with pride on dangers past:

But

(68) Vita Hobbiæ Auctarium, p. 181—187.

(69) History of his own Times, Vol. I, p. 187, 188.

(70) Sermons by Dr Francis Atterbury, published from the originals by Thomas Moore, D. D. Vol. II. p. 116, 117. edit. Lond. 1734.

(71) Prefixed to Mr Hobbes's Treatise of Human Nature, and to the three Latin Lives published by Dr Blackbourn.

(72) The Works of Mr Abraham Cowley, Vol. I. p. 197, 198.

(73) The Works of John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Marquis of Normandy, and Duke of Buckinghamshire, Vol. I. p. 181, 182.



he had been more gently treated, if he had been commended where he was right, if his mistakes had been shewn him with candour, if a proper allowance had been made for the time in, and the circumstances under, which he wrote, and his submission to authority in Church and State had been accepted, he might have been better disposed to the review and correction of his writings: whereas, charged as he was with a multitude of the most atrocious crimes, of which, very probably, no man had a greater abhorrence than he; such as Atheism, for thinking, as he affirmed, more reverently of the Deity than most other men; Apostacy, though he made belief in the mission and satisfaction of Jesus Christ a fundamental out of the power of the Church, to whose decrees he was for submitting in every other respect; with attachment to Oliver's usurpation, before perhaps Oliver had formed in his mind the project of usurping; of treason against a Prince to whom he was always devoted, and who always looked upon him with favour and esteem; and, in fine, with propagating the most detestable principles, notwithstanding he always declared that he did not hold them, and that they were propagated chiefly by those who pretended to find them in his writings; we need not at all wonder, that it increased the natural obstinacy of his disposition, and inclined him to repel with acrimony the charges of his opponents, or to recriminate severely when he sometimes had it in his power. In foreign countries, his correct and elegant Latin stile recommended his writings to a very general reception; inasmuch, that the works of very few English authors, at least during their life-times, were diffused so much as his; to which it might also contribute not a little, that his person and conversation were also well known, as having lived in great intimacy and friendship with some of the most considerable members of the republic of letters [U].

In

(74) *Tractatu de Typo Legis Naturæ.*

(75) *Tractatu adversus Anonymum Theologico-Politicum* (B. Spinosum), 4to. Ultraject. 1674.

(76) *De Jure Naturæ & Gentium*. Kiloni, 1676. 4to. p. 102—117. & a p. 306 ad 311.

(77) *Vindiciæ pro Lege & Imperio, sive Differentiæ duæ, quarum una est de Lege in communi, altera de exemptione Principis à Lege, institutæ potissimum contra Tractatum Hobbesii de Cive; accessit Gisp. Vættii Disquisitio Textualis ad I Sam. 8. de Jure Reziio Hebræorum*, Ultrajecti, 1661. 12mo.

(78) *Hobbesiani Anatome, quâ innumeris Assertionibus ex Tractatibus de Homine, Cive, & Leviathan, juxta seriem locorum Theologiæ Christianæ, Philosophiæ illius à Religione Christianâ Apostasia, demonstratur & refutatur*. Ultrajecti, 1680. 8vo.

(79) *Polyhistor. literarius, philosophicus & practicus*, ii. 1, 15, 23. ii. 2, 15, 4. ii. 2, 17, 4. iii. 2, 1, 4.

(80) *Theses Theologicæ, de Atheismo & de Superstitione*. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1737. 8vo. cap. i. § 27.

But such the frailty is of human kind,  
Men toil for fame, which no man lives to find;  
Long rip'ning under ground this china lies;  
Fame bears no fruit, 'till the vain planter dies.

[U] *Of the republic of letters.* In other parts of Europe our author's writings were read, and as at home, either heavily censured or highly applauded; amongst the most remarkable of these, we will mention a few only. To begin with those who wrote in his life-time. Adam Oslander (74), a German divine, inveighed against him with great bitterness. Regnerus à Mansvelt (75), Professor of Philosophy in the University of Utrecht, takes occasion to fall very severely upon the writings of Mr Hobbes. Samuel Rachelius, an eminent lawyer of Holstein (76), in his large work concerning the law of nature and nations, declares also with great warmth against the sentiments of our author. Dr Gilbert Cocquius (77), a Dutch divine, wrote expressly against Hobbes's treatise *De Cive*, out of which, if there be taken what he borrows from the writings of Calvin and Beza, very little worth notice will be left. The same author with the like view wrote another treatise (78), in which he attacked most of our author's writings, and pretended to prove that Hobbes had apostatized from the Christian religion, by which however he gained no great reputation to himself, nor does it appear that he has done much hurt to that of our author, in the sentiments of candid and impartial readers, who will always distinguish between assertions and evidence. The learned and laborious John George Morhoff (79), in his great and useful work, makes frequent mention of Thomas Hobbes and his writings, but speaks of them always with severity and dislike, from a persuasion, that exclusive of their plain and natural sense, they have another concealed meaning of a dark and dangerous tendency. Dr Francis Buddeus (80), fixes our author Hobbes, after Sir Thomas Brown, in his catalogue of English Atheists, but is so modest, as not to insist, that the character absolutely belongs to either of them. Frederick Reimmanus (81), on the other hand, places him before Sir Thomas Brown, and immediately after Edward Lord Herbert of Chirbury; adding, that as he was shrewder and more learned, so he was also better versed in philosophy than that noble person, which is a character that, very possibly, Mr Hobbes may no better deserve, than he does that of an Atheist. It is not however from all foreigners, or even from all the German writers, that Mr Hobbes has received such bad treatment; on the contrary, the judicious and indefatigable Gundlingius (82), in his excellent observations, has written a long and curious dissertation in defence of Mr Hobbes; in which, with great judgment and by dint of strong arguments, he shews, that he is very unjustly accused of Atheism. And indeed, if we consider how many great and good men are aspersed by

(81) *Historia universalis Atheismi & Atheorum*, Hildesizæ, 1725. 8vo. p. 444. (82) *Observationum selectarum ad rem Literariam spectantium*, Tom. I. p. 37—77.

the same writers, and abused with the same imputations that are cast upon Hobbes, we cannot but believe, that this knowing and disinterested critic is in the right. The celebrated Leibnitz (83), seems to be however of a contrary opinion, to whose judgment notwithstanding, we may oppose that of the no less famous Mr Bayle (84), who, whenever he speaks of our author, treats him with candour and decency. In fine, we may conclude these remarks with observing, that it is the deductions which others have made from Mr Hobbes's writings, that render them dangerous; by their finding in them positions which the author absolutely denied; and drawing from them consequences which he never meant, at least, if he knew his own meaning. There is therefore good reason to wish, that in this learned and impartial age, his philosophy might be again reviewed, those things that are good in him, severed and collected from whatever there may be amiss, and the rest rejected; for surely, so many great and able judges as have given public testimonies of their esteem for him and his writings, could not be absolutely deceived, and bestow their applause on a man altogether void of merit. It is very material to do this for many reasons. It is with false reasonings in philosophy, as with unsuccessful experiments in chemistry, they have their advantages, though they are without profit; and we cannot better defend ourselves from errors, than by contemplating and discovering the sources of error in other men. It is of consequence to glean up the hints he gives us of his conjectures, and sometimes short histories of his discoveries, which would point out to us many things that have escaped notice, and may for ever escape notice, in the bulk of his works. It is but justice to expose the true grounds of the quarrel between him and the clergy, that the nature of the prejudices on both sides may be known; he apprehended the ill judged severities exercised by some of the prelates, to be one of the causes of the civil war; he ascribed the destructive and most deplorable events that followed, to the ambition and hypocrisy of the ministers; and that state of immoral confusion into which the nation fell under the government, and after the death of Cromwell, to the enthusiasm and fanaticism of the sectaries. This induced him to place the supreme power, sacred as well as civil, in the Sovereign, as the best remedy he could devise against these evils. The clergy, for this, represented him as the subvertor of all religion, which by exposing and exaggerating their ill conduct, he retorted upon them. It was impossible for foreigners to be acquainted with this, because many of his and his opponent's writings were in English, which has occasioned their painting him in the blackest colours (85). Lastly, it may be very right to shew, that the strength of his capacity appears in his political writings, where much depended upon speculation; but that in other things his abilities frequently failed, which will sufficiently abate his credit with impartial judges, and shew the falsehood of that popular conceit, that atheistical and irreligious notions

(83) *Essais de Theodicé: sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'Homme, & l'origine du Mal*, P. ii. § 172.

(84) See the article of HOBBS [THOMAS] in the English translation of Bayle.

(85) *Christiani Kortholti, de tribus Inposteribus magnis liber*, Edvardo Herbert, Thomæ Hobbes, & Benedicto Spinozæ opusculis. Cui addita quæ Hieronymi Cardani & Edvardo Herberti de animalitate hominis opiniones Philosophicæ examinatæ. Kiloni, 1680. 8vo.

are



In succeeding times, when all personal prejudices are worn out, together with the humour of the age, and the habit of considering things as agreeing or disagreeing with the reigning system, our author's Philosophy has met with a fairer acceptance; not that it is in higher or more general esteem than in his own time, but that it is beheld with greater calmness and candour. We perceive that he had looked strictly into human nature, and that, like Socrates, he perfectly well understood the strength and weakness of human faculties, the spring and force of our passions, and the spirit and vigour of the understanding, independent of the helps received from religion. We discern, that from hence he reasons more correctly and closely, in many political points, than either Tacitus or Machiavel, and gives many singular and strong hints of the causes of those events, in our own and in other states, which we have since seen; but at the same time we clearly comprehend, that, notwithstanding the vivacity of his parts, and the solidity of his judgment, in matters that were the proper objects of both; yet, in things that lay without and beyond his reach, unless with such assistance as he declined, he erred as much and as wildly as any man could. So that, to defend ourselves from following him in his mistaken notions as to Religion, we need only acquire a thorough knowledge of his erroneous sentiments in regard to the Mathematics; for, upon a strict enquiry and proper reflection, we shall find them both to flow from the same causes, an overweening opinion of his own abilities, and a supercilious contempt for those of other men. Great weaknesses in a Philosopher no doubt, but no proofs of madness, folly, or wickedness, much less of apostacy, impiety, and atheism; and, as great as these weaknesses were, we must allow the strength of his faculties at the same time; and if we consider his natural disposition, the confusions of which he was a spectator; the ill usage he met with, the retired course of life he led for many years, and the great age to which he lived, we shall be the more indulgent to his failings. At all events, we have done what lay in our power to render justice to his fame and writings; and, if there be any defect in the performance, we hope it will be supplied by the candour of the reader.

are found in the writings of the shrewdest men. | like the other infirmities of human nature, are inhe-  
Whereas in truth, the love of singularity, and the am- | rent as well in little as in great minds. E  
bition of appearing wiser than the rest of their species,

HODY [HUMPHREY], a late learned English Divine, was born January 1, 1659, in the county of Somerset, at Odcombe, of which his father was Rector [A]. The 10th of March, 1676, he was admitted, with his two elder brothers, John and Richard, into Wadham-college in Oxford (a), where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, October 23, 1679; that of Master, June 19, 1682 (b); and in 1684 was chosen Fellow of that college. In 1680 and 1681, when he was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age, he wrote his learned Dissertation against Aristes's History of the LXX Interpreters [B]. It was received with great applause by the learned, except by Dr Isaac Vossius, who published an answer to it, at the end of the appendix to his Observations on Pomponius Melancthon (c). October 31, 1689, he took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (d). The same year he wrote *Prolegomena*, or a preface to John Melancthon's Chronicle, printed at Oxford. In 1690, he was made Chaplain to Dr Edward Stillingfleet Bishop of Worcester, being tutor to his son at Wadham-college. The deprivation of the Bishops in 1691, who had refused the Oaths to King William and Queen Mary, engaged our author in a controversy

(a) De Vita & Scriptis Hum. Hodi Dissertatione, p. 5, 6. Prefixed to his learned work *De Græcis illustribus Linguae Græcæ institutionibus*, &c. and extracted from a MS. Life written by himself in English.

(b) Wood Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 211, 219.

(c) De Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 7—13.

(d) Wood, Fasti, col. 233.

(1) Dugdale Orig. Jurid. in Chronic. Serie, p. 74.

(2) Pat. 2. Hen. VII. p. 1. m. 21.

(3) Hall's Chronicle.

(4) Coke's Preface to the first part of the Institutes, &c.

(5) Placit. coram Rege, t. Pasch. 18 Hen. VI. rot. 1. Et de Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 5, 6. See also Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 368.

[A] Of which his father was Rector.] His father was Richard Hody, younger brother of John Hody of Northover in the same county, Esq. He reckoned among his ancestors, in the sixth generation, Sir William Hody, Knt. whom K. Henry VII. constituted, in the first year of his reign (1485) his Attorney-General (1), and, the year following, Chief Baron of the Exchequer (2). This office he enjoyed till the 13th of Hen. VIII. when he resigned it, on account of his great age, being above fourscore years old (3). The father of this Sir William, was Sir John Hody of Stawall in the said county, Knight, a learned lawyer, who assisted Judge Littleton, in compiling the Institutes of the Laws of England (4). In the Parliaments, 9 Henry V. and 1, 3, 6, and 15, of Henry VI, he was one of the Burgesses for Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire, where he had considerable estates; and, afterwards, was one of the Knights of the Shire for the county of Somerset. In the eighteenth of Henry VI, he was constituted Chief Justice of England (5).

[B] Dissertation against Aristes's History of the LXX Interpreters.] The substance of that History of Aristes, concerning the LXXII Greek Interpreters of the Bible, is this. Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, founder of the noble library at Alexandria, being desirous of enriching that library with all sorts of books, committed the care of it to Demetrius Phaleræus, a noble Athenian then living in his Court. The

latter being informed, in his search, of the Law of Moses among the Jews, acquainted the King with it; who thereupon signified his pleasure, that a copy of that book (which was then only in Hebrew) should be sent for from Jerusalem, with interpreters from the same place to translate it into Greek. A deputation was accordingly sent to Eleazar the High-priest of the Jews at Jerusalem; who sent a true copy of the Hebrew original of the Law of Moses, and LXXII Interpreters, six out of each of the twelve Tribes of Israel, to translate it into Greek. They being come to Egypt, the King tried their skill by proposing to them 72 questions; and then causing them to be conducted into the island of Pharos near Alexandria, in a house prepared for them, they completed their translation in LXXII days. — Such is the story told by Aristes; who is said to be one of K. Ptolemy Philadelphus's Court. Our learned author shews, that it is the invention of some Hellenist Jew; that it is full of anachronisms, and gross blunders; and, in short, was written on purpose to recommend and give greater authority to the Greek version of the Old Testament, which from this story hath received the name of the *Septuagint*. — This dissertation is highly commended by the most learned Cha. Du Fresnoie, in his notes on the *Chronicon Paschale*; and by the no less learned G. Menage, who styles Mr Hody *eruditissimus, doctissimus, elegantissimus*, &c.

[C] The



controversy [C], of which an account is given below (e). He took the degree of Doctor in Divinity in February 1692-3. And, in 1694, published 'The Resurrection of the same Body asserted [D],' &c. Dr Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, having conceived a great opinion of him from his writings, constituted him his domestic Chaplain, May 25, 1694. The good Archbishop being snatched away the 22d of November the same year, by a sudden death; his successor Dr Tennison continued Dr Hody his Chaplain (f). And, soon after, gave him the rectory of Chart near Canterbury (g): which before he was collated to, he exchanged with Mr De l'Angle, for the united rectories of St Michael-Royal and St Martin's-Vintrey in London, being instituted to these August 15, 1695 (h). In 1696, at the command of Archbishop Tennison, he wrote 'Animadversions on two Pamphlets lately published by Mr Collier, &c [E].' The 6th of March, 1698, he was appointed Regius Professor of the Greek tongue in the university of Oxford: and August 1, 1704, instituted to the archdeaconry of Oxford, which the Archbishop had made his option. He was also Rector of Monks-Risborough in Buckinghamshire (i). In 1701 he bore a part in the controversy about the Convocation [F]. In 1704 he published his learned book Of the Original Text, and Greek, and Latin vulgate, Versions of the Bible [G]. And left behind him in manuscript, An account of those learned Grecians, who retired to Italy before and after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and restored the Greek tongue and learning in these western parts of the world [H]. It was not published till

(e) De Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 16, &c.

(f) Ibid. p. 27.

(g) Which was become vacant by the death of the learned Henry Wharton. Ibid. p. 28.

(h) Ibid. and Newcourt Repertorium, Vol. I. p. 495.

(i) De Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 32, &c. and Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 446, 447.

[C] *The deprivation of the Bishops in 1691, — engaged our author in a controversy.* The pieces published by him upon that occasion, were these. 'The Unreasonableness of a Separation from the new Bishops; or, A Treatise out of Ecclesiastical History. Shewing, That although a Bishop was unjustly deprived, neither he nor the Church ever made a separation, if the successor was not a Heretick. Translated out of an ancient manuscript in the public library at Oxford.' [One of the Baroccian MSS.] London, 1691, 4to. He translated it afterwards into Latin, and prefixed thereto some pieces out of ecclesiastical antiquity relating to the same subject. Mr Henry Dodwell publishing an answer to it, intitled, 'A Vindication of the Depriv'd Bishops, &c.' Lond. 1692, 4to. Dr Hody replied, in a treatise, which he styled, 'The Case of Sees vacant, by an unjust or uncanonical Deprivation, stated: in Reply to a Treatise, entituled, *A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, &c.* Together with the several Pamphlets published as Answers to the Baroccian Treatise.' Lond. 1693, 4to. — These two other pieces he published in the same controversy. 'A Letter to a Friend concerning a Collection of Canons said [by Mr Dodwell] to be deceitfully omitted in the Edition of the Oxford Treatise against Schism.' Oxon. 1692. 'Reflexions on a Pamphlet entituled, Remarks on the Occasional Paper, Numb. VIII. relating to the Controversy betwixt Dr Hody and Mr Dodwell; and on another entituled, A Vindication of the Deprived Bishops, written by Mr Dodwell; with an Answer to a third, called Historical Collections concerning Church Affairs.' Lond. 1698, 4to.

[D] *The Resurrection of the same Body asserted, &c.* Printed at London, 1694, 8vo. Mr Nicolas Beare, a clergyman in Devonshire, wrote an answer to it, which he intitled, 'The Resurrection founded on Justice, or a Vindication of this great standing Reason assign'd by the Ancients and Moderns, wherein the Objections of the learned Dr Hody against it are answered, &c.' Lond. 1699.

[E] *He wrote animadversions on two pamphlets lately published by Mr Collier, &c.* Any person that has the least acquaintance with our English history, knows, that Mr Jeremy Collier, Mr Cook, and Mr Snatt, three Nonjuring clergymen, did take upon them to pronounce to Sir William Perkins, and Sir John Friend (who were executed for the assassination plot in 1696) the absolution of the Church as it stands in the visitation of the sick, and accompanied this ceremony with a solemn imposition of hands. For this imprudent action, they were not only indicted; but also the Archbishops and Bishops published, 'A declaration of their sense, concerning those irregular and scandalous proceedings.' Mr Collier published some pamphlets to vindicate his own, and his brethren's conduct (6): in answer to which, Dr Hody wrote, 'Animadversions on two Pamphlets lately published by Mr Collier, the one called, *A Defence of the Absolution given to Sir William Perkins at the Place of Execution*; the other, *A Vindication thereof, occasioned by a Paper entituled, A Declaration of the Sense of the Archbishops and Bishops, &c.*'

VOL. IV. No. CCXX.

[F] *In 1701 he bore a part in the controversy about the Convocation.* He published upon that occasion, 'A History of English Councils and Convocations, and of the Clergy's sitting in Parliament, in which is also comprehended the History of Parliaments, with an Account of our ancient Laws.' Lond. 1701, 8vo.

[G] *Of the original text, and Greek, and Latin vulgate, versions of the Bible.* It is written in Latin, and intitled, *De Bibliorum Textibus originalibus, Versionibus Græcis, & Latinâ vulgata: Libri IV, &c.* The first book, is his Dissertation against Aristæas's History; which is here reprinted with improvements, and an answer to Vossius's objections. In the second, he treats of the true authors of the Greek version, called *The Septuagint*, and of the time when, and the reasons why, it was undertaken; and the manner in which it was performed. The third, is a history of the original Hebrew text, of the Greek version called *The Septuagint*, and of the Latin vulgate: shewing the authority of each in different ages, and that the Hebrew text hath been always most esteemed and valued. In the fourth, he gives an account of the rest of the Greek versions, viz. those of Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion; of Origen's *Hexapla*, and other ancient editions; and subjoins lists of the books of the Bible at different times, which exhibit a concise, but full and clear view of the Canon of holy Scripture. — Upon the whole, he thinks it probable, that the Greek version, called *The Septuagint*, was done in the time of the two Ptolemies, — Lagi — and Philadelphus — That it was not done by order of K. Ptolemy, or under the direction of Demetrius Phaleræus, in order to be deposited into the Alexandrine library, but by Hellenist Jews for the use of their own countrymen.

[H] *An account of those learned Grecians, &c.* It remained in manuscript till the year 1742, when it was published by Dr S. Jebb, under this title, *De Græcis illustribus Linguae Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Instauratoribus, eorum Vitis, Scriptis, et Elogiis libri duo. E. Cod. potissimum MSS. aliisque authenticis ejusdem Aevi Monumentis deprompsit Humphredus Hodius, S. T. P.* Lond. 1742, 8vo. It is divided into two books: the first whereof treats of those who came to Italy before the taking of Constantinople. And the second, of those who came after the taking of that city. These were, 1. Leontius Pilatus, Emanuel and Joan: Chrysostomas, Theodorus Gaza, Georgius Trapezuntius, Bessarion Cardinalis, Isidorus Cardinalis Ruthenus, and Nicolaus Secundinus. 2. Joannes Argyropylus, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Joannes Andronicus Callistus, Tranquillus Andronicus, Andronicus Contoblaca, Georgius Harmonymus Charitonimus Chritonymus, Joannes Polo, Constantinus Lascaris, Joannes Lascaris, Michael Marullus, Manilius Rhallas, Marcus Musurus Creticus, Angelus Calaber, Nicolaus Sophianus, Michael Sophianus, Geor. Alex. Jo. Geor. et Demetr. Moschi, Emanuel Adramyttenus, Zacharias Calliergus, Nic. Blautus, Arsenius Monembasiensis Archiepiscopus, Aristobulus Apostolius, Demetrius Ducas, Nicetas Phaustus, Justinus Corcyraeus, &c.



(k) De Vitâ, &c.  
ut supra, p. 14,  
33, 38, &c.

'till the year 1742. In order to encourage the study of the Greek and Hebrew languages, of which he was so great a master himself, he founded in Wadham-college ten scholarships, of ten pounds a piece; and appointed, that five of the scholars should apply themselves to the study of the Hebrew, and five to the study of the Greek, languages. He died January 20, 1706, and was buried in the chapel belonging to Wadham-college, where he had received his education, and to which he had been a benefactor (k). C

(a) Wood Ath.  
edit. 1721. Vol.  
I. col. 312. and  
Nicolson's Engl.  
Histor. Libr.

(b) T. Hearne  
Præfat. ad Cam-  
deni Annales, p.  
lxixiii.

HOLINSHED, or HOLLYNSHED [RAPHAEL], the first author, or compiler, of the Chronicles that go under his name. This most useful and industrious writer, who hath rescued many illustrious persons and facts from oblivion, is so unhappy as to have little or no account of himself transmitted to posterity [A]. The best account therefore we can give of him, must consist only of such imperfect hints and notices, relating to him, as have been dropped occasionally by some few authors. We are told (a), that he was descended from those of his name that lived at Bosely in Cheshire; educated in one of the universities [B] (but which is not certain); and that he was a Minister of God's Word. Others affirm, on the contrary, that he was neither a clergyman, nor even had an academical education; but that he was steward to Thomas Burdett of Bromcote in the county of Warwick, Esq; or employed in some other service in that family (b). However, in what place, or from whomsoever, he received his education, he appears to have been a man of considerable learning, and to have had a head particularly turned for History. This he fully manifested in the voluminous Chronicles which go under his name [C]; though he was assisted in that work by William Harrison [D] and others [E]. In

(i) Nicolson,  
ubi supra.

\* Tanner Bibli-  
otheca, &c. ex  
M.SS. Inett. p.  
408.

[A] *Is so unhappy as to have little or no account of himself transmitted to posterity.* Bishop Nicolson observes, that, 'Tis not certainly known where they [he and Will. Harrison] spent the most of their days. So remarkably careful have they been to benefit the Public, without the vanity of making their own story known to Posterity (i).

[B] *Educated in one of the universities.* Bishop Tanner says, he was educated in Cambridge, where he commenced Master of Arts in 1544 \*.

[C] *In the voluminous Chronicles which go under his name.* These Chronicles were first published at London in 1577. 2 vols folio, with a great number of wooden cuts, which were all omitted in the second edition. This first edition is very scarce, and seldom to be met with. The second edition came out in 1587, being finished in January that year, as it is noted in the last pages of the second and third volumes: for, this second edition is in three volumes; whereof the first and second are generally bound in one.—And here, undoubtedly, it will be a pleasure to the curious reader, to know what share our author Holinshed had in this large work, as it appears in the second and most common edition. To take it, therefore, in the order wherein it stands; Vol. I. contains, An Historicall Description of the Iland of Britaine, in three books, by William Harrison: next, The Historie of England, from the time that it was first inhabited, untill the time that it was last conquered, by R. Holinshed. Vol. II. contains, The description, conquest, inhabitation, and troublesome estate, of Ireland: particularly the description of that kingdom, compiled by Richard Stanishurst; the conquest of Ireland, translated from the Latin of Giraldus Cambrensis (2), by John Hooker, alias Vowell, of Exeter, Gent. The Chronicles of Ireland, beginning where Giraldus did end, continued untill the year 1509, from Philip Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleborow, Edm. Campian, &c. by R. Holinshed; and from thence to the year 1586, by R. Stanishurst and J. Hooker.—The Description of Scotland, translated from the Latin of Hector Boethius, by R. H. or W. H. The Historie of Scotland, containing the beginning, increase, proceedings, continuance, acts and government, of the Scottish nation, from the originall thereof unto the yeere 1571, gathered by *Raphaell Hollinshed*: and continued, from 1571 to 1586, by Francis Boteville, alias Thin, and others. Vol. III. begins at Duke William the Norman, commonlie called the Conqueror; and descends, by degrees of yeeres, to all the Kings and Queenes of England. First compiled by *Raphaell Holinshed*, and by him extended to the yeere 1577; augmented, and continued to the yeere 1586, by John Stow, Fr. Thin, Abraham Fleming, and others.—How our author, R. Holinshed, came to be engaged in this work, he acquaints us himself, in the dedications to his second and third volumes of these Chronicles; which is to this effect, That Reginald Wolfe, Printer to Queen Elizabeth, having undertaken to publish an universal Cosmography of the whole

world, and therewith particular histories of every known nation, he procured our author to take in hand the collection of those histories. But, after five and twenty years labour spent in that work, Wolfe died: and his executors, willing to reap some fruit of what he had so long employed himself about, desired R. Holinshed to continue his endeavours for the furtherance of it. However, the volume growing so large, that the undertakers were not willing to go through the whole original design, they resolved to publish first the Histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland; which produced these three volumes.—Leland dying at Wolfe's house, this eminent Printer had undoubtedly his collections; of which, we are told (3), a great use was made in these Chronicles. John Stow, who expresses himself somewhat enviously about our author, says, that 'The Chronicle was first collected by Reigne Wolfe, and finished by Raphaell Hollinshed: that it was printed and reprinted without warrant or well-liking; and that Rayne Wolfe, a grave and learned citizen, hired Ralphe Holinshed to translate for him (4). Which, however, doth not detract from his learning or industry.

[D] *William Harrison.* This ingenious Historian was born in London (5), educated in Grammar-learning at Westminster, under Mr Alexander Nowell, in the latter end of King Henry VIII. or beginning of Edward VI. thence sent to Oxford, but to what college is not certainly known, unless it was Christ-church. He studied also at Cambridge (6); and afterwards became Household-Chaplain to Sir William Brooke, Knt. Baron of Cobham, and Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports; by whom he was presented, in 1558, to the rectory of Radwinter in Essex. He was also admitted, in 1570, to the vicarage of Wimbish adjoining (7). He died in 1593 (8). What part he had in Holinshed's Chronicle, appears from the foregoing note. And as to his manner of proceeding in that work, he pleased to take an account of it from himself, in his dedication to the Lord Cobham.—'Indeed I must needs confesse, that untill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, unto your Honour in Kent; or out of London, where I was borne, unto Oxford and Cambridge, where I have bene brought up, I never travelled 40 miles forthright, and at one journey, in all my life; nevertheless, in my report of these things, I use their authorities, who either have performed in their persons, or left in writing upon sufficient ground, whatsoever is wanting in mine.' He said before, that he 'obtained one helpe, and none of the smallest', from Leland's Collections, 'books utterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finally imperfect through want of sundrie volumes.'—Besides the *Description of Britaine*, printed in these Chronicles, he compiled also a *Chronology*, never printed (9).

[E] *And others.* Namely, John Hooker, alias Vowell, of Exeter, Gent. uncle to the famous Richard Hooker. He was born in Exeter about the year 1524, being

(3) J. Bagford's Letter, prefixed to T. Hearne's edit. of Leland's Collection, Vol. I.

(4) Stow's Annales, edit. 1605 4to. p. 1177, 1438.

(5) See Dedication of his Description of Britaine, p. 2.

(6) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 234. See also Dedication, as above.

(7) Newcourt Repert. Vol. I. p. 479, & 674

(8) Ibid. p. 47

(9) Wood, ubi supra.

(2) Otherwise Barry. See above, the article BARRY [GIRALD].



In the second edition, several sheets were castrated in the second and third volumes, undoubtedly because there were passages in them disagreeable to Queen Elizabeth and her Ministry [F]. The time of Hollinshed's death is unknown; but it appears from his Will, that it was between the first day of October, 1578, and the twenty-fourth of April, 1582 [G]. Bishop Tanner says, he died at Bromcote, in 1580 (c).

(c) Biblioth. et  
supra.

being the second son of Robert Hooket, Mayor of that city in 1529, by Agnes his third wife, daughter of John Doble of Woodbridge in Suffolk. His ancestors were gentlemen of fashion. He was brought up in school-learning under Dr Moreman, Vicar of Menhinit in Cornwall, and afterwards educated at Oxford, either in Exeter or Christ's-Church-college. Then he travelled into Germany, where, at Cologne, he kept exercises in Law, and undoubtedly took his degree there. Next he went to Strasburg, and sojourned with the famous Peter Martyr, who instructed him in Divinity. Returning home, after a short stay he travelled into France, and intended also to have travelled into Italy and Spain; but was hindered by the declaration of war. So he retired to his native place the city of Exeter, where he married, and became the first Chamberlain of it in 1554 †; and was chosen one of the Citizens for the same, in the Parliament holden at Westminster in the year 1571 ‖. His works are, 1. A translation, from Latin into English, of the Epistle of St Augustin to Dardanus. 2. — of Erasmi *De testio Praestigiarum*. 3. He wrote a book of Ensignes. 4. A book of the Order of Orphans; and a pamphlet of the Government of the city of Exeter. 5. He printed the Statutes of Ireland, and the Order of keeping a Parliament in Ireland.—Not in England, as Wood says; there being no such mentioned by him in his own Catalogue. Lond. 1572. 4to. 6. He translated into English, The Historie of the Conquest of Ireland, with Scholies, from the Latin of Giraldus Cambrensis, inserted in the second volume of Hollinshed's Chronicles; and compiled 'The Supplie of the Irish Chronicle continued from the death of K. Henry the eight 1546, untill the year 1586,' inserted also in the same volume, together with The Order and Usage how to keepe a Parlement, abovementioned. 7. A Catalogue or History of the Bishops of Exeter, and the Description of that city, and of the sundrie assaults given to the same; printed in the third volume of the said Chronicles, &c. 8. He wrote a Synopsis chorographical: or an Historical Record of the Province of Devon. Never printed. He lived in the parish of St Mary the More in the city of Exeter, where several of his family lie interred. He died in November 1601, at the age of near 80, and was buried in Exeter-cathedral, as appeared from a ring with his seal of arms, dug out of his grave about the beginning of this century (10).

Another assistant in this work was *Abraham Fleming*, born in London (11), and a clergyman; being Rector of St Pancras Soperlane in that city (12). He made several additions in the second edition, which are denoted by the letters A. F. and Abr. Fl. in the margin. The first, second, and fourth Tables or Indexes to Vol. I. and II. and the Index to Vol. III. are also of his compiling. In hisse *Chronici detegendis atque dilalandis, una cum uberrimorum indicum accessione, plurimum desudavit*, as his own words are (13). He died in 1607 (14).

*Francis Botewile*, alias *Thin*, Lancaster-Herald, made also many useful additions to these Chronicles; particularly with regard to the catalogues of the Archbishops of Canterbury, of the Nobility, and other important articles. T. Hearne styles him, a man of great learning and judgment, and a wonderful lover of Antiquities: *Virum cum summo in enio, tum acerrimo iudicio ornatum, admirabilique quodam ad Antiquitatem studio concitatum* (15).

Finally, they received several improvements from the hand of the industrious and well known Antiquary *John Stow*.

[F] Several sheets were castrated in the second and third volumes, undoubtedly because there were passages in them disagreeable to Queen Elizabeth and her Ministry.] These suppressed sheets go generally under the name of *Castrations to Hollinshed's Chronicle*; and having been reprinted some years ago, are sold by themselves to compleat gentlemen's books. They are chiefly some of the additions made by Fr. Thin. In the second volume, there are only four sheets suppressed, and that in the Annales of Scotland. The first is from page 421 to 424 inclusive; the second, from p. 433 to 436; and the third and fourth together, from p.

443 to 450. What they treat of, is the violent contention which subsisted in the year 1577, &c. between the two opposite parties in Scotland; and Queen Elizabeth's interfering therewith by her request Ambassadors. Points, which she did not care to have made public.—In the third volume, the castrations are much larger, being as follows. One sheet, from p. 1328 to 1331 inclusive; containing, part of a libel upon Cam-pian's execution; and a large account of the departure of the Duke of Alençon, and his reception in Holland. The next is of thirty nine sheets together, including four after p. 1491 that are in the common copies. And the chief contents of them are, A discourse of the Earls of Leicester by succession. The Earl of Leicester's proceedings in the Netherlands. The lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury b. Fr. Thun, in 16 sheets, chiefly taken from Mat. Parker's. [The honourable mention he makes there of Card Pole, was probably the cause of their suppression.] A treatise of the Lord Cobhams. The catalogue of the Lord-Wardens of the Cinque Ports, and Constables of Dover castle. A fuller account of Sir Henry and Sir Philip Sidney, and of Tho. Lovelace. Execution of Wm. Tomson and Richard Lea, Seminary Priests. Jone Cason, a pretended witch; executed at Feversham. A fuller account of the conspiracy of Babington and the rest; and of Sir Fr. Drake's return to England; with a description of Hispaniola, and some verses of Tho. Newton in his praise.—These castrations were made by order of the Privy Council, as is evident from some original papers of Abraham Fleming abovementioned, that were in the hands of the late Rev. Mr Francis Peck; and of which he gives this account at the end of the first volume of his *Desiderata Curiosa*. '1. De Castratione Chronicorum, quæ Raphaelis Holingshedi nuncupatur; & imprimis de eorundem Censuris, quando Roberto Comiti Leicestræ, D. Thomæ Bromley, Cancellario, & D. Gul. Cecil, Thesaurario, oblata; prout ea omnia Camdenus Flemingo retulit. 2. Censuræ aliæ diversorum hominum malevolentium, seu nimium subtilium, in eadem Chronica; cum responsionibus Abrahami Flemingi. 3. The Council's Letter to Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury, touching the Examination and Reformation of the Additions of the new Edition of Hollingshed's Chronicle, Thursday 1 Feb. 1586. 4. Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to Thomas Randolph, Henry Killigrew, Esqrs. and Mr Hammond, touching the Examination and Reformation of the Additions to the new Edition of Hollingshed's Chronicle, on Thursday 1 Feb. 1588. 5. Abrahami Flemingi (qui præerat Typis & Prælo) de modo castrandi reformatique Chronica prædicta, brevis & vera relatio.'

[G] But it appears from his Will, &c.] It was first communicated to the Public by the industrious Mr Hearne (16); and we shall give it at length here, because it confirms the account we have given of our author. 'In the name of God Amen. I Raphael Hollinshed of Bromecote in the county of Warr' ordaine and make my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following: First, I bequeath my sinfull soule to Almighty God, the creator of me and all mankind, trusting that, by the merits and bloodshedding of his dearest son Jesus Christ, he will pardon me of all my offences, and place my said sinfull soule, washed and purged from the filth of sin, among the number of his Elect in the blis of heaven. Secondly, for my worldly goods, whatsoever the same be, wherein I have any property to give and bestow the same, I give and bequeath them, and every part and parcel of them, unto my master Thomas Burdett, of Bromcote aforesaid, Esq; making and constituting him my only and sole Executor. In witness whereof, I have written my last Will and Testament with mine own hand, and subscribed my name, and put to my seale, the first day of October, in the year of our Lord God a thousand five hundred seventy-eight.

Per me RAPHAEL HOLLYNSHED.

Prov'd Apr. 24. 1582.

C

HOLLAR

† Wood Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 311.

‖ See Notitia Parliamentaria, by Browne Willis, Esq; Vol. II. p. 272. and Hooker's Supplie of the Irish Chronicle, p. 121.

(10) Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 388.

(11) See Hollinshed's Chronicles, Vol. III. p. 1590.

(12) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. I. p. 519.

(13) Hollinshed, as above, p. 1590.

(14) Newcourt, ubi supra.

(15) Præfat. ad Camdeni Ann. ut supra, p. lxxiv.

(16) Præf. ad Camdeni Ann. ut supra, p. cxlix.



HOLLAR [WENTZEL, or] WENCESLAUS, as he wrote himself, and as he is generally written; one of the most indefatigable, admired, and famous Engravers, in Germany, Holland, and England, for above fifty years in the last century. He was descended of a genteel family in Bohemia, and born in the city of Prague in that kingdom, anno 1607, as we have it testified under his own hand (a). After some competent qualification in scholastic learning, he was put forth to the practice of the Law; but his mild disposition not relishing that dry, wrangling, and intricate profession, together with the troubles and tumults that, invading the place of his nativity, rendered it the calamitous seat of war, soon disengaged him from his clerkship; and the unfortunate adherence of his friends and relations to that party which opposed the imperial interest, subjecting them to plunder and ruin in the battle of Prague, which was fought in the year 1619 (b), they were deprived of the means to make such provision for him as had been proposed. Hereupon, having a great command of his pen, and following the propensity of his own genius, though not much to the approbation of his friends, he removed from Prague in 1627; and during his abode in several towns in Germany, applied himself to drawing and designing; to copying the pictures of several great artists, taking geometrical and perspective views and draughts of cities, towns, and countries, by land and water; wherein at length, he grew so excellent, especially for his landskips in miniature, as not to be excelled in beauty and delicacy by any artist of his time. He had some regular instruction, and was, for a while, under the discipline of Matthew Merian, who was eminent for his useful and numerous sculptures of towns, landskips, and battles, especially those of his own prince, the famous Gustavus Adolphus; and we are particularly informed, that the soft varnish, and separating aqua fortis, were the materials he used upon his plates (c). Hence may we account for the long, constant, and dexterous use thereof, also by Hollar himself, in his own innumerable performances. As experience improved him in the art, it might also in the choice and management of his materials for working in it; which have been thought so worthy of regard, that the whole process of his preparing his plates, or operation upon them, has been preserved, and since his death communicated to the public; which, for the satisfaction of the curious, is here subjoined [A]. He was but eighteen years

(a) In the inscriptions upon the print of his own head, etched by himself.

(b) The Life of Wen. Hollar, annexed to a Description of his Works, by Mr Geo. Vertue, Member of the Society of Antiquaries, Lond. 4to. 1745. P. 121.

(c) Sculptura: or the History of Chalcography, and graving in copper, by John Evelyn, Esq; 8vo. 1662. p. 71.

[A] Which, for the satisfaction of the curious, is here subjoined.] As we have this process in manuscript, agreeing totally in sense with that in print, but more correct in style, and retrenched of several superfluous expressions, we shall here give a transcript of the former, and refer to the latter for our authority.

Mr WENCESLAUS HOLLAR'S ground for etching in copper or brass; with his directions how to use it.

• Take three parts of virgin wax, one part of asphaltum, one part of the best mastick; if you will, you may take away some third part, or thereabouts of the asphalt, and put instead of it, as much rosin that is transparent and clear, which I hold to be better than asphaltum altogether; for this will make the ground too black; it is true you shall then better see your stroke when you work, but when you are to stop some things, which you would have faint, then you shall hardly see your work, by reason of the blackness of the asphalt, when the work doth appear black also; but the rosin will make the ground paler and transparent, through which you shall see what you do.

• Therefore, beat your asphalt and rosin to powder, as also the mastick, and mingle them well together; then put your wax into a clean-pipkin, where nothing hath been before, except such ground; set it over a gentle fire, and let it melt, 'till it begins to boil, then put the asphalt and the mastick into it; mingle altogether 'till they be well melted. Then take a porringer with some clean water, and pour that boiling ground into it, all but the dregs; and let it cool, so as you may work it into a ball, or what you will; then take a fine clean linen cloth double or treble folded, and put into it a piece of the ground, as big as a walnut or more, and tie it up, till you have occasion to use it.

• Now for the copper, that must be well polished, but though it be ever so well polished, you must (before you put the ground upon it) rub it over with a coal, which must be prepared thus, viz.

• Either burn some charcoal; and when it is well kindled, put it into cold water; that which sinks is the best, that which will swim is nought; and take heed that there be no outside or crust left on the coal, for that will make scratches; therefore it must be well scraped off with a knife: or burn billets of beech wood, (according to the former directions) those coals will be more gentle. And when you

have rubbed the copper with these coals, then pour clean water over it, and let the copper stand soaping 'till it be dry; then scrape some chalk upon the copper, and rub it off with a very clean rag. That done, there must nothing touch the copper 'till you put the ground on, which must be done thus:

• Put into a fire-pan some small-coal (for charcoal is too hot) lay down the copper over that, so as the fire may have air; then take your ground tied up in a linen rag and rub it up and down the copper, neither too thick nor too thin, but so as may sufficiently cover the plate, then take a feather of a duck's wing or some other bird that has stiff feathers, and spread the ground with it as smooth as possibly you can, first, all one way, then cross and cross again, 'till it be even to your eye, and take care all the while that your copper be not too hot; for so the moisture of the ground will be burned away, which will cause it to break in etching. Then let it cool, and grind some white lead with gum water, and as much gum as the quantity of a cherry stone, will serve for a piece of white lead as big as a nutmeg or more; but there must be so much water amongst it, that the white lead may freely quit your pencil, and spread over the plate; then you must have such a brush as the Painters use, the hair of which in compass may be about the bigness of a walnut or more, especially for your great plates; with that, sweep twice or thrice across over the plate, 'till it lies even; then you must have another pencil or brush bigger than the first, but smooth, made of squirrels tails; with that you may smooth gently the white, which you could not do with the other brush, and so let it dry.

• Then take the design after which you are to work, and scrape on the back side thereof some red chalk all over, and rub a soft piece of small-coal or charcoal over the red chalk, 'till both mingle together; then with a hard brush, or great pencil that is very stiff, rub it 'till all be fine and even, and so lay the design upon your copper; and with a blunt point of a needle draw the out-strokes; this done, take off your design and so go to work: but if you would preserve the print, or drawing, you would copy, from being soiled on the back side, you may rub over a piece of Venice paper with red chalk, according to the former directions, and so put your print on that, by which means your print will be kept clean.

• You must have commonly three or four sorts of needles, some bigger, and some smaller, which must be put into little sticks of the thickness of a pen, and on



years of age when the first specimens of his art appeared in print; and those who are connoisseurs in his works have observed, that he inscribed the earliest of them with only a cypher of four letters; which, as they explain it, was intended for the initials of *Wenceslaus Hollar, Pragensis, Excudit (d)*. Thus we have seen three of his first pieces marked; an *Ecce Homo*, in a small square, and a *Female Penitent* of the like size, both printed in the year 1625. Another small piece of his, of the *Virgin and her son*, with a Greek verse out of *St Luke*, was published, after *Albert Durer*, in the same year; and *Fortune* on a globe, &c. from the same master, with the like cypher, the next year: then taking spirit from the encouragement he met with, we see his other copy of the *Virgin and the infant under a tree*, after the same master again, printed the same year 1626, with his name written at length. Thus he went on, copying heads and portraits, sometimes from *Rhembrandt*, *Henzelman*, *Fœlix Biler*, and other eminent hands: but his little delicate views of *Straßburgh*, *Collen*, *Mentz*, *Bonn*, *Frankfort*, and many other towns along the *Rhine*, *Danube*, *Neccer*, &c. (e), got him so much reputation, that when *Thomas Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, was sent *Embassador* to the *Emperor Ferdinand the Second* in 1636, concerning the recovery of the *Palatinate*, that great encourager of arts, and collector of antiquities; curiosities, &c. was so highly pleased with the performances of this ingenious artist, that, by little other recommendation than their own merits, he was soon received into his *Lordship's* retinue, and bore him company through all the towns from *Collen* to the *Emperor's Court* at *Lentz*, also to *Vienna*, &c. where it was then observed, that the taste or fondness was grown so excessive in some persons for fair and beautiful flowers, that three hundred and forty pounds had been given once for one tulip root, as was attested to his *Lordship* by a credible gentleman, named *Sir Ferdinando Carey* (f); of whom this short but remarkable memorial is elsewhere recorded, that being an officer formerly at the siege of *Burgen op Zoom* by the *Marquis of Spinola*, and though an huge corpulent man, was shot through the body at the navel, without any mortal hurt, and the same ball killed his servant who stood behind him (g). In this progress also, *Hollar* made several draughts and prints of the places through which they travelled; as that view of *Wurtzburg*, under which is written, *Hollar deliniavit, in Legatione Arundeliana ad Imperatorem*. He then made also a curious large drawing, with the pen and pencil, of the city of *Prague*, in the same size with the print that was etched after it, in two large plates; which drawing, giving great satisfaction to his patron then upon the spot, is still in being (h). After the Earl had finished his negotiation in Germany, and been about nine months upon his embassy, he returned to the *English Court*, in the latter end of *December* the year aforesaid, as we are informed by the *Historian* of his journey, who attended upon, and returned with him (i); when *Hollar*, also arriving in his train, then made his first appearance in this nation. He seems not to have been at that time so entirely confined to his *Lordship's* service, but that he had liberty to accept of some employment from others; accordingly, we soon find his hand engaged by the *Printsellers*, &c. and *Peter Stent*, who was one of the most eminent among them in those times, prevailed upon him to make an ample view or prospect of and from the town of *Greenwich* in *Kent* to *London*, which he finished in two plates in 1637, the earliest date of his works in this kingdom. 'Tis almost incredible to believe, that his labours should have been so much admired, and so poorly rewarded; since we are informed, that he was paid for those very etchings, which are near a yard in length, but thirty shillings; when if the plates were as thick and weighty as he sometimes chose them to work on, the very copper would amount to that sum; and we are assured by a good judge of the art and pains bestowed upon them, that they were fairly worth five times the money he received for them (k). In the next year appeared also his elegant prospect about *Richmond*. In both those years, and the next year following, he finished several curious plates from the fine paintings, &c. in the *Arundelian Collection*, and some of them not improbably of that number which

(d) Mr Vertue's Description of the Works of W. Hollar, as above, p. 3.

(e) *Amenissimus al quot Locorum in diversis provinciis jacentium Effigies*, a W. H. delin. & sculp. Colon. Agrip. 1635.

(f) W. Crown's True Relation of the remarkable Places and Passages observed in the travels of Tho. Howard, Earl of Arundel, &c. Ambassador Extraordinary to Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, &c. 4to. Lond. 1637. p. 67.

(g) See the Familiar Letters of James Howel, Esq; 5th edition, 1678. p. 147. also 247.

(h) Preserved among the Collections of Dr Richard Rawlinson.

(i) W. Crown's Relation, &c. as before, p. ult.

(k) Mr Vertue's Life of Hollar, as before, p. 131.

(1) *Albert Durer* reviv'd: or, a Book of Drawing, Limning, Washing, or Colouring of Maps and Prints, and the Art of Painting; with the Names and Mixtures of Colours used by the Picture-Drawers; with directions how to paint pictures upon Glass, &c. printed by H. Hills for John Garrett, folio, 1685. p. 20.

' on the other end, a pencil to sweep off the ground that will rise up where you have wrought it away. To make the bluntest needles, you must rub them on the backside of a plate; the finest needles, you must whet gently on a fine whetstone, 'till they have a very small point; but let it not be too sharp, but blunted on a table-book leaf, or some such thing. And always when you leave your work, be sure not to let your plate stand open, but wrap it up in a paper: for the air in time will corrupt the ground, and take out the moisture from it, which will be prejudicial in etching, and subject to danger, especially in winter-time, when you commonly must keep a good fire while you work, otherwise your ground will leap away.

' When you are going to etch, take some green wax, melt it in a little pipkin, and with a pencil, cover all the four edges of the copper; then take more of the wax, and frame it into long flat slices in the shape of a ruler, but nothing so broad; lay them also along the edges which you had swept with your pencil; then you must have a little piece of pencil-stick, or some such thing, made sharp underneath the broad

' way, not point way; with the help of that, make your wax stick to the copper, still stopping it as you go along round about it. If the work be fine, take aqua-fortis of three pence the ounce, and qualify it with at least two parts of wine vinegar; but if the work be coarse, requiring much deepness, then you must take of the aqua-fortis alone; and from such places as you would have faint, you must pour the aqua-fortis off the plate, and put on in it's room only fair water, so let the plate stand 'till it be dry; which done, melt some candle-grease with a little of your ground, and stop such places, with a pencil dipped in that mixture, as you would have faint; then pour on your aqua-fortis again, as before, so often as occasion shall require. Then lay the copper on the fire 'till the ground melts, and wipe it off with a rag; then rub the plate with a little piece of a beaver hat dipped in oil; and so your plate is done (1). Then also follows, in this printed book, a Receipt to make hard varnish, for etching in aqua-fortis; but as it is not expressly appropriated to *Hollar*, we chuse rather to refer to it there, than recite it in this place.



which were presented to his Lord in his late embassy. In the midst of his working upon these pieces, arrived in London Mary de Medicis the Queen-Mother of France, to visit her daughter Henrietta Maria Queen of England; and she also had an Historian, who recorded the particulars of her journey and entry into this kingdom. His work, written in French, was printed in this city, and adorned with several portraits of the Royal Family; etched for the same, by the hand of Hollar (l). The same year that he finished these portraits, was published, his effigies of his patron the Earl of Arundel on horseback, as afterwards he etched another of him in armour, and several views of his country-seat at Albrough in Surry. In 1640, he seems to have been introduced into the service of the Royal Family, to give the Prince of Wales some taste and instruction in the art of designing; as may appear in a book, containing some draughts for that purpose, adorned with silver clasps, and mounted with the Prince's arms or badge engraved thereon, and some of Hollar's writing in it (m). This year appeared his beautiful set of figures in twenty-eight plates, containing the several habits of English women of all ranks or degrees (n): they are represented at full length, do signally testify the charming tenderness of his needle, and have rendered him very famous among the lovers of sculpture. It is intimated, and not improbably by himself, that either before the irruption of the civil wars, or at least before he was driven by them abroad, that he was in the service of the Duke of York (o). In 1641 were published his prints of King Charles and his Queen, and several after Vandyck's most capital portraits; and though he could not always imitate his graceful and masterly manner, especially in his larger or half sheet plates; yet, as other eminent artists have more failed in their imitation of this great master; as even some of his best pieces have been highly copied by Hollar, and by him only, the collectors of Vandyck's works in print are always glad of admitting Hollar's among them: and, 'To do justice to his memory (says Mr Vertue upon this head) some of his portraits may be observed to be truly well done, so far did he arrive to excel, from the smallest beginning, in the most difficult branch of that profession; which is, to express life and likeness; on which depends great application and study (p).' But now the civil wars being broke out, and his patron, the Earl of Arundel, leaving the kingdom about the latter end of this year, in his attendance upon the Queen and Princess Mary, who was to be espoused to William the young Prince of Orange, his Lordship embarked at Dover for Holland; and there taking leave of his native country, which he never saw after (q), Hollar was left to shift for himself. And now he went on with closer application, if possible, than ever; for indeed his whole life was a rare and most exemplary pattern, or rather prodigy, of industry. Now appeared in print many other parts of his works, after Holbein, Vandyck, &c. especially the portraits of several persons of quality of both sexes, Ministers of State, Commanders in the Army, learned and eminent authors, both in large and small prints; more especially another set or two of female habits in divers nations of Europe (r). These figures are less than those beforementioned of the English habits, and etched in threescore plates or more; besides many other habits afterwards of other kinds, not only of women but men, in the most eminent and considerable stations of life. In the year 1644, he published, besides several others beforementioned, two prints, said to be of his wife; by whom he had a son, whom he trained in his own art; and he proved a very promising genius, as may be seen in several of the pieces, partly graven by Mr Francis Place, who acquainted the worthy author of his father's life before quoted with this particular, as he has courteously informed us; and also that the said son, to the great grief of his parents, died at the age of about seventeen (s). Whether he grew obnoxious, and was molested as an adherent to his patron aforesaid, or as a malignant, for the honour he did to so many of the royal party, by his portraits of them, is not expressly said; but it seems, that he was driven to take shelter under the protection of one or more of them, 'till they were defeated, and he taken prisoner of war with them upon the surrendry of their garrison at Basing-house in Hampshire, which was on the 14th of October, 1645 (t): but Hollar making his escape, or otherwise obtaining his liberty, went over after the Earl of Arundel, who then, or rather lately, resided at Antwerp [B] with his family, and had transported thither his most valuable collection of pictures (u), &c. There Hollar also published several prints from the works of the greatest masters in that collection and others; but that climate not agreeing with the Earl's state of health, he had been advised to go to Italy, where he died at Venice in 1646. Hollar remained several years after chiefly at Antwerp, working, partly out of that collection, partly out of others, for Printfellers, Booksellers, and publishers of his works; but seems to have cultivated no interest among men of fortune and curiosity in the art, to dispose of them by subscription, or otherwise most to his advantage. In 1647 and 1648, he etched eight or ten of the Painters heads with

(l) Histoire de l'Entrée de la Reine Mere du Roy Tres-Chrestien, dans la Grande Bretagne: Enrichie de Planches. Par le Sieur de la Serre, Historiographe de France, fol. a Londres, 1639.

(m) Prince Charles his Drawing-Book; in the Harleian Library.

(n) Entitled, Ornatus Muliebris Anglican. &c.

(o) Inscript. under his own portrait, etched by himself, in the Collection entitled, Image de divers Hommes D'esprit sublime, qui par leur Art & Science debuyent vivre eternellement, &c. par J. Meyssens, fol. a Anvers, 1649.

(p) In the Life of W. Hollar, as before, p. 125.

(q) See a View of the Life and Actions of Thomas Earl of Arundel, in Sir Edward Walker's Historical Discourses, folio, 1705. p. 220.

(r) Entitled, Theatrum Mulierum: five, Varietas atque Differentia Habituum Fœminæ Sexus diversorum Europæ Nationum hodiernæ Tempore, vulgo in usu, pars prima, Lond. 1642. The other, whether partly the same, or a'l various, is entitled, Aula Veneris: five, Varietas Fœmini Sexus diversorum Europæ Nationum different. Habituum, ut sunt apud illas nunc usitati, Lond. 1644.

(s) See the Life of Hollar, &c. p. 134.

(t) Sir George Wharton's Gesta Britannorum, &c. 8vo. 1662. p. 22.

(u) The Life of Hollar, p. 146.

[B] Making his escape, &c. he went over to Antwerp.] A fuller account of this circumstance is delivered to us in these words, from the information of a late noted Antiquary, who was acquainted with Hollar. 'As his good fortune depended much upon his noble patron, so the misfortune of the King's friends the Loyalists, in those civil wars, or grand rebellion, tossed Hollar about with the loyal party; and when distraction ran so high, that it drove the Earl of

Arundel out of England into Flanders, his houses here and estates being plundered or destroyed, poor Hollar being left behind, tried in some way the fortune of war, by entering under the command of the noble Marquis of Winchester, and Colonel Robert Peake \*, at Basing-house in Hampshire; there he was made prisoner of war; but made his escape from hence, and went over to Antwerp to his patron the Earl of Arundel (2).'

\* Who had been a Painter, and dealt with, for pictures by some of the Royal Family.

(2) Mr Vertue's Life of Hollar, &c. as before, p. 126.

[C] Hereunto



with his own, in Myffen's book of portraits before referred to; besides various other curious pieces then likewise, as the picture of King Charles I. soon after his death, with several of the Royalists; and also, in the three following years, many portraits and land-skips, after Breughil, Elsheimer, and Teniers, with the triumphs of death, besides divers others of the most delicate and admired part of his works, from the most celebrated paintings (w): he etched also King Charles II. standing, with emblems, and afterwards published a print of James Duke of York, his young master, ætat. 18, anno 1651, from a picture drawn of him, when he was in Flanders, by Teniers. He was more punctual in his dates than most other engravers, which has given very obliging lights and directions, both to the more regular narrative of his own personal history and performances, and those of many others. But at last, either not meeting with encouragement enough to engage his residing longer abroad, or by the intelligence of several magnificent and costly works, proposed or preparing in England, wherein his ornamental hand might be employed more unrivalled, and more to his benefit, he was invited to return hither in the year 1652. After which time, some foreign writers seem to have known no more of him; though it is well known to us, that he since then performed many of the most considerable or instructive and elaborate of his publications, some of which he wrought while he lived with Mr William Faithorne, another famous engraver, of our own country, near Temple-bar, in 1654 (x). But though he was an artist of genius and assiduity superior to most others, yet had he the fate, harder than many others of them, to work here as he had done abroad, still in continual subordination, and more to the profit of others than his own; his grinding publishers only (y), reaping plenty from his most laborious and fruitful hand. The liberality of his labour has been reported by a descendant of one of those publishers to have so grown upon him, notwithstanding his penurious pay, that he contracted a voluntary affection to his extraordinary toil, even to the setting almost two thirds of his whole time at it, and would not be diverted or disengaged 'till his hour-glass had run to the last moment proposed. Thus he went on for many years in full business, ever making art a rival to nature, or absent persons, places, and things, present; restoring to our memory, objects long forgotten, and producing those far distant from our sight before our eyes; scarcely so much imitating as multiplying originals; reviving the dead, and making the living, if we may not say more populous, more popular we may well say: and this, in relation to mankind, the chief and noblest of those objects, not under the restraint of his talents to any partial representations; for art and ingenuity, learning and knowledge, valour and virtue, with him were of no party; and nothing, at his powerful summons to appearance, could make resistance. Thus went he on, I say, though with profit or reward much inferior to his reputation or deserts, 'till the restoration of Monarchy brought home many of his friends, and him into fresh views of employment. We hear of no exception taken to any part of the pains he bestowed, during the interregnum, upon any of the heads of the predominant party; the rather, perhaps, as he was under the influence and employment of others; besides, such a public display as might then be taken to their honour, might now appear to their exposure; as the list of those who were concerned in the King's tryal and death, is always revived by the Royalists to stigmatize their memory with infamy. It was but two years after that memorable epocha, that the learned and ingenious Mr Evelyn published his curious and intelligent History of Engraving before-cited; in which he has left upon record such an encomium of Hollar, as were it not hereunto annexed [C], might be accounted an unpardonable deficiency. Some of the first things

(w) Id. p. 123.

(x) Ibid. p. 137.

(y) Peter Stent,  
John Overton,  
&c.

[C] Hereunto annexed.] The encomium that author has given of this Engraver is as follows, 'Wenceslaus Hollar, a gentleman of Bohemia, comes in the next place; not that he is not before most of the rest for his choice and great industry, for we rank them very promiscuously, both as to time and preeminence, but to bring up the rear of the Germans with a deserving person, whose indefatigable works in aqua-fortis do infinitely recommend themselves, by the excellent choice which he hath made of the rare things furnished out of the Arundelian collection; and from most of the best hands and designs; for such were those of Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Parmen-  
' fis, Titian, Julio Romano, A. Mantegnio, Corregio, Perino del Vago, Raph. d'Urbino, Seb. del Piombo, Palma, Alb. Durer, Hans Holbein, Vandyck, Rubens, Breugel, Bassan, Elsheimer, Brower, Artois, and divers other masters of prime note, whose drawings and paintings he hath faithfully copied; besides several books of land-skips, towns, solemnities, histories, heads, beasts, fowls, insects, vessels, and other signal pieces; not omitting what he hath etched after De Cleyn, Streater, and Dankers, for Sir Robert Stapleton's Juvenal, Mr (Tho.) Rofs's Silius, the *Polyglotta Biblia*, the *Monasticon*, first and second part, Mr Dugdale's Paul's and Survey of Warwickshire, with other innumerable frontispieces and things by him published, and done after the life; and to be, *eo nomine*, more valued and esteemed, than where

' there has been more curiosity about chimera's, and  
' things which are not in nature: so that of Mr Hollar's works we may justly pronounce, *there is not a more useful and instructive collection to be made* (3). In a further part of his work, the same author recommends, for the improvement of our engravers in this instructive and delightful art, the copying and publishing the best pieces in the collections of our nobility and gentry, as what would bring them into a good manner of designing, and render our nation famous abroad: ' Especially (adds he) if, joined to this, such as exceed in the talent, would entertain us with more land-skips and views of the environs, approaches, and prospects, of our nobly situated metropolis, Greenwich, Windsor, and other parts upon the goodly Thames, in which Mr Hollar has so worthily merited, and other countries abound with, to the immense refreshment of the curious, and honour of the industrious artist: and such, we further wish, might now and then be encouraged to travel into the Levantine parts, the Indies, East and West; from whose hands we might hope to receive innumerable and true designs, drawn after the life, of those surprising land-skips, memorable places, cities, isles, trees, plants, flowers, and animals, &c. which are now so lamely and so wretchedly presented and obtruded upon us by the ignorant, and for want of abilities to reform them (4). To this judgment of Mr Evelyn's, of Hollar's merits, there is little need to add that of another author, who pronounces

(3) Mr Evelyn's  
History of En-  
graving in Cop-  
per, &c. as a-  
bove, p. 81, 82.(4) Idem, p.  
100, 101.



things he performed after the Restoration were, a map of Jerusalem, the Jewish sacrifice in Solomon's temple; maps of England, Middlesex, &c. views of St George's chapel at Windsor, the gate of St John of Jerusalem near London, and many animals, fruits, flowers, insects, &c. after Francis Barlow and others; besides many heads of nobles, bishops, judges, &c. several prospects about London, especially this metropolis itself, as well before the general conflagration, as after its ruin and rebuilding; though when those deplorable interruptions and discouragements of all arts broke out, in the fatal Plague, anno 1665, and the Fire of London in the following year, these public calamities must have very much stagnated all arts of this kind, and are thought to have reduced him to such difficulties as he could never afterwards clearly overcome (2). Yet a number of his prints do appear, beyond all expectation, in these times, and even 'till he was sent over to Tangier in Africa, in the quality of his Majesty's Designer, to take the various prospects there of the town, garrison, fortifications, and the circumjacent views of the country. We are told that he accompanied the Lord Henry Howard, who was the Governor; and many of his drawings upon the spot, dated 1669, still preserved by a very worthy possessor (a), were, within three or four years after, made public in several prints; upon some whereof Hollar styles himself *Scenographus Regis*. It is further recorded, upon the authority, as we are informed, of a person who was acquainted with him, that, in their return home, Hollar narrowly escaped being killed, or taken prisoner by a Turkish rover the same year, in a fight that happened between the ship named the Mary Rose, in which he was, and seven Algerine men of war; yet after all his travels and labours, all his preferment, performances, and time spent in this service, with the hazard of his life in a storm, and by the enemy, he got no other recompence than barely one hundred pounds (b). Hollar engraved also a print of this engagement, and it was published the next year, with a narrative thereof, printed at the letter-press under it; which, for the better understanding of the danger he was in, is more succinctly related in the note below [D]. After his return into England, he was variously employed in finishing his views of Tangier for publication, and taking several draughts at and about Windsor in 1671, with many representations in honour of the Knights of the Garter\*. About the year 1672 he travelled northward, and drew several views of Lincoln, Southwell, Newark, and York-Minster. In 1673, a continuation of many ruins he had before published from Sebastian Vranck; and, except some other views, as those about Plymouth, &c. most of the remainder of his time was engaged in etching of towns, castles, churches, and their fenestral figures, arms, &c. besides tombs, monumental effigies, with their inscriptions, and also many beautiful prospects, to embellish some historical and topographical works now publishing, as he had before done for others, in such numbers, as would make the whole endless to enumerate [E]. He appears not to have had much assistance in his operations, not only from the uniformity,

(2) Life of Hollar, p. 131.

(a) Being in the Library of Sir Elias Sloane, Bart.

(b) Life of Hollar, p. 132.

\* See them in the Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies, of the most noble Order of the Garter, by Elias Ashmole, Esq; Windsor-Herald, fol. 1672.

(5) The Excellencies of the Pen and Pencil, 8vo. 1668.

(6) Cabinet des Singularitez D'Architecture, Peinture, Sculpture, & Gravure, &c. Par Florent Le Comte, Sculpteur, Peintre, &c. tome troisieme, a Bruxelles, 8vo. 1702. p. 357.

pronounces him the greatest artist of his time in aquafortis (5); but shall conclude upon this head, with the substance, or abstract of a character given him by a French author, who was himself both a Painter and Engraver; where he says, *C'est un de ceux, de qui nous voyons le plus de pieces*, &c. 'This is one of those artists, of whose prints we behold the greatest number, as well invented as graven, upon all sorts of subjects; and after the most excellent masters. He has given us many enchanting prospects, several of them after P. and J. Breughel, J. Wildens, and A. Esheimer; and has even reformed the taste or style of graving, in those which he has made after J. Van Artois, being much after the manner of Morin. The public is indebted to him for every beautiful scrap that he has etched, as well at Antwerp as in England, after the originals preserved in the Earl of Arundel's house, as well in historical pieces as portraitures, from the year 1632 to 1650, &c. (6)' The former of which dates may be rectified from what has been before observed.

[D] More succinctly related in the note below.] This encounter is entitled, *A true Relation of Captain Kempthorn's Engagement in the Mary Rose with seven Algerine Men of War*; and the substance of it is briefly as follows. 'In the beginning of December, 1669, the Lord-Ambassador, Henry Howard, having obtained letters of security from Taffaletta Emperor of Barbary, resolved to pursue his journey to his court, and ordered his baggage, with most of his retinue, to be embarked in the Mary-Rose, which had transported him from England; purposing himself, and some fifteen of his attendants, to go by land, and the ship by sea, to Sallee; so the ship set sail along the shore of Barbary on Wednesday the 8th of that month; and beyond Arzil it took an English vessel that had been taken by an Alger man of war; but it so retarded their voyage, that they arrived not at Sallee 'till Saturday noon. There they were accosted by a brigantine, with English colours, belonging to Tangier; by which they were

admonished not to land, but rather receive aboard all the English who were ashore, with their effects, the state of affairs at Tangier, since their departure, being much altered. They tarried there 'till Monday; and then, not getting any body on board, were storm-beaten far at sea. On the 18th they discovered seven Turkish men of war, off from La Rotta, on the Spanish coast, and there ensued an hot engagement between them; the said English Captain having, besides his own ordinary ship's crew, above seventy land-soldiers of Tangier, and about forty of the Ambassador's retinue, in all above 250 men. But after the English Captain had received five broadsides, besides their small shot, and returned them as briskly as he could, the Turkish Admiral, just as he was about to board him, receiving a shot between wind and water, and another, which tore his main-sail from end to end, was so disabled, that with his fleet he was forced to sheer off, though the English ship had eleven men killed in her, seventeen wounded, and was herself very much shattered. The next day in the evening they arrived in the bay of Cadiz, being the 30th of December, St. Vet. 1669 (7).

[E] Would make the whole endless to enumerate.] Indeed, from such an universal genius or taste to all objects, such continual application, and such an expeditious hand as he had, 'tis questionable, if he were alive, whether he could himself enumerate the productions of it. If Michael de Marolles, the Abbot of Villeloin, who in three years time collected fourscore thousand copper prints, by the year 1644, as a credible author before-cited informs us he did (8), from the Abbot's Memoirs of his own Life (9), had then among them the nine hundred fifty-nine of Hollar's etching, as it is asserted he some time had, in the Catalogue that was afterwards published of his Collection (10), we may well compute, not only from the labours that Hollar published after that great treasure was amassed, but from the vast diversity of his works still in being, that he must have published much above thrice that number:

(7) English Atlas, Tom. I. containing Africa, &c. collected, translated, and adorned, with maps, &c. by John Ogilby, Esq; Master of his Majesty's Revels in Ireland, fol. 1670. p. 219.

(8) Evelyn's Sculptura, p. 135.

(9) Memoires de M. de Marolles, contenant ce qu'il a Vu de plus remarquable en sa Vie, &c. fol. Paris, 1656.

(10) Catalogue des Livres estampes & de Figures en Taille douce, Paris, 8vo. 1667. Voyez aussi, Le Cabinet des Singularitez D'Architecture, Peint. Sculp. & Grav. Tom. III. p. 282.



uniformity, but superior labour; the fulness and closeness, the neatness and delicacy, in the generality of his workmanship; though he had several distant, or slight and loose copyists

number: or if we were only to compute of them from the many large volumes, of which the greatest collection extant consists, and the catalogue of particulars in these volumes now before us, which, though very concise, makes the greatest part of a moderate volume in quarto. To repeat such a catalogue in this place cannot be expected, because it would appear dry without a commentary, and with one would fill a volume: therefore, neither entirely to disappoint the curious, nor burden those readers who have but little curiosity in the art, we shall here mention such parts of his works in such manner as may give a reasonable idea of the whole, and refer to our said author's catalogue of them for the rest. This catalogue is divided into fourteen classes, as follow. I. Religious subjects. II. Histories, fables, and emblems. III. Maps, plans, views, and prospects. IV. Ships and sea-prospects. V. Leonardo da Vinci's, and other Italian masters. VI. Dutch designs and landships. VII. Various habits of nations and religions. VIII. Portraits, English and foreign. IX. Churches, monuments, cenotaphs, and coats of arms. X. Insects, flowers, and shells. XI. Animals, hunting, fishing, and boys. XII. Coins, medals, seals, vases, and cups. XIII. Seasons, muffs, fans, and swords. XIV. Frontispieces and titles of books. The whole concludes with a repertory or recapitulation of the whole, and another chapter of addenda. Out of all these, we shall here give an extract, only under three divisions. First, The heads and portraits of such persons as have been most eminent. Secondly, A Miscellany, the most comprehensive that we can, out of all the rest; therefore not so much of single prints, as those which were published in, or intended for, sets. And lastly, such of our larger printed books, as have been adorned with his sculptures. I. Besides his prints of the Royal Family, some of which are already mentioned, we have also several of their predecessors; and among them, one of the most curious pieces of English Antiquity, is, the portrait representing King Richard II. in his youth, at his devotion. 'Tis in two tables or half-sheet prints; the one represents him kneeling before his three Patron Saints, St John the Baptist, King Edmund, and Edward the Confessor; having a crown on his head, and robes, adorned with harts and broom-cods, in allusion to his mother's arms, and his own name of *Plantagenista*; thus he is praying to the Virgin Mary with the Infant in her arms: On the other table, surrounded with Christian virtues, in the shape of angels, with collars of broom-cods about their necks, and white harts pendant at their bosoms; one holds up a banner of the cross before them; the ground is strewn with lilies and roses, and verses at the bottom, composed by Henry Peacham, explaining the whole picture. It is expressed at top to be etched from an original painting in colours; was then dedicated to King Charles I. in 1639, and the said original tables or pictures, about eighteen inches high, are now in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke (11). Among the heads he etched out of the Arundelian collection, after Hans Holbein, are those of King Henry VIII. in 1647. Mary Queen of France, and Princess Mary, the same year; Queen Jane the next year; and Queen Anne Bolen the year after. The Lord Denny, Sir Henry Guldeford, and his lady. Dr Chambers, ætat. 88. Mr Morett, the King's Jeweller, and Hans Van Zurich, Goldsmith, both etched in 1647. Anne of Cleve, in 1648. Henry Howard Earl of Surrey: Hans Holbein himself, from a painting by himself, in a circle (ætat. 45. anno 1543). Albert Durer, senior and junior. Pietro Aretino, from Titian, a fine, bold, and lively head, in 1647: another of him in profile, 1649. La Bella Laura, after Palma, 1650. Raphael D'Urbini, 1651. Martin Luther (nat. 1483, ob. 1546). Sir Thomas Chaloner (ætat. 28, 1548), &c. Also these, among many others, after Vandyck, besides his patron the Earl of Arundel, in some pieces partly beforementioned, and the Lady Alatheia his Countess; the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud in 1640. Also, Algernoon Earl of Northumberland, Sir Peter-Paul Rubens; Vandyck himself, after a draught of his own, 1644. And Margaret Lemon, said to be his mistress, with an encomium in French verses at bottom. Also Mark Gerard the Painter, in the year last mentioned. Inigo Jones the Architect, Jerom Lord Weston, Earl of

Portland, in 1645. Charles Lodowick, Count Palatine 1646: and several ladies. Franciscus Junius, ætat. 49. About forty heads of the Nobility, and Members of Parliament, in small ovals; some Royalists, others Republicans: Prince Rupert, William Earl of Newcastle, Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury: Robert Devereux Earl of Essex, Robert Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Fairfax, 1648. Also Alexander Henderson, with English verses at bottom; Dr Bailewick, William Prynne, Hen. Burton, Dr Leighton, and John Lilburne, with inscriptions under them, expressing their severe sufferings by sentence of the Star-Chamber court, for exclaiming against the Popish clergy: the Judges, Crook, Barkley, Hutton, Clench, Heath, and Crew: Archbishop Spotswood, Arthur Lake Bishop of Bath, 1640. Lancelot Andrews Bishop of Winton, 1647. John Overal Bishop of Norwich, 1657. Robert Sanderson Bishop of Lincoln, 1668. A head of the Lord Bacon with the Great Seal, his monumental effigies at St Alban's, 1650. Mr Oughtred, ætat. 73. Tho. Hobbes the Philosopher of Malmesbury, W. Dugdale the Antiquary, 1656. John Tradescant, father and son, the two Virtuosi of Lambeth, the same year. James Harrington, 1658; Elias Allen the Mathematician, 1666: also, to pass over many others, some remarkable persons; as the twin birth seen at Colen, the year before Hollar came into England, being the man who had his brother growing out of his side; also Francis Battalia the Italian youth, with a dish of stones in one hand, which he fed upon or swallowed (12); and Blaife de Manfre, with water spouting out at his ear, &c. Under the II. division, besides the sets of habits, domestic and foreign, already mentioned, we have many little sets more of small dresses, of men as well as women, in circles, ovals, and squares, to the number of near two hundred. Among the religious subjects, six days of the Creation, in two sets; his small scripture stories, beginning at Adam and Eve, thirty-six of them; cuts for the Common-Prayer, eighteen; others after Stella and Palma, in number eight; twelve others of the New-Testament; and a smaller size, in twenty-four cuts, as some foreigners reckon (13) now very scarce, representing Christ's Passion, after Holbein; wherein the Pope, with his Bishops, Monks, and Friars, are exposed as the persecutors of Christ, with four English verses at the bottom of each: but it is modestly intimated, in a reflection upon this work, that the Ecclesiastics were not his executioners, by a French author before quoted (14). Though some have doubted whether these pieces were designed by Holbein, because his name is inscribed but on one of them, or whether etched by Hollar, because his name appears not at all, nor the time when done; yet there might be good reason for such reservation; and those who are well acquainted with his works, have made no doubt to admit them of the number, as thinking themselves doubly guided against mistaking another artist's for his, because his hand is as well known by his writing as his etching. A more noted collection is that which is called *Holbein's Death's Dance*, through the various states or conditions of life, in thirty small square prints: *Abr. Diepenbeck inv.* with ornamental borders; another set without borders, and four Latin verses at bottom. The holy reliques at Aix la Chapelle, on a sheet in twenty-nine compartments, &c. Among his histories, &c. the print of Seleucus, beholding his rigid law against Adultery executed upon his own son, after Julio Romano, with verses under it by Henry Peacham, is reckoned an excellent piece. The views of the disposition of King Charles's army at the Leaguer in the North, on his march to Scotland, in 1639, in several sheets. The form of Archbishop Laud's trial, and the Earl of Strafford's, with the manner of his execution, in three sheets. The funeral solemnities of M. Jean Baptiste de Tassis, in 1645. The fire-works near Stockholm, at the investiture of Charles King of Sweden, with the Order of the Garter. Many fables and emblems, in the smaller size, after A. Elsheimer, Corn. Schut, &c. and about twelve of the emblems, devised from several sentences in Horace, by Otho Venius (15). His five sets of the seasons, in half lengths, full lengths, &c. in twenty plates. A set or two of the seasons. A set of the months; sets of the alphabet, some with emblems, &c. Among his prospects, &c. there are between fif-

(12) See the British Librarian, 8vo. 1738. p. 368. from Dr John Bulwer's *Anirepo-Metamorphosis, or Artificial Change-ling*, 4to. 1653. scene 18.

(13) Cabinet des Singularitez D'Archit. Peint. &c. Tom. III. p. 358.

(14) Idem ibid.

(15) Vide Emblemata Horatiana Imaginibus in Æt. incis. notisque illustrata; Studio Othonis Væni, 4to. Antv. 1607, &c.

(11) Description of Hollar's Works, p. 4. See also, in the Register of the Order of the Garter, by John Anstis, Esq; &c. Some further Remarks upon these two observable prints, fol. 1724. Tom. I. f. 112, 113, &c.



pylists after him. Some were indeed his scholars or disciples; but their hands are very distinguishable in those few plates wherein their labours were united, or those pieces which they published in imitation of his; as may be seen in the works of Dudley, F. Carter, D. King, and R. Gaywood; which last, in some samples, approached the nearest of them to his master, and had most right, after his death, to inscribe himself his *Quondam Disciple*. F. Place and P. Tempest received also instructions under him, and might lend him a hand in some of his pieces that were most in haste, especially now in his declining age. But though few artists were able to imitate his works, many lovers of the art, both abroad and at home, have, from his time to ours, discovered a peculiar fondness, and even emulation, in collecting them [F]. And though they were liberal in the purchase of his performances,

teen and twenty maps, plans, and views of the city of London both before and after the fire; one whereof is two yards and a half long, from Westminster to beyond St Katherine's, with Latin verses at bottom, by Edward Bendlowes, Esq; dedicated to Queen Henrietta-Maria and William Prince of Orange, and sold at Amsterdam, by Corn. Danckers, 1647. Besides many other parts of the city and suburbs; as the Royal-Exchange, Tower, St Mary Over's church, Covent-garden piazza, Whitehall, Westminster-hall, Lambeth, and abundance of the environs. Six small prospects of the Isle of Man, in compartments about the map of it. Four prospects of Elizabeth-castle in the Isle of Jersey, five of Dover, three of Plymouth, six of Albury, fifteen of Tangier. Prospects of Oxford, Cambridge, Canterbury, &c. Map of Great-Britain, England and Wales, in six sheets; another in one sheet, with views about it of thirty principal cities therein. Ireland, Middlesex, Surrey, and other counties. Several of Holland, Germany, Denmark, Candia, Italy, Africa, America, &c. and perhaps more views in some of those countries than in our own, at least more than can be here recited. Among his sea-prospects, we have his *navium variae figurae & formae*, in twelve plates: nine storm-pieces: the sea-fights, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, against the Dutch, anno 1666, in seven sheets, &c. From Leonard da Vinci, and other Italian masters, *diversae probae* for learners. Twelve plates of monstrous or deformed heads, and antick faces. as also twenty-three more, after F. Place. Several plates of Cupids, after Julio Romano: a drawing-book in ten plates; and land skips, abundance after P. Vanden Avont, especially his set of boys; Wildens, Jacques Van Artois, P. Pontius, D. Teniers, Aug. Braun, P. and J. Breughel, P. Brill, A. Elsheimer, &c. &c. As for his habits and portraits, we have touched upon them before. His churches, monuments, cenotaphs, and arms, will be found mostly in the books mentioned under the next head. Of his animals, wild and tame, hunting and fishing, with fowls, after Barlow, &c. we have several sets; also his flowers, fruits, plants, and trees, particularly the great hollow tree, thirty-six feet round, in Langley-park near Windsor; with a door in the trunk, and stairs within, up to the great turret at top, thirty-four feet about: and the stately yew-tree, in Ansley-park, with a bower at top, and a ladder to ascend it, &c. Of his insects, we have twenty-two plates; and his shells, in thirty-eight plates, are the scarcest of his works; they were some of his last performances out of the Arundelian collection, and several of them have letters of reference upon them, as if they were etched to explain some treatise upon this part of Natural History. His vases, wrought cups, seals, coins, and medals; also several ornaments of dress for men and women, as Holbein's rich designs of sword-hilts, for King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. are elegantly etched by him; also his fans, tippets, masks, and muffs, in about eight plates, all delicately executed, and very much admired. III. and lastly, if the sculptures only which he etched, to adorn so many pompous and costly printed books as we meet with, published in his time, were to be particularly described, this part of his works alone were sufficient to gain him a superior character of genius and industry, and give him a preeminence above many artists of no slender reputation for both; and this observation was soon confirmed, by only turning over those volumes; some whereof have been already mentioned, others not: as, the entry of Queen Mary of Medicis (16). The three elaborate volumes of the Monasticon, by Mr Dodsworth and Dugdale, at several times published (17). He also etched about forty-five prints in Mr John Ogilby's Virgil, in the years 1652, 1654, &c. (18), so highly to his reputation, that they were preferred, not

only for Ogilby's Latin edition of that poet (19), which volumes, in both languages, were then justly accounted the most beautiful productions, for paper, print, and sculpture, of the English press; but the same plates were also chosen to supply the Louvre edition of this poet; and lastly, for Mr Dryden's translation of him (20), the arms, and inscriptions at bottom, being changed. Some of his works also appear in Sir Henry Spelman's *Aspilogia* (21); and in Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, there are reckoned to the number of near fourscore prints of his doing (22), many of them with great pains and accuracy. He was, not improbably, at the author's seat, at least a considerable time in that county, while he was at work upon them. In the learned Dr Brian Walton's Polyglot Bible, there are some elaborate proofs of his art (23); and Dugdale's *History of St Paul's Cathedral* is adorned throughout with abundance of sepulchres, effigies, busto's, arms, epitaphs, inscriptions, prospects, and perspective views, within and without the cathedral, by his artful and unwearied hand (24). In Ogilby's Translation of Homer, there are some plates of his etching, after Fra. Clein (25). In Sir Robert Stapleton's Translation of Juvenal, his set of cuts, after E. Streeter, J. Danckers, and F. Barlow, etched in 1658, were two years after published (26). There is also, as we remember, some of his work in that beautiful large Bible, at least some copies of it, which was printed by J. Field at Cambridge the same year (27); and in the grand ceremony of the King's cavalcade, or procession to his coronation, published by Mr Ogilby the next year (28). The translation of Silius Italicus his poem, on the second Punic war, between Hannibal and the Romans, by Tho. Ross, Esq; is also embellished by his hand (29). In Mr Ogilby's poetical version of Æsop's Fables, there are near three-score plates that he has etched, some of them very accurately; to which is joined, the story of the Ephesian Matron, verified also by the said editor, from Petronius Arbiter, &c. and represented in ten plates by Hollar (30). In Sir William Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, there are many plates performed by him, of the antient arms of our most eminent Lawyers, from the fenestral paintings, &c. in the inns of court; also, some of the Judges heads, &c. beforementioned (31). Soon after appeared Mr Ashmole's curious book of the Order of the Garter, which is enriched with many delightful prospects, processions, interviews, combats, martial solemnities, habits, ornaments, arms, badges, &c (32). In Ogilby's Embassy from the East-India Company to China (33), there are some of our artist's pieces; and in that part of his Atlas, entitled his Britannia, others (34): but in Francis Sandford's Genealogical History of the Kings of England, there are many monuments, cenotaphs, effigies, seals, &c. etched by him, some in 1664, 1666, &c. though published later (35). And lastly, in Dr Robert Thoroton's Antiquities of Nottinghamshire, several views of towns, churches, country-seats of the nobility and gentry, monuments, inscriptions, &c. some unfinished, and most of them dated the same year he died (36). But if we were to mention all the books before which there appear heads, frontispieces, or title-pages, &c. of his doing, they would amount to a little library, at least three times the number of those already specified.

[F] Have discovered a peculiar fondness, and even emulation in collecting his works.] It is apparent that the painters, gravers, and operators in other arts bordering upon theirs, were the most early and constant collectors of his as well as other prints; and among Sir Peter Lely's vast collections, not only of paintings and drawings, but sculptures, which were valued, as we have read, at ten thousand pounds (37), there seems to have been some of Hollar's most finished and esteemed performances. Among private gentlemen,

(16) Fol. Lond. 1639.

(17) In folio, 1655, 1661, and 1673.

(18) Fol. 1654.

(19) Fol. 1658.

(20) Fol. 1697.

(21) Fol. 1654.

(22) Fol. 1656.

(23) In six vols folio, 1657.

(24) Fol. 1658.

(25) The Iliad, fol. 1660. and Odyssey, 1665, 1669.

(26) Fol. 1660.

(27) Fol. idem.

(28) Fol. 1661.

(29) Fol. ibid.

(30) Two vols fol. 1665, 1668.

(31) Fol. 1672, &c.

(32) Fol. 1672.

(33) Fol. 1673.

(34) Fol. 1676.

(35) Fol. 1677.

(36) Fol. ibid.

(37) In a MS. Diary of Mr Beal's, husband to Mrs Mary Beal, the Face-Painter; in the Harleian library.



manes, the performer himself was so incompetently recompenced for them, that he could not now in his old age, with all his toils to the last, keep himself clear from the incumbrances of debt, and all those dispiriting, or, indeed, heart-breaking vexations, as they seem

men, Mr Evelyn, before quoted, was one of the first among us, that we can hear of who made a collection of copper prints, especially English heads; not so much for the bare entertainment and curiosity there is in such artful and beautiful imitations, or the less solid intelligence of the different modes, or habits and fashions of the times, as the more important direction and settlement of the ideas upon the true form and features of any worthy and famous person represented; and also the distinction of families, and men of superior merit in them, by their arms and mottoes, or emblematical allusions to their actions, writings, &c. the inscriptions of their titles of honour, preferments, and most signal services, or other observables; with the chronological particulars thereof, as well as of their birth, age, deaths, &c. and the short characters, or encomiums of them, often subjoined in verse or prose: besides the names of the painter, designer, graver, &c. and the dates also of their performance: whereby, a single print, when an artist is thoroughly apprehensive, or well advised, in what he is about, and will embrace the advantages or opportunities he may, to answer the expectations of the curious, in their various taste and enquiries, may become a rich and plenteous banquet, a full-spread table of choice and useful communications; not only most delightful to the eye, but most instructive to the mind: and so, a collection may be made, one of the most compendious helps to many sciences, or rather, according to the project and practice of the ingenious La Martelay, they are all most expeditiously to be learned by sculpture alone (38). Mr Evelyn was so famous, in the beginning of the civil wars, for one of the best collections that could be then made of this kind, that Hollar dedicates one of his portraits, as we remember of Sir Anthony Vandyck, to him, as an eminent or distinguished patron and promoter of such curious and comprehensive memorials. Mr Ashmole was also a cotemporary collector of copper prints; and besides what Hollar etched for him in his *Order of the Garter*, part of which he had, separately, in his volumes of processions, prospects, &c. he had also a large collection of English heads; among which probably, were many by the same hand, for some he had which were not incorporated in that collection of Hollar's doing which we have seen. And he had for several years such an appetite to collect all curious pieces of this kind, that he would often purchase a volume for the sake only of the face that was before it, which he would paste among the rest, and underwrite from whence it was taken (39), a practice which other collectors have since followed. But those volumes of prints, as well as the rest of Mr Ashmole's curious library, with all his other antiquities and curiosities, his old evidences, charters, pedigrees, seals, coins, medals, &c. which he had been above thirty years gathering, to assist him in the books he was writing, were all consumed at his chambers in the Middle-Temple, by the great fire that happened there, in January 1678 (40). Mr Samuel Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty, had also in his library of MSS. and printed books, a good collection of English heads; in which Hollar's made no ordinary figure; and among them one of his own, for he had two engraved by Robert White, significantly denoting his love of prints, by representing his picture in a picture, or his effigies in a paper print upon a copper-plate. But the late John Bridges, Esq; of Lincoln's-Inn; had in his copious and well-chosen library, a collection of Hollar's works alone, bound in four volumes folio, which were sold in the auction of his books after his death, for above an hundred pounds; a price that would not compass a quarter of his performances according to the Dutch valuation of them that we have seen. As for the collectors of them, more near our present times, many honourable and curious persons might be named. The Duke of Rutland has a very large collection of Hollar's in several volumes; Sir Hans Sloane bought a great volume of Hollar's works many years after his death of his widow, and he has since, as we heard, much increased them. Sir John Evelyn is possessed of his grandfather's ancient collection, and has also made some considerable additions to it. Sir Anthony Westcomb's collections of Hollar,

are likewise admired for being of the ancient and best impressions. The late General Dormer, and Brian Fairfax, Esq; had some choice pieces of his among their prints. Dr Mead and Mr Samuel Gale, are also remembered for their distinguishing taste of the art, in the preservation they have made of this artist's labours. And if the Hollars, in the possession of James West, Esq; are proportionable to the great number of other prints, especially English heads in his collection, they must fall little short of the most numerous assembly that has been made of them. But the crown of all, for the most complete collection of Hollar's works, is without dispute, that of the most noble preserver of every thing that could contribute to the promotion of literature, Edward, late Earl of Oxford. Among the vast treasures of sculpture in his most magnificent library, his Hollars appeared so conspicuous, that he appointed the prints and sets he had, to be selected, and spared for no enquiry or encouragement to make them perfect. Then he had them stuck upon the finest largest imperial paper, more or less upon a leaf, according as the sizes of them would permit, so had them bound in several spacious and splendid volumes of red Morocco leather, with the leaves gilt, and covers richly adorned with gold. He had thus bound up ten volumes before his death, which happened in the year 1741. And about a twelve month before, he had procured a considerable augmentation of them out of Holland. These, the worthy possessor of them, his Lordship's ingenious daughter, the present Duchess of Portland, directed to be digested, disposed of, and bound in the same size and manner, so that the whole collection is now in twelve volumes complete; and Mr Vertue's catalogue of them, to which we have, in this article, been much indebted, though very succinctly taken, makes fifteen sheets in quarto. It has been often wished that some other able hand, since the most able declines it, were to do the like justice to his performances, before delay increases the difficulty; that the titles of their works might be united with their names, and the memory of Hollar and Vertue survive together. In the next century, there may probably be as much enquiry after the labours of the one, as in this, of the other; and then it may possibly be known, that this omission lay not at the door of such a friend to the art, as may have been the first who promoted a public catalogue of our gravings, especially of English heads; and we hope that the uses which are manifest in the specimens that have appeared, especially of the late Mr John Nickols his collection, who was F. R. S. and Member of the Society of Antiquaries (41), will encourage others to proceed, and lay open this long concealed channel of knowledge, to the service and benefit of the curious. All that we have more to observe of the grand collection of Hollar's afore said, is, that in a spare leaf before one of the additional volumes which his Lordship, as we observed, procured from abroad, there was an encomium written in honour of the said celebrated artist, which we shall here give the reader in the original, with a translation thereof; as follows.

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit, & urbes,  
ITHACUS est digitis dignus, HOMERÆ, tuis:  
At mores hominum melior qui sculpsit, & urbes,  
Solut erit digitis gloria lausque fuis:  
Qui tantum vidit, cœcum tulit ille poetam;  
Qui sculpsit, propriis claruit ex oculis.  
Æternum vives, proprio tumultus in ære,  
HOLLARÆ; nec nōrunt hæc monumenta mori.

For towns, and fashions seen, by sea and land,  
ULYSSES got the praise of HOMER's hand;  
But who these towns in brass, and fashions fram'd,  
Needs only by his own hand to be fam'd.  
Blind poets serve to blaze the feats of fight,  
Whilst, HOLLAR, thou can'st shine by thy own  
light;  
Inshrin'd by thy own brass, then may'st thou lie,  
And live; such monuments can never die.

[G] Proposition

(38) Evelyn's  
Sculptura, p.  
139.

(39) Athen Ox-  
on. Vol. II. col.  
228.

(40) Item ibid.  
One MS. volume  
in folio, how-  
ever, escaped the  
flames; contain-  
ing the copies and  
draughts of many  
ancient evidences  
and seals; which  
was preserved in  
the Harleian li-  
brary.

(41) See a Cata-  
logue of English  
Heads: or an  
Account of about  
two thousand  
Prints, describing  
what is peculiar  
on each; as the  
names, title, or  
office, of the per-  
son; the habit,  
posture, age, or  
time when done;  
the name of the  
Painter, Graver,  
Scraper, &c.  
with some parti-  
culars of their  
Lives, published  
by Joseph Ames,  
F. R. S. and Se-  
cretary to the So-  
ciety of Antiqua-  
ries, 8vo. 1743.



seem to have been in his case, that attend it. Yet is it visible that he was variously and closely employed, to a very short time before his death. But as many of his plates are dated that year, in the very beginning whereof, as we are informed, he died, 'tis likely they were somewhat antedated by him, that the sculptures might appear of the same date with the book in which they are printed (c). Some of them appear unfinished; and one page, that is entirely blank, was left so, probably, for a plate that he was to have supplied (d). It may be but cold encouragement for the practitioners of such curious arts, to know that, while he was raising many a rich and royal mansion for the dead, he could scarcely be allowed a little homely one himself to die in; that he was forced to leave the sumptuous monument of steel, erected in St George's chapel at Windsor for King Edward IV. St Mary's church at Nottingham, with Mr Plumtre's hospital, besides other honourable and ornamental structures there, unfinished, because the rewards of all his diligence, now that he had reached to the verge of his seventieth year, were such and so insufficient, that they could not prevent the assault of an execution upon him, at his house in Gardiner's-lane Westminster; which probably hastened his end. He desired only the liberty of dying in his bed, and that he might not be removed to any other prison but his grave; which was in the New-Chapel church-yard, near the place of his death; and this his final removal, as it appears in the parish register of St Margaret's church in that city, was on the 28th day of March, 1677, being attended to his interment by some few of his acquaintance; one of whom, Mr Francis Place of York beforementioned, communicated these particulars to the author of his life (e), as we have been obligingly informed by him; whose generous proposition, to raise a decent monument over the place of his burial [G], is likely to wait 'till a more grateful age shall contribute to the accomplishment thereof. Thus died this rare pattern of perseverance in his profession; a man, who, though all his life so averse to all idleness and extravagance, has likewise left himself an example of exception against an often-confirmed maxim, and proved, that *Industry is not always the right hand of Fortune, nor Frugality the left.*

[G] *Proposition to raise a monument over the place of his burial.* The author of Hollar's life aforesaid, considering how ungrateful it was, that he, who had raised so many sumptuous monuments of great men, in the copies he has made of them, which will outlast the originals, should now so long after his death, of as many fail, who might raise some little memorial of that kind in honour of him, very generously designed a decent monumental stone to be erected over Hollar's grave, if his impression of the catalogue of his works, and the life of him annexed, should meet with a suitable encouragement; and for that purpose has given us a sculpture at the end of the said life, of the form he intended the same should be built in, with an inscription setting forth, where, and when he was born; how famous he became by his indefatigable labours; how much esteemed by the curious; and, after his peregrinations in many parts, was here deposited to rest in the year of our Lord, and of his age beforementioned.

ed. But no such monument being erected, we may presume there was no such encouragement, by the curious who have so esteemed him. After the said plate was thus inscribed, a friend of the author's sent him the following

#### EPITAPH UPON HOLLAR.

The Works of Nature, and of Men,  
By thee preserv'd, take life again;  
And e'en thy PRAGUE serenely shines  
Secure from Ravage in thy Lines:  
In just Return, this Marble fain  
Wou'd add some ages to thy name:  
Too frail alas! 'tis forc'd to own,  
Thy SHADOWS will outlast the STONE. G

(a) The particulars of this article are chiefly taken from a manuscript account of the Holles family Cavendish Holles,

HOLLES [JOHN], the first Earl of Clare (a) of his name, was descended from the cadet of an antient family [A], being the eldest son of Denzil Holles of Erby, Esq; by his

written by Gervase Holles, Esq; of Great-Grimby in Lincolnshire, now [1752] in the possession of the Right Honourable Henrietta Countess-Dowager of Oxford.

[A] *Descended from the cadet of an ancient family.* In order to trace this family to it's original, Mr Gervase Holles begins with the etymology of the name, which he finds written variously both in ancient and modern records; as Holish, Holes, Holeys, Hollis, Hollies, Hollis, and Hollys, but most frequently Holes (1) anciently; yet his grandfather and his father, always signed their names Hollys, though of late by all the family Holles, conforming in that to the first Earl of Clare. As to the etymology then, some who aver the original to be Holleys, will have the name to be French, and to sound as much as hault-lys, in the French pronunciation Holys, the high flower de lize. Others would have it to be Holyes, guessing it from the crest or *rebus*, which heretofore was used by the family, viz. the arm and hand holding a holly bush; but these seeming to be groundless fancies, that which my author most inclines to is (believing it to be truly written Holles), to signify as much as *concauitas*, hollowness; as Holland, Holcraft, &c. had likewise their denomination from the lowness or hollowiness of their situation, and with this he believes the name to be local, and first assumed from a manor called Holes or Holles in the county of Chester. There was a very ancient family of Holes in that county, denominated from the manor beforementioned; whereof Robert Holes was

Justice of Chester, anno. 1394, 20 R. II (2). He succeeded Robert de Veer, Duke of Ireland, Thomas Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Moubray, Earl of Nottingham, in that office. After him was Sir Hugh de Holles, Knt. a Judge in the King's-bench in the reigns of Hen. IV. & V. and was buried in the church of Watford in Hertfordshire, with this epitaph (3), as it was remaining in the last century.

*Hic Jacet Hugo de Holes Miles Justiciarius Banci  
Regis Tempore Regni—obiit—anno—1415.*

His wife is likewise entombed in the same church, with this epitaph (4).

*Hic jacet Margaretta quæ fuit Uxor Hugonis  
Holes—obiit 4 Die Martii 1416.*

Sir Wingfield Bodenham gave me (continues Mr Holles) the copy of a deed bearing date the last day of March, anno 16 R. II. 1392, whereby John Domville grants to Thomas de Holes his granchild and heir, the son of Margaret (his daughter and heir) his manor of Modberleigh [called now Mobberley] in the county of Chester, to which is appendant his arms, viz. *Azure a Lyon*

(1) Andreas Holles, Cancellarius Eccl. Sarum, makes his Will anno 1467, whereby it appears, that Lady Alianore Vernon, the Lady of Brereton, and the Lady Joan of Fouleshir, were his sisters. *Regist. Vocat. Godin. qu. 30 in Cur. Prærog. Cant.*

(2) Webb's Vale-Royal of England, p. 228.

(3) Weever's Fun. Mon. p. 591.

(4) Ibid.



his wife Eleanor, daughter of Edmund Lord Sheffield. He was born at Haughton in the county of Nottingham near the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign. From his childhood

(5) In 1742 this deed was in the possession of the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only daughter and heir of John Holles Duke of Newcastle, and Countess Dowager of Oxford.

(6) Efc. 3. H. V. Salop.

(7) Efc. 3. H. V. Heref.

(8) Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. X. p. 620.

(9) In the possession also of the Countess Dowager of Oxford, curiously painted with the effigies of the Earl of Clare, and the matches and arms of his ancestors.

(10) He goes no higher, because, as he observes, the Earl of Clare's descent is vouched by no record, which however is usual in the pedigrees in the Herald's office, where he met with it signed by the Earl's own hand. *Vid. Officin. Feclal. Nott. anno 1614.*

(11) Stowe, in his Survey of London, p. 582. is mistaken, in asserting that William Holles of London, and not Thomas Holles of Stoke in Warwickshire, was the father of Sir William Holles. Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 95. & Regist. de Guildhall, 3 H. VII.

(12) He died, aged 71, in the year 1542. A letter of the first Earl of Clare to Lord Burleigh, cited by Mr. Gervase Holles, ubi supra.

(13) Lime-street book of Freedom, fol. 1225.

(14) Records of Mercer's hall, communicated to Mr. Gervase Holles by Sir W. Dugdale.

(15) Stowe's Survey, p. 582.

(16) Regist. at Guildhall.

(17) In a Court-Roll of Irby in Lincolnshire, bearing date 8 Oct. 25 H. VIII. he is called only *Alderman*; and in a record, dated the last of that month and the same year, he is styled *Miles*. (18) Stowe, p. 582. and Regist. of Guildhall, 15 Mart. 1538, where are more particulars of his mayoralty; as also in Stowe, p. 182. b. and p. 27. a. and also Baker's Chron. Vita H. VIII. Hall's Chron. fol. 241 and 233. and Hollinshed, p. 948, 949, 950.

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that he left 200 l. for the building a cross at Coventry, which beautiful cross was begun that year, and finished in 1544 (19). He died in October 1542 (20) at his house in London, and was buried in the church of St Helen's, where there is a monument of grey marble still standing over him in the midst of the north isle, but the inscription is intirely effaced. His estate that he left to his three sons was very great. I believe, says our author, as great as ever Lord-Mayor had before him. In the time of H. VII. he had married Elizabeth, daughter of John [or Thomas] Scopeham, who died soon after him in London, March 13, 1543, and was buried at her own request in the same grave with her husband. By her will, among other things, it appears that she was the real foundress of those six alms houses in the parish of St Helen's, which, by Stowe (21) and others, are ascribed to Sir Andrew Judde, one of her executors. Sir William Holles had by her three sons, Thomas, William, and Francis, and a daughter Ann, who married John Whiddon, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's-bench, and it is said was the first judge who rode to Westminster-hall on a horse; the judges before his time riding on mules. Sir Thomas Holles eldest son of the Lord-Mayor, was a son of misfortune, and by his profuseness and improvidence the ruin both of himself and his posterity. His father left him a very fair estate, yet he lived to spend it all, and died in prison. But though the first branch withered, yet there remained a flourishing estate in the hands of the second, both to yield a present lustre and found a future greatness. This son William had left to him by his father, the manor of Haughton; with the moiety of the manors of Crumwell and Bafesford, and the advowson of the church of Crumwell, with lands in Gamelfton and Waleby in the county of Nottingham. The manor and advowson of the Church of Irby, with his other manors and lands in Castor, Cabourne, Cadney, Burgh in the Marsh, Moreton, Adlethorp, Winthorp, South Willingham, Nettleton cum Smythefield, Malton, and Whaplode in the county of Lincoln. The manors of Pingifton, Blackwell, Whitewell, and Crosswell, with the advowson of the church of Whitewell in com. Derb. And his lands and tenements in the parish of St Clement Danes, St Giles, St Pancras, and Kentish-town in the county of Middlesex; which lands in the county of Middlesex by the improvement and building upon them, yield his heir at this present [1658] (22) 3000 l. a year, and when the leases are expired, they may treble that value. Besides he had in his father's life-time the moiety of Denfel's estate with his wife (23), viz. on the partition the manors of Denfel alias Denysell, and Trenowith, with lands in Leving, Skilligorra, and Enesworgy in the county of Cornwall; and a little after his father's decease reverted to him (by the death of his younger brother Francis without issue, March 29, 33 H. VIII.) the manor of Yoxhall, with a good estate there in the county of Stafford. This Sir William Holles was born in London in the beginning of H. VIIIth's reign, and shortly after his father's decease, seated himself at Haughton in Nottinghamshire, a seat of the family of Long-Villiers, from whence through Maulovel it descended upon Stanhope. He was by King Edward VI. made one of the Knights of the Carpet February 22, two days after the coronation, all those then summoned being to be made Knights of the Bath; but for want of time the ceremonies were omitted \*. He was elected one of the Knights for the county of Nottingham, in the first year of Queen Mary; and was twice high-sheriff, the first time for Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and the second time (after the division of the counties) for Nottinghamshire alone, in the 14th of Queen Elizabeth. He kept both the shrivalties with great pomp, and appeared at the several assizes with a very numerous retinue (24), but chusing a country life, he never desired to represent the county again in Parliament. He died at Haughton, 18th of January 1590; he had lived in great hospitality, and always kept a company of stage-players of his own, which presented him with masques and plays at festival times and on days of solemnity (25). He left two sons; Denfil and Gervase (26), and a daughter Gertude; married to Walter Stanley of West-Bromwich in Staffordshire, a cadet of the illustrious house of the Earls of Derby. For the payment

(19) Dugdale's Warwickshire, p. 95. a.

(20) Cole's Efc. Lib. 2. 61 A. 13. p. 26 in Bibl. Harl. and the probate of his Will bears date Dec. 13, 1542. Regist. Spert. qu. 14. Stowe in his Survey, p. 179. b. fallily sets him down buried in 1540.

(21) Survey of London, p. 90 and 182.

(22) This account by Mr. Gervase Holles appears to be written in that year.

(23) Anne, eldest daughter and co-heir of John Denfel of Denfel in the county of Cornwall, Serjeant at Law, descended from a family of great antiquity, denominated from the manor of Denfel in the parish of St Mawgan, the place of their residence; after her death he married Jane, daughter of Sir Richard Grosvenor, whom he also survived, but had no issue by her.

\* N. B. John de Vere, 6th Earl of Oxford, with the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Hertford, and other noblemen, were then made Knights of the Bath; and being created with great royalty, were ordered to pay double fees to the Heralds. So Strype's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 23. & MS. in Offic. Arm. I. 7.

(24) His retinue was always magnificent. At the coronation of Edward VI. he appeared with 50 followers in blue coats and badgers, and always went to Retford sessions, but four miles from his house, with 30 proper fellows at his heels.

(25) This was unusual in those times among the greatest subjects.

(26) Grandfather to the author who compiled this account of the family.



hood he discovered an extraordinary genius above most of his contemporaries; his understanding and apprehension being quick, and his judgment sound and ripe, even in the morning of his life, which yet (though contrary to common observation) continued vivid and vigorous even to the last. He had not attained the age of thirteen when he was sent to Cambridge, but so well fitted for the university, that the Master of the college into which he was admitted, examining him, as usual, both in Grammar and Greek, received such unexpected satisfaction at those years to every question, that taking him up into his arms, he kissed him, and said to the by-standers, *This child, if he lives, will prove a singular honour and ornament to this kingdom.* From the university he was sent by his father to Gray's-Inn, where he continued some years, and furnished himself with so much knowledge in the Law, as was necessary both for the management of his private estate, and for the service of his country in the discharge of public offices; so that there never was a more upright or a more able justiciary. Thus accomplished, he was called to the Court, and chosen by Queen Elizabeth into the band of her Pensioners, a post at that time of much honour (b). But being resolved to compleat himself in every branch of the most genteel education, he entered into the army, and served first for some time as a volunteer, under his kinsman Sir Francis Vere, in the Netherlands. He afterwards entered into the sea-service, and was in the famous engagement in 1588. He was then but young, and without any command; yet he was called to all the councils of war\*, and particularly was present at that great debate, whether they should engage the Spanish fleet or no; which was with difficulty carried in the affirmative, especially by the sound and resolute arguments of Sir Martin Forbisher. He had such strength and activity at this time, that being heavily armed at all pieces he could without difficulty climb to the top of the tallest ship in that fleet. In the year 1590, he lost first his father and then his grandfather, whereby there devolved upon him a very fair and opulent inheritance, and with it the care of divers brothers and sisters [B]. Shortly after his grandfather's death, namely, in May 1591, being then

(b) See remark [E].

\* Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, in pure love to his country, had hired ships at his own charge, and joined the grand fleet. Camden's Eliz. in Hist. of Eng. Vol. II. P. 547.

(27) In his picture in the custody of the Countess dowager of Oxford, his age is mentioned to be 48, anno 1586.

(28) Our author's father, Frescheville Holles, married Elizabeth, daughter and coheir of John Kingston, Esq;

(29) They were all born at Irby except the eldest son. His daughter Douglas, who died before him, was probably named from her aunt, wife to John Lord Sheffield, and daughter of Will. Lord Howard of Effingham, of whom see remark [I].

of this daughter's portion, her father sold some lands in Derbyshire, and others in Burgh in the Marsh, Adelthorp, and Winthorp in Lincolnshire. Denfil the eldest son of this Sir William Holles, was born at London about 1538 (27). His mother's surname gave him his christian name of Denfil, and he married Eleanor, daughter to Edmund Lord Sheffield, the first Baron of that race, about the close of Queen Mary's reign; and the manor of Irby, with other lands in Lincolnshire, being settled upon him at his marriage, he fixed his residence at Irby (four miles from Great Grimsby) lying at the entrance upon the Wolds. A place, says our author, happy in the sweetness of the air, and very delightful by the pleasant hills and dales, where there are dry and inviting walks both summer and winter, with a welcome prospect toward the sea; affording as good hawking and hunting, and as good conveniency for training and airing young horses, as can be found any where. This Lordship not being intirely his own, he purchased that part which belonged to our author's grandfather Kingston (28), and had it conveyed to him 18 Eliz. viz. one messuage, one cottage, a garden, an orchard, 104 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 40 acres of pasture, with the appurtenances. After this purchase he improved the Lordship by inclosing it, and dividing it into farms laying the lands of each farm by themselves, which he fenced with quickset hedges, the best and most thriving in all the country; this added much both to the beauty of the place and conveniency of the inhabitants. He had also that just care as to leave the commons very large (beyond the proportion of any of their neighbours); and all these together, says my author, has been the cause, that I never knew in that town any tenant that was not thriving. He had a design likewise of building a fair mansion house near to the place where the springs of Welbeck have their rise, &c. but these designs were cut short by his death, which happened at Irby, April 22, 1590, near nine months before his father, being then about 52 years of age, and was buried in the chancel of that church under a grave stone without any inscription. His wife died before him, having brought him besides John the eldest, afterwards Earl of Clare, the subject of the present article, three more sons, William, who died a youth, Sir George Holles, and Thomas, and five daughters, Douglas, Frances, Anne, Jane, and Gertrude, of all whom mention will be made in the sequel (29).

[B] *An opulent inheritance, and the care of divers brothers and sisters.* As to his inheritance on the inquisition taken at Nottingham October 4, 33 Eliz. after the death of Sir William Holles his grandfather, the jury found that the said Sir William died on the 26th of January last, and that John Holles was his grandson and heir, and at that time 25 years of age. His grand-

father died seized of the manors of Haughton, East-hall, Cromwell, and Carleton, with the advowson of the church of Cromwell, Foxhall-grange in Bothomsale and Haughton, the manor of Basford, with the advowson of the rectory of Kirton, and advowson of the church of Bothomsale, and divers messuages and lands in Haughton, Great Markham, Bothomsale, and Walesby, all in Com. Nott. the manor of Yoxall in Staffordshire, the manor of Blackwell in Derbyshire, the manor of Denfell alias Deinsell in Cornwall, and of forty messuages, twenty cottages, 20 tofts, one mill, one dove-house, sixty gardens, sixty acres of meadow, one hundred acres of pasture, and ten acres of wood, in the parishes of St Clement Danes without Temple-bar, St Giles, and St Pancrase in the Fields, and Kentish-town, in the county of Middlesex, to all which the said John Holles was his heir. Moreover by his father's will he succeeded to the manor of Irby, as likewise to lands purchased by him in Barnalbie (30). With regard to his brothers and sisters, of these latter which were now four, two only lived to be married, Frances, in the life-time of her father, to Sir Francis Cooke of Trusley in the county of Derby, Knt (31), eldest brother to Sir John Cooke, Principal Secretary of State in the reign of King Charles I. And Jane, after her father's decease, became the wife of Thomas Saunderson, Esq; younger brother of Sir Nicholas Saunderson, Viscount Castleton. By her father's will, her fortune on the decease of her two sisters Anne and Gertrude before marriage being trebled, was advanced to 3000 marks. Concerning his two brothers; Sir George Holles was born February 19, 1575, and Thomas, in 1579. He sent them both to Cambridge, from whence the elder, Sir George, made a fally into the Netherlands, and distinguished himself in the wars against the Spaniards. In the famous battle of Newport, where Sir Francis Vere (by the singular courage of the English, and the good conduct of his brother Sir Horace Vere after he himself was shot) overcame the Spaniards and obtained a great victory, Sir George received a wound in his right arm with a pike, and a shot in his body. After that, for the space of nine months he served within Ostend, where Sir Francis Vere was Governor, and at the time when the Marquis Spinola besieged it. There he succeeded to the company of Captain Wilford then slain (32), and afterwards received a shot in at his left eye, and out of his neck behind, with which he immediately fell down senseless from the parapet of the town, and was carried off by his friends, who got him into bed. A while after he recovered his senses, but was blind, the anguish of one eye having for the present taken away the sight of the other. So soon as he came to himself he groped for his breeches, in the pockets of which, he remembered, there

(30) See the Will in Regist. vocat. Drury in Cur. Prærog. Cantuar. Qu. 31.

(31) He was appointed by his father-in-law executor of his Will, jointly with his eldest son John Holles.

(32) By this promotion he lost an annuity of 13l. 6s. 8d. bequeathed by the father's Will to each of his sons for life, or 'till either came to preferment worth 50l. per annum, in which case to remain to the other brother.



then 26 years of age, he entered into a marriage with Anne, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Stanhope of Shelford in the county of Nottingham, Knight (c). This marriage, though it brought him all the happiness that could be hoped for in a wife, yet it conveyed to him a deep and lasting animosity from a great and potent neighbour, the son of his grandfather's especial friend, Gilbert Earl of Shrewsbury [C]. But his courage and good fortune

(c) Ancestor to the present Earl of Chesterfield, Earl Stanhope, Earl of Harrington, and others.

there was some gold, and missing it, he swore an oath that the French had made a booty of him (it being near their quarters that he fell), but being told that his friends had taken it out for safety, he was well satisfied. Of this hurt he recovered, but lost his eye, over which he wore a black patch ever after. At length for his signal services he was made Serjeant-Major-General of the English forces in the Low-countries, and died in London unmarried in 1626 (33), and by his last will made his nephew Denzil Holles (afterwards Lord Holles of Isfield) and Mr Nicholas Drake his executors. He lies buried on the east side of the chapel of St John the Evangelist in Westminster-abbey, next to his kinsman, and first commander Sir Francis Vere. His funeral was solemnized May 23, 1626; and Mr Gervase Holles relates, that it was the greatest and most solemn of any in those days. To which, continues he, both the advantage of time and place added much; it happening soon after the term, in Parliament time, and a little before the expedition to the isle of Rhee, when London was full of nobility, gentry, and commanders. All the city trained-bands were present. The hearse was borne by twenty-four colonels and field-officers, eight at a time, the rest encompassing it. His brother the Earl of Clare, and the Lord Vere of Tilbury, were the chief mourners; a great train of the nobility and gentry followed it, and an infinite concourse of people of all sorts were spectators. The Earls of Oxford and Essex offered their assistance to bear the corps, but the Earl of Clare would not permit them. Over his grave his brother the Earl of Clare shortly after erected a handsome monument. His effigies, curiously performed, is in the habit of a Roman General standing on a pedestal in a commanding posture, with a battoon in his hand, and is enriched with other figures, cartouches, &c.

We shall now proceed to Thomas Holles his younger brother, who also made a sally from the Inns of Court into the Netherlands not long after his brother, and became like him a brave and eminent commander. He was (says Gervase Holles) Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Horace Vere's regiment consisting of thirty-two companies, and was at the sieges of Sluys, Gulicke, the Grave, Grell, Rhinebergh, and the famous sieges of the Bosch and Maestricht, where he was appointed to assault the breach, as my Lord Craven can witness, who, as a volunteer, assisted him in that assault. He died in Holland, October 13, 1642, aged sixty-three. He had to wife, Katharine, daughter of Joachimi Van Eecke of Guelderland, by whom he had issue two sons and two daughters; Denzil, who died an infant, George, an officer in the service of the States, who died at Maestricht, unmarried, the 10th of March 1654, and was buried in St John's church there; Eleanor, who died unmarried, and Elizabeth, who wedded Theodore Becquer, but died without issue.

[C] *This match drew him into a quarrel with the Earl of Shrewsbury.* It seems there had been a treaty between the old Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir William Holles, concerning a marriage betwixt his grandson and a niece or kinswoman of the Earl's. To which motion, whether he meant it in earnest, or pretending it only for fear of displeasing his grandfather, he seemed not unwilling, so that every one thought it would have proceeded. But after the decease of them both (for George Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir William Holles died in the same year) liking Mrs Stanhope better, he married her, and relinquished the Earl's kinswoman. This the Earl took as the greatest affront, the rather because Sir Thomas Stanhope and the Earl were great enemies. The process of this difference caused a great deal of trouble and some loss of blood. For first, Roger Orme, who was then Sir John Holles's servant, though afterwards a captain in Ireland and the Low-Countries, fought a duel with one Pudsey gentleman of the horse to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in which Pudsey was slain. And this quarrel arose upon the grounds of the difference between their masters. The Earl eagerly prosecuted Orme's life, but Sir John Holles got him conveyed into Ireland, and maugre the Earl's power, procured his pardon of Queen Elizabeth. Upon Orme's business followed that of his own with my cousin

Gervase Markham, so much talked of yet in these parts. Gervase Markham was a great confident, or as the phrase is now, the gallant of the Countess of Shrewsbury, and was usually in those days termed her champion. A proper handsome gentleman he was, and of a great courage. He, after Pudsey was slain, let fall some passionate words, accusing Sir John Holles as the cause of that quarrel, and as being guilty of his death. This coming to the ears of Sir John, he sends him a chartell to this effect.

For GERVASE MARKHAM,

*Whereas you have said that I was guilty to that wil-lany of Orme in the death of Pudsey, I affirm that you ly, and ly like a villaine, which I shall be ready to make good upon your self, or upon any gentleman my equal living.*

JOHN HOLLES.

Markham returned for answer; That he accepted the challenge, and would accordingly give a meeting such an hour alone, or with either of them a boy of fourteen or under; the place Workshop Park, and the weapons rapier and dagger. Sir John Holles allowing of the other circumstances, excepted against the place, being the park where his mortal enemy the Earl of Shrewsbury then lived; which he thought neither reasonable for himself to admit, nor honourable for his enemy to propound, and therefore urged, that a more equal place might be assigned. Markham taking advantage of this, as if he had declined the encounter, publishes it accordingly to his disgrace. Sir John Holles finding this unworthy dealing, and that he could not have an equal place assigned him, resolved to take that opportunity, which fortune should next offer him, and such a one shortly after offered itself on the following occasion. To the christening of his second son Denzil Holles, the Lady Stanhope his mother-in-law was invited a god-mother, after which performed, she returned from Haughton to Shelford; and Sir John Holles accompanying her part of the way over the forest of Shir-wood, it fortuned, that Gervase Markham with others in his company met them, and passed by. So soon as he saw that Markham was passed, he took leave of the Lady Stanhope, galloped after, and overtook him. When observing how unworthily he had dealt with him, they both alighted, and drew their rapiers. I have heard him say, that upon the first encounter he used these words, *Markham, Guard your self better, or I shall spoil you presently;* (for he said, he lay as open to him as a child) and the next pass he run him between the privities and the bottom of the guts up to the hilt, and out behind toward the small of the back. With this wound Markham fell, and was carried off the field by those in his company, whilst Sir John Holles with his servant Ashton and a groom, who only were with him, returned to Haughton. The news coming to the Earl of Shrewsbury, he immediately raised of his servants and tenants to the number of one hundred and twenty, with a resolution to apprehend Sir John Holles; so soon as he should know, that Markham's wound was mortal; which Edmund Lord Sheffield, afterwards Earl of Mulgrave, understanding, he speedily repaired to Haughton, with threescore in his retinue out of Lincolnshire, to assist his cousin-german, in case the Earl should attempt any thing. An old servant of Sir John Holles told me, he was present, when the Lord Sheffield came, and that his master going forth to meet him, he asked him, how it was with Markham? he replied, *That he thought the greatest danger was, that he had spoiled his whoring. I hear cousin, says the Lord Sheffield, that my Lord of Shrewsbury is prepared to trouble you, take my word, before he carry you, it shall cost many a broken pate.* And he went in and remained at Haughton until they had certain account, that Markham was passed danger, who indeed recovered, and lived after to be an old man, but never after eat supper, nor received the sacrament; which two things he rashly vowed not to do, until he were revenged.

[D] He

(33) See the Latin inscription on his monument, in the chapel of St John the Evangelist in Westminster-abbey.



fortune carried him through all the opposition he met with on this occasion with honour and advantage. Indeed his courage was so great, that it rendered him in a manner unconcerned at any danger with which his enemies could threaten him; so that he assumed for his motto in these times, *Qui inimicum timet, amicum non amat*. However, finding there was much animosity and a strong combination against him, he resolved to take a proper method to divert it; and thence, indulging also his own inclination strongly bent to knowledge and actions of honour, he made several sallies out of the kingdom, and spent many years either in travail or military employments, and *that* after a marriage to a lady, who both deserved and had for him a very great and tender affection. Some of his time he spent in Ireland under the then Deputy Sir William Fitz-Williams; where, accompanying Sir Henry Norris in an expedition he made against the Irish rebels, and behaving in that service with great bravery, he received from the Deputy at his return the honour of knighthood (d), as a reward of his merit. He served likewise two years in Hungary against the Turks; and in his passage to and from thence, viewed and observed the best parts of France and Italy; both which languages he was master of, and reasonably well of the Spanish. And whilst he served in Hungary, he grew so perfect in that tongue, that he might have passed for a native\*. His last military employment was with the Earl of Essex to the Terceras, an island of the Azores, in the year 1597, in the company of his kinsman Sir Francis Vere, who was Lord-Marshal in that expedition (e), with whom he sailed in the ship called the Mary Rose (f). These, and those beforementioned, were the scenes of his warfare, which gave him great advantage in knowledge, and added greatly to his reputation. But before this last voyage he dashed upon a rock, which probably might have sunk him, and indeed threatened more danger than all those enmities he had encountered before. This was a sharp difference with the Lord Burleigh [D], Lord High-Treasurer of England, who was then and long before of great power with the Queen. But this danger vanished upon the death of the Treasurer, which happened soon afterwards. Neither did this quarrel cast him at all (as his enemies hoped it would) in the Queen's regard, who never steered her opinion of any man by the passions or affections of others, but by her own judgment: so she continued to him that same gracious favour she had always done, even to her decease, which happened about five years after. Upon the accession of King James I. to the throne, Sir John Holles, much out of humour with the new face of things at Court [E], retired into the country and attended his estate, which till then he had very little leisure to look into, and which he had impaired, by selling lands of good value both in Lincolnshire and Derbyshire after his grandfather's decease [F].

He

(d) Mr James Howell observes, that this power of conferring honours and knighthood, is a point of grandeur in which the Lord-Deputy of Ireland exceeded the Viceroy of Naples or any other that he knew. Howell's Letters, Vol. I. Sect. 6. Lett. xxxvi. p. 226. edit. 1650.

\* The last cited author having written an Essay concerning the original, growth, changes, and present constitution, of the French language, submitted it to his Lordship's correction, as to a person who had an exact knowledge of many languages, not in a superficial vapouring way, but in a most exact manner, both in point of practice and theory. *Ibid.* p. 469. edit. 1754.

(e) See an account of this expedition, in a piece entitled, The Commentaries of Sir Francis Vere, being divers pieces wherein he had Command; written by himself in a way of Commentary. Published by William Dillingham, D. D. 1657.

(f) See a list of gentry at the end of a discourse concerning that voyage.

[D] *He had a sharp difference with Lord Burleigh* What was the grounds of this quarrel is not certainly known, though some have imagined it to be the very great familiarity, that Sir John Holles had with the Lady Hatton, the Treasurer's grand-child\*; but certain it is that the Treasurer, during the preparation for this expedition, inveighed bitterly against him (with little arguments of that gravity and wisdom he had formerly expressed) in the Exchequer Chamber. This imprudent and injurious behaviour of the Treasurer did exceedingly inflame Sir John Holles, and he resolved not to sit down with it, but to return him his own. In this spirit he writes him a letter, wherein he lets him know the malice and falshood of his invectives, and then retorts severely upon himself, and that in so home and nicking a way, as the Treasurer had never met with the like in his life. The delivery of this letter, continues our author, he entrusted with my father (34), giving him direction, that as soon as he received notice that he was got on ship-board, he should go with it to the Treasurer's house at dinner-time, and after he had delivered it to one of the servants, he should slip away and make speed to the fleet after him. This was performed accordingly; and the Treasurer having read the letter, and being in a great passion, sent out presently to apprehend the bearer, but he was gone, and being a young gentleman unknown at Court, no man could tell him what he was. Moreover, as Sir John Holles thought he had received a public injury, he resolved to make his vindication as public; and to that end, dispersed among his friends divers copies of this letter, which yet remain in several hands, and one I had, but have lost it. I have heard many wise men say, they esteemed this one of the boldest acts that ever he did: for the Treasurer having power enough, would not have wanted means one way or other to have ruined him. Nor was he unapt (as some that knew him have affirmed) to secret revenges, which his own creature Camden (35), doth more than darkly insinuate in the death of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton.

[E] *Out of humour with the new face of things at Court.* My author having observed that the Queen's death conveyed a great and general lamentation to all her subjects, and to him [Sir John Holles] who ever

had faithfully and religiously served and honoured her, and most sincerely loved his country, of which she was the glory, felicity, and firmament, &c. proceeds thus: This bright star set, the scene at Court was strangely altered, for though King James entered with the greatest expectation and acclamations that any Prince could do, (such as his wisdom and virtues well merited) yet he brought with him a crew of necessitous and hungry Scots, and filled every corner of the Court with these hungry blue-caps. This was that which first darkened the glory of the English Court, which Queen Elizabeth had ever maintained in great lustre. *I have heard the Earl of Clare say, that when he was pensioner to the Queen, he did not know a worse man of the whole band than himself; and that all the world knew he had then an inheritance of 4000 l. a year.* It was the constant custom of that Queen to call out of all counties in the kingdom, the gentlemen of the greatest hopes, and the best fortune and families, and with those to fill the more honourable rooms of her household servants; by which she honoured them, obliged their kindred and alliance, and fortified herself. But when most of those rooms were possessed by such trotting companions, the better sort of the gentry declined the Court, as scorning their fellowship. Hence it followed, that in a little time, the Court was in a manner wholly composed of these Scots, and such inconsiderable persons, as favourites preferred, or money introduced. This caused Sir John Holles at that time to retire into the country.

[F] *He had sold some lands after his grandfather's death.* However he repaired that loss by a far greater improvement afterwards. For he purchased the lordship of Gamelston, Maplebecke, and Bevercotes, with a manor in Baselford; the rectories of Bothomfale, East-Markham, and West-Markham, with divers lands in Elkesly, Walesey, and Little Drayton, all in the county of Nottingham. He likewise purchased one half of Prince's-street in Drury-lane, and caused to be erected those edifices called Loche's buildings, with the most part of Clement's-inn-lane, Blackmore-street by Drury-lane, and a part of Clement's-inn-fields. So that by these purchases and improvements, he advanced his estate before his death to near 8000 l. per ann. He likewise enlarged Thurland-house (now called

\* As the Earl of Clare had the highest veneration for the family of Vere, it may not be amiss to observe here, that Edward Vere Earl of Oxford, who married Burleigh's daughter, had at this time quarrelled with him, for refusing his suit to intercede for the life of the Duke of Norfolk, condemned for assisting Mary Queen of Scots. Dugd. Baronage, Vol. I. p. 199.

(34) Frescheville Holles, son of Gervase, mentioned in note (26). He was also, as well as his cousin the Earl of Clare, in the famous engagement against the Spaniards in 1588. Our author had an only son of the same name, who became a brave sea-officer, as appears from his monument in St Edward's chapel in Westminster-abbey.

(35) Annal. Eliz. anno 1570.



He was engaged during this reign in three considerable law-suits, the first of which being carried for the Crown [G], made him much averse to King James, for whom he had little kindness. However, when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales; May 30, 1610, Sir John Holles was by the King appointed Comptroller of his Household †. In this office he continued during the Prince's life, which was about two years and a half after [H]. But with the loss of that brave Prince all his favour at Court vanished; and he lay open and exposed to the resentments of his adversaries: so that, about three years after a bill was filed against him in the Star-Chamber, containing several allegations of high misdemeanours, which were particularly pressed and amplified by Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice [I]. And though Sir John made a defence, the eloquence of which gave

great

† Henry Earl of Oxford was the first chosen to be of the order of the Bath at this creation. Anstis's Observations on the Knights of the Bath, p. 61, & seq. This is mentioned as an instance of the connection between the two families of Vere and Holles, which was most assiduously cultivated by this first Earl of Clare.

Clare-house) in Nottingham, and new built the Inn called the Blackmoor's-head there. He had also an intention of building a new house at Haughton, and had several platforms drawn of it, resolving to have seated it on higher grounds above the barns; but the charge thereof was like to be so great, that he thought it better to consider of, than to undertake it.

[G] He had three law suits; of which the first was carried for the Crown.] This first law-suit was about the wardship of Robert Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, whose manor of Aversham, was held of his manor of Haughton by fealty and knight service, which had ever been performed by the ancestors of Mr Sutton, to the ancestors and predecessors of Sir John Holles; and their wardships accordingly accrued, when any of those Suttons died; and the heir within age. But when this last fell, a trick was found to intitle the King thereto, for whom judgment was given in the Court of Wards against Sir John. His second law-suit was with the Society of the Inn of Chancery, called Clement's-Inn; and the case was thus. Sir William Hawte, and Margaret his wife, had long before sold by their deed bearing date 17th of December, 23 H. VIII. to Sir William Holles [the Lord-Mayor] their manor or capital messuage called Clement's-Inn, with divers other messuages, lands, and tenements, in the parishes of St Giles and St Pancrase in the county of Middlesex. Shortly after, Sir William Holles demises the capital messuage called Clement's-Inn to that corporation of students for the term of ninety-nine years, reserving a rent. That term near expired, the Earl of Clare his great-grand-child and heir resolving to enter upon it, and these clerks and attorneys to keep the possession they had got, he put it in suit; and they brought the Earl into Chancery; there the Lord-Keeper ——— to favour those setting-dogs\* of his own profession, decreed, that they should hold their possession for ever, acknowledging him lord of the fee, and paying him a small yearly rent, with an allowance to him and his heirs of two chambers in that house for a solicitor. Both these causes were carried against him with all the injustice that might be; the first by the power of the King, and the next by the partiality of the lawyers. In the third, though he had a worse cause, yet he found better success. It was concerning the rectories [impropriations] of Elkesley and Bothomfale, which he had purchased for a valuable consideration; but there proving a flaw in the title, he was impleaded by one Brigham, who pretended to a better right, and he was forced to fly to equity. I well remember, that I attended him to Sir Humphry Davenport, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Francis Ashley (all then serjeants), and to Mr Noy, all whom he would have retained as counsel in this cause. Sir Humphrey Davenport (though a great lover and honour of him) absolutely refused him. The other would appear for him; but all advised him to compound it as well as he could, telling him he would be cast. He found he had been abused, and was very unwilling to lose what he had well paid for; so he procured meetings with the then Lord-keeper, Sir Thomas Coventry. They met in Hatton-house garden. When the day of hearing came, I attended my Lord of Clare to Westminster-hall. I remember we met there with Mr Serjeant Glanvil, who was one of Brigham's counsel, who saluting him said, *My Lord, I am against you to day, and believe you must lose the cause.* And the same Serjeant when he argued, told the Keeper, *That this cause would not require many words, for it was the same (terminis terminantibus) that he had decreed that very term between such and such parties.* Yet in conclusion, the Keeper gave judgment for the Earl. I have heard the Keeper much condemned for that judgment, who was a man of great abilities and learning in his profession, and for a good

while had the reputation of a just Judge: but at last he appeared with a bare face, and died very seasonably before the Parliament met, else no man had heard louder of his corruptions. The loss of Mr Sutton's wardship made Sir John Holles; as some have thought, much averse to King James, for whom he had little kindness, nor indeed was a friend to his memory. I have heard him say, *That he came to govern a people, that he knew he was not worthy of, and then he was ruled himself by two beggars and a base fellow*, Suffolk, Northampton, and Salisbury. And at any time when he mentioned any thing, which he thought an error in that King, he would ever give his discourse this severe close, *which now he feels.*

[H] He was Comptroller of the household to Prince Henry.] The Prince ever expressed a very great love to him and value of him, insomuch that once he took a progress to his house at Haughton, where he continued with him many days, and found an entertainment answerable to his greatness. And I may well question, had the Prince lived to be King, whether any subject had found greater proofs of his love. But in 1612 that Prince died. A Prince of so great expectation, that not only the eyes of all England, but of all Christendom, were upon him. Most people think he was poisoned, and the Earl of Somerset not a little suspected for it. I remember Sir George Radcliff told me; he asked the Earl of Clare, whether he thought the Prince was poisoned or no; and that he replied, *he thought he was not; but if he was, he believed he had it half a year before he died.* What he meant by that, Sir George understood not; nor did he further question him. But I think that had he believed it, and suspected Somerset of it, he would eternally have hated and abhorred him; whereas, on the contrary, he continued to his death his friendship to him.

[I] Allegations pressed by Sir Edward Coke, and invalidated by Sir John Holles.] 'Tis said Sir Edward Coke bore a spleen against him for the familiarity which Sir John Holles had with his then wife, the Lady Elizabeth Hatton. The allegations were, that he had private conference with two jesuits, Jervas and Garnet; at their execution; and that in all his leases to his tenants, he inserted a condition that they should not go to law one with another; but should make him the umpire of all their differences; with other charges as inconsiderable. But the Chief Justice called *those covenants regal covenants*, and said, *it was no less than to usurp over his tenants a regal authority.* He said, that his private conference with those traitors the jesuits, was a boldness of a dangerous insinuation, and ought to be both censured and punished; and with his law rhetoric endeavoured to give as ugly a face, as he could, both to those, and the rest of his charges. Sir John Holles made his own defence, being second both in reason and oratory to no person that I knew in his time. He told the Lords, that he wondered much how he could have suffered so great a charge and inconvenience upon such slight accusations; did he not know withal, that since the death of his royal master, he had been left *tanquam piscis in aridum littus*. But it was his happiness, he said, that he was to make his defence before such honourable persons, who would rightly judge both of his innocency, and the malice of his adversaries. He then professed, that if he had erred at all, they were only errors of ignorance. For he could not understand at all, that it might be misconstrued a crime in him, to endeavour that his poor tenants should not undo one another by unnecessary suits and quarrels, whilst he might be a medium to reconcile their differences. And having had the honour to serve the Crown in near relations, and having been ever bred up in a school of duty and obedience, he was far from that presumption to trench in the least manner

upon



(g) The preamble of his patent mentions only his service to Prince Henry, his integrity and fidelity to the Crown, and his abilities to serve it.

great satisfaction to his hearers, yet he was committed to the Fleet, where he continued a prisoner some weeks; until at last he came out a Baron of England, being created such on the 9th of July 1616, in the 14th year of King James (g). For this dignity he paid the then favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, ten thousand pounds sterling [K]. 'Tis certain that, much about this time, he in a manner wholly withdrew from Court [L]. However,

upon regal authority. That he could as little apprehend, how his discourse with those condemned persons could infinite any dangerous consequence, since dying men are far from a capacity to threaten any such thing. Adding, that he had travelled the best parts of Christendom, and observed the customs of those people amongst whom he came, but could never observe, that any man was prohibited to speak to a dying person. Sir Edward Coke (who had as much law and levity in him, as any of his profession ever had) interrupted him, scoffingly turning upon him that verse of Virgil, a little varied,

*Et quæ tanta fuit Tiburne tibi causa videndi?*

We have seen that this was not the only vengeance which Sir John's suspected intrigue with Lady Hatton brought upon him, and the silence of his advocate Mr Gervase Holles upon that head, leaves room to conclude that the suspicion was not entirely without good grounds. If so, it may be observed, that he inherited this weakness from his father Denfil Holles, who was inserted in a pasquil made in those days upon the Lincolnshire gentlemen, as follows:

*Hollys bits in every hole,  
And Denfil drives thro' all their dintes,  
He gets his neighbours wives with sole,  
And yet they say the man but mintes.*

I remember, says Mr Gervase Holles, that walking in Irby grounds with the first Earl of Clare, he shewed me a handsome farm house, telling me his father built it to please a foolish woman. The truth is, he was seldom without one or other in it for his private use and pleasure. But this could not be so private, as to be unknown to his wife, who notwithstanding she had, as it should seem, recourse to patience, as the only remedy in the case of a husband's falseness to the marriage-bed; yet she proved inexorable in the case of her sister-in-law Douglas, daughter of William Lord Howard of Effingham, and wife to John Lord Sheffield, of whose incontinency with the Earl of Leicester, detected by this Denfil's wife, we have the following account by Mr Gervase Holles. The Lord Sheffield, says he, and the said lady lived together for some years with much happiness and contentment. Until at last it happened, that Queen Elizabeth took a progress northward, upon whom the Earl of Leicester (the then powerful favourite) attended, and some days she abode at the Earl of Rutland's at Belvoir-Castle. Thither the principal persons of Lincolnshire repaired to see their Queen, and do their duty, and among others the Lord Sheffield and this fair young lady of his, who shone as a star in the Court, both in regard of her beauty, and the richness of her apparel. Leicester (who was *cauda salax*) seeing her, and being much taken with her perfections, he made his addresses of courtship to her, and used all the art that might be (in which he was master enough) to debauch her. There is small hopes, that she, who hath once permitted a siege, can hold out. For that woman who keeps a loose guard upon her honour, hath one port already open, and there wants nothing but a bold man to enter. To be short, he found her frail, and had the unlawful fruition of her body. Their crime being arrived at this height, their next design was how to secure it, as also the continuance of this their wickedness; which they thought could not well be, so long as the Lord Sheffield lived. He was a gentleman of great spirit; him therefore they contrived how to make away, and before they parted, Leicester (who was perfect in those villainies) undertook the charge of it. Not long after, being at at Normanby, and her sister Holles with her, Leicester who had wrote letters to her, in one (after many amorous expressions) told her, *That he had not been unmindful in removing that obstacle, which hindered the full fruition of their contentments; that he had endeavoured one expedient already, which had failed; but he would*

*try another, which he doubted not would hit more sure.* This letter (as she was going down stairs to walk abroad) she dropped in pulling her handkerchief out of her pocket, and her sister Holles, following her, took it up, and either overcome with a woman's curiosity, or guided by a higher providence, she put it in her pocket and read it, when she found her opportunity; and finding therein a plot against her brother's life, resolved (as it befitted her) to acquaint him with it. The lady soon after missed the letter, and being sufficiently affrighted, conscious enough of what was in it, she strictly examined all her women (the gentlewoman from whom I had this relation, was one of them) at first with intreaties, at length with severity and cruelty. But out of them, who indeed knew nothing, she got nothing. Then she came to her sister Holles; and falling down on her knees besought her, if she had found any such letter, to deliver it unto her, assuring her, that nothing of harm should come from what the contents of it might seem to threaten. But she was inexorable, and would not own the knowledge of any such accident. Shortly after the Lord Sheffield returns home, and his sister Holles (watching her opportunity) gives him the letter. He reads it with anger and amazement; that night he parts beds, the next day houses, and retired from her. He meditates with himself in what manner he might best take an honourable and just revenge upon the adulterers. Having resolved, he posts up to London to effect it; but the discovery was arrived at the knowledge of Leicester before him; who finding a necessity to be quick, bribes an Italian physician (whose name I have forgot) in whom the Lord Sheffield had great confidence, to poison him, which was immediately effected after his arrival at London. He being removed by this villainy, she expected the reward of it, that Leicester, as he promised, should have married her; but he (according to the nature of all men, who think basely of their prostitutes) after he had cohabited with her some time, and begot on her a base son (Sir Robert Dudley, who called himself Duke of Northumberland (36)) rejects her and marries the Lady Lettice, widow to Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, who, 'tis thought, served him in his own kind every way. I have been, concludes this author, the longer and more punctual in this relation, because it is known to few, yet a certain truth (37).

[K] *He purchased his Barony.* Mr Gervase Holles observes, that after the entrance of King James, the sale of honours was become a trade at Court, and whilst the Duke [of B.] lived, scarce any man acquired any honours, but such as were either his kindred, or had the fortune (or misfortune) to marry with his kindred, or mistresses; or paid a round sum of money for it. Nor indeed (continues this author) did that way of merchandise cease all the reign of our last martyred King (38), which was one cause, and not the least of his misfortunes. I have heard the Earl of Clare (I now treat of) often inveigh bitterly against it, and he would usually call it *temporal simony*. I remember once I took the liberty (hearing him so earnest on that subject) to ask him, why he would purchase himself, seeing he condemned the King for selling. He answered, *That he observed merit to be no medium to an honorary reward; that he saw divers persons, who, he thought, deserved as little as he either in their persons or estates, by that means leap over his head; and and therefore seeing the market open, and finding his purse not unfurnished for it, he was persuaded to wear his money, as other men had done.*

[L] *He withdrew from Court.* For what reason principally is not known, but there was found written by his own hand in one of his books, these six lines.

*Alas once Diana naked spied  
At unawares, yet by his dogs he died.  
So ill, not done but taken in all things,  
Doth cloud the uncleared eyes of minor Kings.  
Then haste from Courts of such unsound complexion,  
If that thy safety be in thy election.*

(36) See some account of this person in the article GREAVES [JOHN].

(37) The tragical part is touched upon in Leicester's Commonwealth, a Satyre upon Leicester, dispersed in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but Mr Holles says, he received the relation from a person of credit then living in the family, who gave him an account of the share his aunt Holles had in it.

(38) This was written, as has been already observed, in 1658.



However, the same favourite, eight years afterwards, for 5000 pounds, procured him the Earldom of Clare [M], by letters patent, bearing date 2 November 1624 (h). He had now acquired the highest dignity of honour that in reason he could aspire to, which may be reckoned among the felicities of his life. Yet this was accompanied with several near and pressing afflictions, the death of many of his children, and downfall of some of his nearest friends. For between and about the time of his two creations, he buried four of his youngest sons and two daughters, and saw the ruin of the Earl of Somerset, and the beheading of Sir Walter Raleigh [N], both much esteemed and beloved by him. King James, a little before his close, discovered an intention of making the Earl of Clare Lord-Treasurer; which was so generally believed, that several applications were made for places under him. And this was the more likely, (notwithstanding his Majesty's former dryness towards him) because, about the same time, he bewrayed some jealousies and weariness of the Duke of Buckingham, and an inclination to introduce again into favour the Earl of Somerset. But his death, which followed immediately upon it, made frustrate both these intentions. King Charles, in the first year of his reign, displaced Williams Bishop of Lincoln from the custody of the Great-Seal. This the Earl of Clare was concerned at, the Bishop being one of his intimate friends; and when the King designed both his sons to be Knights of the Bath at his Coronation, and gave them notice thereof by his letters, they both refused it. As did also his younger son Denzil Holles to be of that masque which was then preparing, and in which the King invited him to take a part. Neither did the Earl himself move towards London 'till the meeting of the Parliament, and then likewise wholly absented himself from Court; which caused the King to observe him as a person discontented. That Parliament was remarkable for the charge against the Duke of Buckingham, which being delivered from the House of Commons by eight reporters, was again reported by eight Lords in the House of Peers, of which the Earl of Clare was one, who spoke to the same part that Mr Pym had done before. But the King quickly stopt their further proceedings by dissolving the Parliament. About this time the Duke had used all possible endeavours to gain the Earl of Clare to his party; to which end he had procured two or three meetings with him in the Strand, at the Countess of Banbury's, but could never obtain him [O]. And the next Parliament (which was that

(b) The preamble of this patent takes notice of his services against the rebels, and contains the grant of an annual fee of 20 l. payable out of the customs within the port of London.

of

[M] *He procured the Earldom of Clare.* It was not a little wondered at, that he could obtain this title of Earl of Clare. For the Lord Rich, when he was created an Earl, did very much desire that title, and the King's counsel after several debates about it concluded, that since the time of the first Earls of Clare determined, that honour of Clare had ever been conferred on a Prince of the blood royal; Clare and Clarence being one and the same title, and therefore not to be allowed to a meaner subject. Whereupon the Lord Rich was created Earl of Warwick. But the power that procured the dignity, prevailed for the title, which was the Duke of Buckingham, to whom King James could not well deny any thing. That he procured it, is plain from a letter (the copy whereof I have seen) from this Earl of Clare to the then Bishop of Lincoln, which began thus.

MY LORD,

*My patent is now past for the Earldome of Clare (the title wherein my Lord of Warwick was so emboged) but what is it, that a powerful favourite cannot do, &c*

[N] *He had a particular friendship for Sir Walter Raleigh.* There was found written by the Earl of Clare with his own hand this epitaph on him. Which though his poetry was the worst part, says our author, yet I shall here remember.

*Here lies Raleigh's corps, his soul is gone,  
To inhabit many, too much for one.  
By his we learn the harmes of rarity,  
That safety only dwells in doe-nought parity.  
Artes, Nature, henceforth no more such pieces,  
Whilst fortune's dragon guards the golden fleeces.*

Our author here takes occasion to relate the following passage, not contained in the histories of that time. It was much laboured by Sir Walter Raleigh's friends to save his life, and particularly by the Earl of Clare, who had some power with his prosecutor (Gondemar the Spanish Ambassador) with whom he had frequent conversations. He discovered, as he thought, an inclination in Gondemar to make suit to King James for Sir Walter Raleigh's life, in case he [Sir Walter] would in-treat him to do it. This the Earl of Clare intimated to Sir Walter by Mr Charles Thynne, one of his fastest friends, bidding him withal let him know, that there

was no other way for his preservation. When Sir Walter Raleigh heard it, he paused a little, and then gave this answer, *I am yet neither so old, nor so infirm, but I could be content to live, and therefore this would I do, if I was sure it would do my business; but if it fail, then I lose both my life and my honour; and both these I will not part with.* A resolution, says Mr Gervase Holles, really not unworthy so famous a person.

[O] *At this time the Duke of Buckingham tried in vain to obtain him.* His disposition with regard to the Court at this time; as well as the temper observed by him in opposing the measures thereof, may be inferred from a letter to his son-in-law Sir Tho. Wentworth, afterward Earl of Strafford, on the following occasion. Sir Thomas, in the House of Commons, had strenuously asserted the rights and liberties of the subject, and had so far displeased the Duke of Buckingham, that, by his inducement, the King, in 1625, declared six that had been members in the last Parliament Sheriffs of several counties, to prevent their being returned to the new Parliament. Among these, Sir Tho. Wentworth was for Yorkshire, Sir Edward Coke, who had been Lord Chief Justice, for Buckinghamshire; Sir Francis Seymour for Wiltshire, &c (39). Sir Francis, having taken advice thereon, was informed that he might be returned and serve for any town or city out of his own county; and thereupon he made an offer to Sir Thomas Wentworth, that he would procure him to be chosen in the West, if he would favour him to get him elected for some place in the North. Of which he wrote to the Earl of Clare, requesting his sentiments how he should proceed; and his Lordship sent him the following answer.

S O N,

*You resolve, in my opinion, of this particular rightly; for we live under a prerogative government, where book-law submits unto lex loquens; then be these extraordinaries, that rely rather upon inference or interpretation than the letter, too weak slaves for such subjects to lean upon. This is a novelty and a stranger, that a Sheriff, who, according to the received rule of our forefathers, is tied to his county as a snail to his shell, may cause himself to be chosen a burges or servant for a borough; and so in a sort quit the greater and the King's service for a subject's a less; therefore as a novelty it is rather to be followed than to begin it, and as a stranger to be admitted as a probationer, and to be embraced upon further acquaintance. For my part, I shall be glad if Sir*

Edw.

(39) Earl of Strafford's Letters, &c, Vol. I. p. 30.



\* Lord Willoughby at the same time laid claim also to the title of Earl of Oxford, as likewise to the titles of Lord Bolebeck, Sanford, and Badlesmere. See their several cases, as delivered to the House of Peers, in the Historical Collections of the noble families, Cavendish, Holles, Vere, Harley, and Ogle; by Arthur Collins, Esq; Lond. 1752. fol. p. 269, & seq.

of 3 Car. I.) made the breach still wider between them. For the great cause being heard in the House of Peers between Robert Vere Earl of Oxford and Robert Bertie Lord Willoughby of Eresby, concerning the office of Great-Chamberlain of England \*, the Earl of Clare asserted the right of the former against the Duke of Buckingham's party, and made a resolute speech on the occasion [P]. He continued to oppose the Court measures 'till the death of the Duke, and shortly afterwards particularly offended the King, by countenancing the report of his Majesty's having a design to entertain a body of German horse, in order to awe the kingdom. For this offence he was imprisoned for some time, and then reproved at the Council-board [Q]. He was also turned out of the commission of the peace, which he took ill, and the country worse where he lived; missing on the bench a person of such courage, integrity, and so great abilities.

Whilst

*Edw. Coke and Sir Rob. Philips can make their undertaking good. And I could wish Sir Francis Seymour were a burges, so you were not seen in it: and if any of them, without your knowledge or consent, shall confer any such place on you, you are no way in fault thereby; and yet Caesar's wife must be free from suspicion. So as I may conclude, it is not good to stand within the distance of absolute power. But I see the issue. The question will fall between the King and the Parliament; the House will demand her member; and the King denies his officer, and the King's election was prior, so as in conclusion some drops of displeasure may fall upon the borough, whose charter is always in the King's reach: but this is my chimæra, and the lion may be less terrible than the picture. Howsoever, this well-proceeding, would put the Courtier out of his trick, secure the Parliament better, and the Subject in general, and make great ones more cautious in wrestling with that high court. Yet, as you write, Son, this business is of such a nature, as it is much better to be a spectator than an actor; and in this I give you no opinion, I only confirm your's. I am glad to hear of my daughter's good health. The Lord of Heaven continue it, and bless you both with his best blessings. Amen.*

Haughton,  
Nov. 27, 1625.

CLARE (40).

(40) Ibid. p. 31.

(41) The fee of this office was granted by Hen. I. to Alberic de Vere Earl of Oxford, the second of that name, in the room of Robert Malet (Lord of the honour of Eye in Suffolke) who had been disinherited and banished in 2d Hen. I. for deserting the King, and adhering to Robert Curthose. Pat. I. Hen. VIII. p. 1. m. 26. cited in Historical Collections; &c. p. 218. by Collins.

[P] He made a resolute speech on the occasion.] The Earl of Oxford claimed the Chamberlain's place (41) as heir-male, and the Lord Willoughby as heir-general, to Henry Vere Earl of Oxford, deceased. They were both near allied in blood to the Earl of Clare, but he had a principal love to the Veres, from which family his grandmother came; and he believed also that justice lay on his side. The Duke of Buckingham, on the contrary part, having ever endeavoured to suppress the old nobility, says our author, laboured earnestly, both with the Judges who were to deliver their opinions, and with the Peers who were to be judges of the right, in the behalf of the Lord Willoughby; and finding he had gained the most of them, he hastened the trial a little before the Term began, and when but few of the Judges were yet come to town. They were but five, whereof two (and they of the greatest learning and reputation) declared their opinions for the Earl of Oxford, the other two for the Lord Willoughby; the fifth (which was Justice Dodderidge, an able Antiquary) made a long and learned discourse, but determined nothing. So soon as the Judges had spoke their sense, the Earl of Dorset stood up, and with an excellent memory delivered the sum of what the Judges had said, then made an eloquent oration in the behalf of the Lord Willoughby, and moved the Lords to proceed to the vote. The Earl of Clare rises up after him, and spoke to this effect. *That he had not intended to have spoken that day, for he had ever observed it the manner of the House of Peers, that when any great cause was agitated before them, after the Judges had given their opinion, the Lords took time to consider of the arguments, and to weigh well every circumstance, before they would proceed to judgment; but since that Lord which spoke last, had, with a very happy memory, delivered the effect of what the Judges had discoursed, and with no little force of elocution had endeavoured to incline their Lordships in favour of the Lord Willoughby, he would take the liberty to say something in the behalf of the Earl of Oxford: and first he thought it requisite and just not to proceed to the vote until they had heard all the Judges deliver their opinions; he said that might be shortly done, for the term was at hand, when they must repair to town. He told them, that in case of right*

*between private persons, when the cause appeared any thing knotty or doubtful, the several courts never used to proceed unto judgment, until the matter had been deliberately argued and debated by all the Judges in the Exchequer-chamber; and if yet there appeared any dissatisfaction, they deferred the determination of it until the next Parliament: wherefore if in lesser causes and between meaner persons, both present and former ages had been so tender in matter of right, How much more ought the Lords to be in this particular, being between persons of so great nobility, and a right of the most antient and the most honourable tenure of grand Serjeantry then in being? Yet, notwithstanding all this, if they would proceed to a vote with such precipitation, he desired them to consider, first, as to the Judges opinions, the ballance yet hung even, nor would he endeavour to cast it by making comparisons of the persons; their Lordships knew them well enough (42). Then he wished them to remember, that whenever before, as sometimes it had happened there had been a failing of the heir male in the direct line, not only the earldom of Oxford, but likewise the office of High Chamberlain, did revert unto the next collateral male of the same name and family. And lastly, he wished them to recollect, that this noble person who then made claim, was the 19th Vere who had borne that honourable title of Earl of Oxford, descended from Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Guisnes in Normandy, and Beatrice his wife, sister to King William the Conqueror. A family that had outlasted three races of the blood-royal; a family that had ever been true to the Crown, and untainted in every branch of it; a family that had filled our histories with the records of their noble actions, being ever, both in peace and war, most serviceable to the Crown of England. Concluding, that what Lord soever should give a vote to take away that office from that family, he was not worthy to have the blood of a Vere in his veins. But notwithstanding this speech, the right was carried by many voices for the Lord Willoughby (43). I remember (says our author) my Lord Clare came that day to dinner (which he seldom used to do in Parliament time), and sitting down, he was silent a good while, looking very red, as he used to do when angry. At last he broke forth thus, *Well, this day I have parted with all my opinion of Parliaments, when I see that those men, whose qualities and dignities should render them the least inclinable to fear or partiality, can yet, for fear of one great man, their fellow-subject, do an act so full of injustice as they have done this day in the cause of my Lord of Oxford. And the next day entering the House of Peers, he found four or five Bishops talking together (all the Bishops, by the Duke's instigation, had voted for the Lord Willoughby), whom he saluted, saying, My Lords, I observed yesterday you went all one way, and yet you shall not all be Bishops of Canterbury.**

[Q] He was confined, and reprimanded at the council-board.] This design, with a list of the several persons names who were taken up and imprisoned for countenancing and for dispersing the pamphlet in which it was written, is mentioned in our general histories, to which we refer, and shall only observe, that the Earl of Clare was confined to the Bishop of Winchester's house; and that though the Earl of Bedford very submissively acknowledged his fault, and his Majesty's favour in the liberty and pardon he granted him, yet the Earl of Clare would not speak one word. Of which being told by some of his friends, he replied, *That he would thank the King for his favours, but not for his punishments, especially when he could not understand that he had at all offended; for he could not think it a crime, deserving imprisonment, to look on that paper, which had run through the hands of every man.*

[R] He

(42) According to the Journal of the House of Peers, Dodderidge, Yelverton, and Baron Trevor, gave their opinions to the Lord Willoughby, and two, Lord Chief-Justice Erskine, and Lord Chief-Baron Sir John Walter, for the heir-male. The major part thus declaring, the Lords voted accordingly. Journal of Parliament, 2 Car. I.

(43) Whereupon he was admitted into the House, 13 Apr. 2 Car. I. with his staff of that office, and took his place of all the Barons, according to the Act of Parliament of 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 10. N.B. This office has continued ever since in his family; His Grace Peregrine Bertie, Duke of Ancaster, being descended from him.



Whilst the Earl continued under this cloud, the King making a progress into the North, together with the Prince Elector and Prince Rupert, who were then in England, continued several days at Rufford-Abbey, hunting in the forest of Shirwood. Whereupon, the Earl being then at Haughton, but four miles off, wrote a letter to the Prince Elector, (from whose mother, the Queen of Bohemia, he had found good respect) entreating his good offices for him with his Majesty; which being performed, he came shortly after and kissed the King's hand [R]. Before this time he had altogether estranged himself from the Court; nor did he much repair to the city, but lived for the most part in the country, at his manor of Haughton and his house in Nottingham, cherishing more quiet and contented thoughts in a retired life. He had by his lady six sons, John, Denfil, Francis, William, and two who died infants of the name of Charles; and four daughters, Eleanor, Arabella, Elizabeth, and Margaret. The three younger sons and Margaret died children, Elizabeth when she was near marriageable, and Francis at 18 years of age \*. So that, about twelve years before his death he had only four remaining, the two eldest of each sex. Of these he saw both his sons (of whom hereafter) and Lady Arabella married †, and lived to see grandchildren from all of them. Only Eleanor at his death continued a maid, afterwards married to Oliver Fitz-Williams Earl of Tyrconnel. The Sunday before he fell ill of that disorder which carried him off, going from prayers at St Mary's-church in Nottingham, he suddenly slept (taking his lady with him) into a place in the church; where laying the end of his staff upon the ground, he said, *In this place will I be buried*. After he found himself ill, he sent for Dr Plumtree, accounted the best Physician there, who gave him physic but it never wrought; whereupon he grew worse, and after a few days delivered his soul into the hands of God, on Wednesday the fourth of October 1637, at his house called Clare-palace in Nottingham, aged 73 years and about 4 or 5 months, as the inscription on his picture sets forth. He was interred in Clare-isle in St Mary's-church, the place where himself had appointed. There was no Will found after his death, except one made above 40 years before upon his going the island voyage, wherein were several legacies to persons dead before him. But a day or two before his departure he called his daughter Eleanor to him, and told her he gave her 6000 pounds, which was ready in the house for her. Mr Gervase Holles has drawn a character of him, which is inserted below [S]. His eldest son John, the second Earl of Clare, was born at Haughton June

\* See his monument in St Edmund's chapel in Westminster-abbey, with an inscription in English verse by his father.

† Viz. To Sir Tho. Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford. See his article.

[R] He came to Rufford-abbey and kissed the King's hand.] He then told his Majesty, that he found he had incurred his displeasure, but he did not know for what, only he conceived it was by the misinformation of some persons that were ill affected to him: and humbly besought his Majesty, that when the like should happen again, he would tell him of it, assuring him, that he would either clear himself, or acknowledge his error if he had offended, and ask his pardon; which he could not doubt of, because his errors would appear only errors of ignorance; and greater faults than these his Majesty pardoned every day. The King promised him he would, but the Earl said, he forgot his promise. He would say of the courtiers at that time, that they had little power to do good, but power enough to do hurt: for they could misrepresent any man to the King, and stamp an ill character upon him, and he should never know who injured him, and in what he was injured.

[S] His character drawn by Mr Gervase Holles.] The author having observed that Mr William Skipwith wrote a handsome elegy upon the Earl, which he once had, but had lost it, proceeds thus. I shall now give some description of his body and disposition. He was a personage of a gallant presence, full six feet high, straight, and of a strong limb. In his youth he was somewhat lean, but in his later days grew well in flesh, though not corpulent: his hair was of a light brown, something towards an aburne, his eyes grey, his skin white, and his cheeks rosy. In his face there was a strong mixture of severity and sweetness, and his motion was stately, befitting to great a person. I heard a lady say, that he came when he was a young man to the Earl of Huntingdon's, where he found divers persons of quality dancing, and he fell into the dance with them with his cloak and rapier on, which he performed with the best grace that ever she had seen any thing done in her life. He had a most becoming seat on horseback, and was an excellent horseman. In his youth he had a very active body, nor was it at all unserviceable in his old age; for I have seen him walk often from Chaloner-house in Clerkenwell, where he then lived, to the Parliament-house at Westminster, his coach passing after him. And I remember he seeing his son Denfell fencing, he took the other foyle, and played with him, which he performed with great skill (for he was singularly good at his rapier) and with as active a delivery, as the youngest man of them all. Thus much as to his body. But his mind was yet the

far nobler part, which was adorned with all the ornaments that the University, the Inns of Court, the King's Court, the Camp, Travayle, and Language could enrich him with. I must not forget the judgment of Sir John Brooke, now Lord Cobham (who was contemporary with him) which he delivered at the Lord Lexington's table in these words, *I have travailed the best partes of Christendome, and have conversed with the most noble persons where I came, yet in all my life I never met with so exactly accomplished a gentleman as my Lord of Clare*. He had a felicity of conversation beyond all other men. No person of what condition soever, that came to him, parted away discontented; he had so just a penetration, that he quickly found the bottom of his capacity, and which way his genius lay, then would discourse with him civilly in his own element, so as all men took their leave of him with a great deal of satisfaction. His table was in effect a continual *convivium philosophale*; for after he had reasonably well checked his appetite, he would ever start some discourse, either in divinity, philosophy, or history, in all which he was excellent. So that every man there had his mind as well as his body feasted. It hath often repented me, that I have not gathered and preserved those apophthegms, which fell from him at several times, which really would have weighed with the best of the Antients. His table was always good, and his retinue answerable, having ever the sons of some gentlemen to follow him, who would send them to him, as to a school of knowledge (44), virtue, and temperance, for he hated drunkenness and debauchery, nor would he endure excess in his buttery, which caused his house-keeping (in this low age where no entertainment is valued, that does not swim in drink) to be the less commended. The gentleman of his horse once took the liberty to tell him, that his table was good, and a little charge more would make his house-keeping without exception, and much to his honour, viz. 100l. more yearly in his cellar, and as much in his stables: he replied, Watson, Watson, *look you to my profit, I will look to my honour myself* (45). He was exceeding eloquent, and in his familiar letters, had one of the best styles that ever I met with. One discourse he was writing, and I believe finished before he died, but I have seen but a part of it. It was an answer to some passages in Sir Francis Bacon's Essay on Empire; wherein he says, that the errors of Princes for the most part proceed from a satiety of government,

(44) He took care of the education of Mr Gervase Holles for more than 3 years, descending even to the pains of reading Logic and Philosophy to him himself.

(45) Mr Gervase Holles observes, that his grandfather was more liberal this way, and even stiled the wonder of his age, for constant hospitality, which caused the Earl to let fall an unbecoming word, that his grandfather sent all his revenues down the privy-buise.



(i) He was first created Earl of Clare and Viscount Haughton Oct. 26, 1714, and afterwards Duke of Newcastle and Marquis of Clare, Aug. 2, 1715, with remainder to his brother Henry Pelham.

(k) He was also created, by the same patent, Marquis of Clare. N. B. The Dukes of Shrewsbury, Leeds, Bedford, and Devonshire, were all created so about the same time. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne.

\* The family of Vere Earls of Oxford was then become extinct by the death of Aubrey de Vere, March 12, 1702-3, whose daughter Diana became his sole heir, being married, Apr. 1694, to Charles Beauclerk Duke of St Albans, son to King Charles II. by Mrs Eleanor Gwin, from whom is descended George the present Duke of St Albans. Collins's Hist. Collect. &c. p. 282, 283.

June 13, 1595; and marrying Elizabeth, eldest daughter and coheir of Horatio Lord Vere of Tilbury, besides other children, had issue by her Gilbert, the third Earl of Clare; who was born at Hackney near London, April 24, 1633; and took to wife Grace, fourth daughter of the honourable William Pierpoint, second son of Robert Earl of Kingston, who brought him three sons; the eldest of whom, John, born January 9, 1661-2, became the fourth Earl of Clare; and four daughters, of whom the youngest, Grace, being married to Sir Thomas Pelham of Suffex, became mother to the present Duke of Newcastle; to which title, as also to that of Marquis of Clare, he by creation (i) succeeded her brother his uncle, the fourth Earl of Clare, who obtained the same by creation, May 14, 1694 (k), having married Margaret, third daughter and coheir of Henry Cavendish Duke of Newcastle, by whose Will he also succeeded to the whole of the Cavendish estate. But dying July 15, 1711, without male issue, the family of Holles thereby became extinct. His Grace made his last Will and Testament August 29, 1707, four years before his decease; *Wherein he desires his body may be buried in that vault in Westminster-abbey, where the Lord Tilbury lies buried\*, and that his funeral be performed in such manner, and so much money be expended therein, as his executors shall think fit. And that they, in some convenient time after his decease, shall cause a monument to be erected for him in such part of the said church as they shall think proper. He bequeaths to his wife Margaret, Lady-Duchess of Newcastle, his capital mansion-house, called Orton-house, with the appurtenances in Orton or elsewhere in the county of Huntingdon, which he purchased of the Earl of Kingston, to her and her heirs and assigns for ever: but he desires her Grace to dispose of the same to his daughter the Lady Harriot Cavendish Holles, if by her duty and obedience to her mother she shall merit and deserve the same; and, confirming his wife's jointure, he also gives her the use of all his plate during her life, and all his jewels absolutely. He bequeaths to his said daughter and her heirs for ever, all his estates in the counties of Stafford, York, and Northumberland (except such as are of his own purchasing in the county of York), over and besides 20000 pounds, which is provided to be paid her by his marriage-settlement; which settlement, as to the 20000 pounds, he also ratifies and confirms: and as for all other his estates, he gives and devises them to the honourable Thomas Pelham (now Thomas Holles (l) Duke of Newcastle) son and heir apparent of the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Pelham, entailing them on him and his heirs male; in default, to the Honourable Henry Pelham, one other of the sons of the said Thomas Lord Pelham, and his heirs male: in default, to the Honourable William Vane, second son of Christopher Lord Bernard, with like remainder: in default, to the Honourable Gilbert Vane (m), son and heir of the said Lord Bernard and his issue male: in default, to the right heirs of him the said John Duke of Newcastle. Provided that whoever shall possess the said estates so devised, shall assume the name of Holles ||. His Grace was buried in Westminster-*

(l) He assumed the name and arms of Holles, in pursuance to his uncle's Will, being therein adopted his heir.

(m) These two Vane were his Lordship's nephews, by his eldest sister Elizabeth, wife to their father, Christopher Lord Bernard.

|| Ex Regist. vocat. Fagg. No. 548 quire 202. in Cur. Prag. Cantuar.

vernment, which makes them descend many times, for variety, to low entertainments, as Nero to be a stage-player, Commodus a fencer, and the like. The Earl of Clare on the contrary proves, that the errors of Princes are in the persons abusing the office, and not in the office appropriated to a fit person. A discourse worthy the public view, being clad in an excellent stile, and designed with a singular judgment. He was of a most courteous and affable disposition, yet preserved exactly the grandeur and distance of his quality: nor was it possible, but all men should have loved him, had not the poison of envy swollen the stomachs of divers, who therefore were his enemies, because they well knew, what little inconsiderable trifles they were in comparison of him. His youth was lively and spiritul, and he would say, it was a preposterous thing to see a young man old; but his age was ever accompanied with a cheerful gravity. I remember that endeavouring to reconcile a difference between two of his poor neighbours, the one of them let a very slovenly speech fall concerning the other, at which the by-standers fell a laughing; he presently rebuked them saying, *Ye ought rather to pity the poor man, than deride him; for if God had given him better education, he would have expressed better manners.* A better husband, that is a more kind or careful, lived not; and indeed he had the happiness of a wife, that deserved all goodness from a husband. Neither was there a better father, or a better friend, more constant both in prosperity and adversity; of which the Earl of Somerset and the Bishop of Lincoln had good experience. I well remember, that the first time I saw the former of these (after the Earl's decease) he stood a pretty while sad and mute after he had saluted me; then he began thus. *You and I, Mr Holles, have lost a good friend.* And then throwing up his eyes, he thus proceeded. *Next the loss of myself, the loss of my Lord Clare was the greatest calamity that ever befel me.* I was once upon the top, when I was able to confer favours, and did so to some; though I must say, to my Lord of Clare, I never did one considerable courtesy. Yet I must tell you, had I stood, he had risen; but in my calamity, and when I was under-

foot, whether I look upon your nation or my own countrymen that I had deserved well of, I found not one faithful friend but my Lord of Clare. One other passage concerning him I must not omit. His mortal enemy, Gervase Markham, being then sheriff of Nottinghamshire, (which as I take it was in 1625) was robbed of about 5000 l. during his absence from home, by two of the Soubey's his reputed bastards, and others. But pursuit being made after them, they hid about 2000 l. of the money in Gameleston woods (a lordship of the Earl of Clare), which was found, and brought to the Earl, as lord of the fee, to whom, as felons goods, it escheated: but he presently sent the whole back to Gervase Markham from whom it was stolen, scornning to advantage himself by the spoils of his enemy. This act more enraged Markham than the loss of his money, because it imposed upon him an obligation to his adversary; yet after he had curst and swore like a beggar, he imposed upon himself so good manners, as to come to the Earl at Haughton, to give him thanks, which from the time of their combat, was the only time, during their lives, that they had seen one another. He [the Earl] was naturally just, but nothing liberal, no man living being more ready to oblige by his interest and endeavours, but not at all by his purse: which I have often fancied to be the reason, why our modern writers are so silent concerning him. For it is not merit so much as munificence that stuffs history with so many commendable characters. And writers for the most part remember not so willingly, who deserve well, as who deserves well of them. This little monument I have raised to his memory, which I hope shall last, as long as my posterity lasts; at least so long as any of them shall retain a love either to goodness, or to their ancestors. I shall conclude concerning him, making use of that of Tacitus upon Agricola: *Quicquid ex eo amavimus, quicquid mirati sumus, manet, mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum. Nam multos Veterum velut inglorios & ignobiles oblivio obruet, Clarensis Posteritati narratus & traditus superstes erit.*



Westminster-abbey according to the appointment in his Will, August 9 following his decease, and in 1723, his only child Henrietta Cavendish Holles Harley erected a magnificent monument to his memory (*n*), in the north cross isle near the entrance by Solomon's porch on the left hand. In the 5th of George I. there passed in Parliament an act, to render more effectual the agreements that have been made between Tho. Holles Duke of Newcastle, Henry Pelham Esq., Edward Lord Harley, and the Lady Henrietta his wife, William Vane, and Gilbert Vane, Esqrs. sons of Christopher Lord Bernard, or any of them, in relation to the will and estate of John late Duke of Newcastle; and for settling the same in such manner as may be agreeable to the intent of the said agreements, and for other purposes therein mentioned. Her Grace Margaret, Duchess-Dowager of Newcastle, deceased at London in the 65th year of her age, Dec. 24, 1716, and was interred with her ancestors in the burial place of the Cavendishes, in the church of Bolsover, January 5 following. Their Graces only daughter and heir, the Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, is now [1752] Countess-dowager of Oxford, and resides for the most part at Welbeck in Nottinghamshire. Her Ladyship was married October 31, 1713, to the Right Honourable Edward Lord Harley, only son and heir of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High-Treasurer of England; and by the death of his father, May 21, 1724, succeeded to his honours and estate, and died June 16, 1741. They had issue an only daughter their heir, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, married July 11, 1734, to his Grace the present Duke of Portland. P

(n) See the inscription on the monument.

HOLLES [DENSIL], Baron of Isfield in Suffex, and second son of the former, was born in 1597 at Haughton, his father's seat in Nottinghamshire. He had a noble education suitable to his quality, and his excellent endowments appeared from his youth, having the advantage of so great a tutor as his father, who gave all his children an education equal to the best, and beyond most of the nobility (*a*); and this was his favourite son [*A*]. He had likewise the advantage of being for some time a companion and bedfellow to the Duke of York, afterwards King Charles I. who took great delight in him. However, as soon as he came to man's estate, falling in with the sentiments of his father, he sided with the party against the Court in the last Parliament of King James I. having obtained a seat there as one of the representatives for Mitchel in Cornwall (*b*). He persevered in the same temper after the accession of King Charles I. to the throne, as has been already mentioned in the preceding article. Early in this reign he married [*B*] Dorothy, sole

(a) Memoirs of the family of Holles, by Mr Gervase Holles, ubi supra.

(b) Willis's Notit. Parliament. p. 188.

[*A*] *Densil was his favourite son.* Mr Gervase Holles observes (1), that the Earl saw nothing but arguments of comfort in his children, save only a difference, which happened betwixt his two sons, and which to his dying day he could not reconcile, they being both of great stomachs. Yet the ground at the first was slight, being only a trivial difference between their wives at cards, which drew in the husbands to make a party. Though, continues he, something of jealousy might stick concerning their father's affection; the Earl seeming to discover more of kindness to his younger son; led to it peradventure by the same ground, which makes grand-fathers love best their grand-children, as those that may be the less content to part with them.

(1) In Parentalia & Parentalia Hollesorum, MS. cited in the preceding article.

[*B*] *He married early in the reign of King Charles I.* This is evident from the conclusion of the following letter (2), wrote by him to his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) then confined in Kent for refusing to pay the loan money in 1626.

(2) Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I. p. 40.

GOOD BROTHER,

'To begin without complement, as I wish we may ever so continue (3), I know not, how your foggy air, you complain of, may affect your brains; but I am sure something has played such tricks in mine, that Jupiter's head asked not more, when Minerva was in it all in armour, than mine has done this fortnight; but if I had a Minerva, it was a *crassa Minerva*, for I had never a whit the more wit for it; and God be thanked I am now pretty well eased of the pain, as I think by this time you are of your *Marshallsea* ill air (a thing fatal to all prisoners) and I like your remove better beyond sea into Kent, than Currington's over Thames into the Fleet, but seeing he had not a horse, I think their Lordships did well to send him a journey by water. I shall desire to know where your rendezvous is, that I may now and then afflict you with some western intelligence; for you know, we have the active spirits of the time, and accordingly we were the first that cried out upon the dull sleepy time of peace, and desired action, in which virtue does consist. But we now to our cost find the old logic rule true, there is no action without

(3) See in the art. of the Earl of Strafford, the particular incident which broke the neck of this wish.

passion; for we suffer sufficiently for it, and now we can cry out as fast on the other side: that since these wars all our trading is dead, our wools lie upon our hands, our men are not set on work, our ships lie in our ports unoccupied, to be sold as cheap as fire wood: land, sheep, cattle, nothing will yield money; not to speak of other petty inconveniences we have found by the soldiers ravishing mens wives and daughters (getting them with child otherways was fair play, counted a favour); killing and carrying away beefs and sheep off the ground (stealing of poultry was not worth the speaking of); killing and robbing men on the highway, nay in fairs and towns (for to meet a man coming from the market with a pair of new shoes or a basket of eggs or apples, and take them from him, was but sport and merriment), and a thousand such other pretty pranks; come a dozen of them to a Justice of Peace and Deputy Lieutenant's house, and make my lady give them five or six pieces to be gone. Why we western lads respect not such things as these, so we may have wars, and be in action; for as you say our prizes make amends for all; yea, but the craft is in the catching, and I'll assure you, we are not overburthened with the store of them; and those few that are, now and then a barque of fish, or canvas from our neighbours and late friends by alliance the French (4), by that time my Lord Admiral and his Vice-Admirals be satisfied, and all other rights and wrongs be discharged, a slender gleanings is left for the taker. And I do not find the country to be any thing the better served for the sale of them, for every thing is at a most excessive rate, I protest a great deal dearer than at London. No, the prizes most common now a-days are the *prizes des corps* of you rebellious gentlemen, who will not open your purse-strings, and supply his Majesty's wants for the maintenance of the wars, and my Lord Duke's expences by sea and land, in war and peace. I hear there are more of you sent for, fourteen out of Yorkshire, eight out of Cornwall, *cum multis aliis, quos nunc perscribere longum est*, or rather *quos non proscribere longum est*; for this is the English of it, it will not be long before many more of you be banished your own homes. I hope now you see, we play fighting in earnest; take towns, and countries, whole

(4) This war with France was occasioned by the King's dismissing the Queen's French servants. See the general histories of England.



\* This gentleman dying in 1635, Mr Holles succeeded to about 1200 l. per annum in lands, besides a good personal estate. *Mr Gerard's letter to Lord Wentworth, in the Earl of Strafford's Letters, Vol. I.*

† Willis's Not. Parl. Vol. II. p. 424.

|| Willis, p. 240, 244. It appears from the same author, p. 229, 231. that Mr Holles was chosen for the same place in the Short-Parliament, which met 13 April the same year.

(5) According to she brought him a son, named Francis, born 10 days after the date of this letter. MS. of the Family of Holles in the Harleian library.

(6) By her son William, afterwards Earl of Strafford, born June 8, 1626. Essay towards the Life of Lord Strafford, subjoined to Strafford's State-Papers.

(7) Ubi supra.

(8) Whitlock's Memorials, p. 105.

(9) Upon their rejecting the King's propositions for peace, sent from Oxford to the Earl of Essex in January 1642.

sole daughter and heir to Sir Francis Ashley\*, one of the King's Serjeants at Law, and Recorder of Dorchester, whereby he became seated at Winterburne St Martin in Dorsetshire; and in the Parliament which met March 17, 1627, being returned for Dorchester †, he collected the three famous resolutions against Popery and Arminianism, and the King's right to tonnage and poundage, without consent of Parliament; and, together with Mr Valentine, held the Speaker of the House of Commons forcibly in the chair, while they were read by Sir John Elliot. He was, with the rest concerned, sharply prosecuted for this violence, which rendered him still more irreconcilable to the Court [C]; and being returned again for Dorchester, in the Long-Parliament called in 1640 ||, he was then at the head of the moderate Presbyterian party [D]; and though he would not be concerned in the prosecution of his brother-in-law the Earl of Strafford, yet he carried up the general impeachment of Archbishop Laud. He was one of the five Members accused of high-treason by the King, in January 1641; and in consequence thereof, at the breaking out of the Rebellion, had a regiment conferred upon him by the Parliament; and having been nominated by the Commons as a fit person to be trusted with the militia (c), was made Lieutenant of Bristol, and exercised the militia there. Thus, notwithstanding he was well affected to the establishment both in Church and State, yet he unwarily concurred

' whole islands, scare our enemies, beggar ourselves; for the end of our victories, I am afraid, will be as the good wife said to my Lord Bishop by her medicine, we shall be never the better, nor they much the worse. In the mean time we have lost many good men, yet let us make the best of it, and I hope it will make our wives, instead of bearing wenches, which of late you say they have been much given to, fall to bringing of boys, young soldiers for the reinforcement of our army; and I know no reason, but mine should begin (5), and she had as good do it at first, for if she do not, at her peril I hope to make her go again for it; and when my sister Arabella shall see how mine is served, I hope she will take fair warning, and do as she should do, but I fear not her so much, for she has begun pretty well already (6). And now I will close my letter to you, as you do your's with thanks by the way for it (as also for the whole letter) heartily praying, she may so continue to make you a glad father of many goodly and godly boys, and some wenches among, least the seventh work miracles, as old wives will tell us; and herself be a joyful and good mother, as I know she is a good and loving wife, and long may she so be to your comfort and her own; and this is the prayer of,

Your most affectionate  
loving brother and servant,

Dorchester,  
Aug. 9, 1627.

D. HOLLES.

[C] *Sharply prosecuted for this behaviour, which rendered him more irreconcilable to the Court.* Mr Gervase Holles (7) was of opinion, that his opposing the Court prejudiced his father the Earl of Clare in the King's judgment, and relates the following circumstance. A friend of the Earl's besought the King not to impute any miscarriage of the son to the Earl his father, nor let him suffer for the son's offence in his Majesty's opinion: the King replied, *He was sorry with all his heart for the miscarriage of his old companion and bedfellow; however he would be so far from reflecting on the father in it, that he would be content to bear the father in the son's behalf.* Yet, proceeds this author, was Denzil Holles kept close prisoner in the Tower for above twelve months, and when with much difficulty his liberty was procured, he was bound to his good behaviour for many years after. But he does not say that the father accepted the King's kindness in making the overture for an application, and strongly suggests the contrary both by his silence, and by the account he gives of the Earl's conduct at this time, as related in the preceding article. And it may be observed, that though Mr Holles was one of the five Members of the House of Commons accused of high-treason by his Majesty in January 1641. Yet being appointed of the committee to carry propositions agreed to be made to the King for a peace in the beginning of November 1644. His Majesty made no objection to him, as he had before to others that were accused, and nominated in former treaties (8). 'Tis true his eyes were then open, so that he discerned the designs of those, who were afterwards generally stiled *Root-and-Branch-men* (9), and accordingly these proposals

producing the treaty of Uxbridge, he was one of the commissioners there, who, as Lord Clarendon remarks (10), 'desired a peace upon much honest conditions than they durst own, and that he was the frankest among them in owning his animosity and indignation against all the independent party, and was no other wife affected to the Presbyterians, than as they constituted a party, upon which he depended to oppose the other, foreseeing that many of those, who appeared most resolute to concur with him, would by degrees fall from him, purely for want of courage, in which he so abounded.' There are several instances of this signal courage, a very remarkable one is related by the same historian as follows. Holles one day upon a very hot debate in the house, and some rude expressions which fell from Ireton, persuaded him to walk out with him, and then told him, that *he should presently go over the water and fight him.* Ireton replying, *his conscience would not suffer him to fight a duel.* Holles in choler pulled him by the nose, telling him, *if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them* (11). We have another instance from Mr. Whitlock (12), who was an eye-witness of it, being joined among others with Mr Holles to carry the Parliament's propositions for peace to the King at Oxford, in November, 1644. Soon after their arrival, some officers of the King's army coming into the hall of the inn, where they were lodged by the Governor's order, quarrelled with their servants, calling them, and their masters, and the Parliament, *rogues, rebels, and traitors*, and would not suffer them to come near the fire, on which there ensued a fray; and the servants acquainting their masters with it, Mr Holles went presently to one of the King's officers there, a tall, big, black man, and taking him by the collar, shook him, and told him it was basely and unworthily done to abuse their servants in their own quarters, and contrary to the King's safe conduct; and presently took his sword from him. This encouraged Mr Whitlock to do the like to another officer; and the result was, that the action being approved by the Governor, he sent the two disarmed officers to prison, and the commissioners were afterwards quiet.

[D] *He was at the head of the moderate Presbyterian party* The last mentioned noble author gives him this character (14). 'That he was as much valued and esteemed by the whole party [against the Court] as any man; as he deserved to be, being of more accomplished parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the Court and the Duke of Buckingham in the Parliament of the fourth year of the King, and his long imprisonment and sharp prosecution afterwards upon that account, of which he retained the memory with acrimony enough: but he would in no degree intermeddle in the counsels or prosecution against the Earl of Strafford (which he could not prevent) who had married his sister, by whom he had all his children (15), so that he was a stranger to all those consultations, though it did not otherwise interrupt the friendship he had with the most violent of those prosecutors. In all other contrivances, he was in the most secret councils with those who most governed, and was respected by them with very submissive application as a man of authority.'

[E] After

(c) Husband's Collections of Declarations, Votes, &c. from Dec. 1641, to March 21, 1643, p. 73, 74. 'Tis remarkable, that in Dec. 1645, the King proposed Mr Holles (among others) for the same trust. Rushworth, Vol. VI. p. 216, 217. and Whitlock, p. 191.

(10) Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 460. first edit. in folio.

(11) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 58.

(12) Memorials, &c. p. 108.

(14) Clarendon, Vol. I. 8vo. edition, p. 138.

(15) His Lordship seems to have been a stranger to the quarrel of the Holles family with the Earl of Strafford, mentioned in his article.



\* When Cromwell had brought his designs to perfection, he said at Kingston in 1648, that he was as fit to rule the kingdom as Holles. Hist. of Independency, Part iii. p. 21. edit. 1648. 4to.

concurred in all the measures of those who aimed at the utter extirpation of both, and thereby helped to put into their hands that sword which was employed against himself, when it was too late to oppose them \*. After having suffered much from both sides, he joined heartily in bringing back [E] the King [Charles II.]; who for that service was pleased before his Coronation to advance him to the dignity of a Baron of England, by the title of Lord Holles of Isfield (d) in the county of Sussex, having before called him into his Privy-Council (e). He was afterwards employed in several weighty affairs of State; though

(d) The patent bears date 20 April, 13 Car. II. He then was created a Baronet by patent, 6 June 27, 1660, 12 Car. II. Heylin's Help to History, p. 634.

(e) Hist. of Independency, 4th and last part, by T. M. p. 111. edit. 1650.

4to. Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 433.

(17) See Cromwell's article in remark [M]. N. B. These stories are related in the General Dictionary, and referred to in Tindal's note to Rapin's History, without any animadversion.

\* They were published in 1699 in 4to. with this title, Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, Baron of Isfield in Sussex, from the year 1641 to 1648.

(18) Whitlock, p. 306.

(19) Rushworth, Vol. V. p. 1226.

(20) Dugdale's V. of the Troubles, &c. p. 363.

(21) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. III. p. 457. where he is mentioned as one of the principal agents in the royal cause.

(22) Whitlock, p. 698 and 699.

(23) Clarendon, Vol. VI. p. 753.

(24) Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. X. p. 1.

(25) Ibid. p. 4.

(26) Ibid. p. 20.

(27) Hist. of Independency, by T. M. veritas supem.

(28) Some complaints being made of this speech afterwards, the House of Commons resolved, June 2, that Mr Holles have the leave of this House to print his speech to his Majesty, with his Majesty's answer there to, which he hath leave given him by his Majesty to print; and also the instructions of this House for his vindication. Journal of that House, Vol. X. p. 57.

[E] After having suffered much on both sides, he joined heartily in bringing back the King.] We have already mentioned his sufferings in general from the King's side; and as these were so many instances of his merit on the side of the Parliament, he afterwards in his own justification to that party, set forth the particulars in the following account, which at the same time is a signal testimony of his singular disinterestedness in their service. Having taken notice how greatly those that adhered to the army, had bettered themselves in their fortunes, he proceeds, 'I myself for my sufferings after the Parliament 3 Car. which continued many years, cost me some thousands of pounds, and prejudiced me more, had five thousand pounds given me by the house for my reparation. I refused it, and said, I would not receive a penny till the public debts were paid. Let any of them say so much. I desire whoever shall chance to read this, to pardon me this folly. I don't mean for not taking the money, but seeming to boast of it. I must again repeat the Apostle's words, I am become a fool in glorying but they have compelled me. It is true, I paid for a fine imposed in the King's bench a thousand marks. This in the time of these troubles, when my whole estate was kept from me in the West, that for three years or thereabout, I received thence not one farthing, was reimbursed me (16). Thus far on that side. On the other hand, from the year 1643, when he began (as has been already mentioned) to see into the destructive designs of the leading men in the army against the constitution, he opposed them with the same vigour and intrepidity as he had before shewn against the oppressions of the Court. To this end he found means continually to excite the King never to desist from offering propositions of peace to the Parliament even to the last, as their neglecting his gracious invitations would make them odious, if they continued in their obduracy; and so early as 1644, advised the Earl of Essex to divest Cromwell of his command in the army, and pressed to have him accused to the Parliament as an incendiary \*. Persevering with the same spirit in 1647 he made a motion in the House of Commons for disbanding the army, and even prevailed to have the foot regiments disbanded †. But it was now too late, and the army having got the absolute mastery impeached him of high-treason at the head of ten more of the principal members of his party. So that he was obliged to seek his safety by flying into France; where fixing his residence at *St Mere Eglise*, in Normandy, he wrote memoirs of the miseries that had befallen the kingdom. To which he prefixed the following dedication.

'To the unparalleled couple, Mr Oliver St John, His Majesty's Solicitor-General, and Mr Oliver Cromwell, the Parliament's Lieutenant-General, the two grand designers of the ruin of three kingdoms.

'GENTLEMEN,

'As you have been principal in ministering of the matter of this discourse, and giving me the leisure of making it, by banishing me from my country and business, so it is reason I should particularly address it to you. You will find in it some representation of the groffer lines of your features, those outward enormities that make you remarkable, and your pictures easy to be known, which cannot be expected here so fully to the life, as I could wish. He only can do that, whose eye and hand have been with you in secret councils; who has seen you at your meetings, your sabbaths, where you have laid by your assumed shapes (with which you cozened the world) and resumed your own; imparting each to other, and and both of you to your fellow-witches the bottom of your designs, the policy of your actions, the turns of your contrivances, all your falsehoods, cozenings, villainies, and cruelties, with your full intentions to ruin the three kingdoms. All I will say to you, is

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'no more than what St Peter said to Simon the forcerer, Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thoughts of your hearts may be forgiven you. And if you have not grace to pray for yourselves, (as it may be you have not) I have charity to do it for you, but not faith enough to trust you.

'So I remain,

At *St Mere Eglise* I thank God, not in your power,  
in Normandy this and as little at your service,  
14th of February, 1647, St. V.

DENZIL HOLLES.

We have transcribed this address, as it is a true specimen of the temper which swayed Mr Holles's pen at that time. His indignation was indeed that of a patriot indisputably just and noble, and the general merit of the piece, does more than atone for his too hastily crediting the stories of others concerning Cromwell's cowardice at the battles of Marston-moor and Basing-house (17), especially when it is considered that he had been himself an eye-witness of that tyrant's cowardly behaviour at Edge-hill. However Mr Holles did not proceed to publish these memoirs \*, refrained probably by an expectation, which there was some grounds to entertain soon afterwards, that he should be discharged by his own party in the House of Commons from the impeachment against him. This being effected in June 1648 (18), he returned home and resumed his seat in that house on the 14th of August (19), and was the first of the ten commoners in the treaty with the King at the Isle of Wight. When Colonel Pride seized on the forty-nine members, the very day that Cromwell returned from Scotland (20), Mr Holles being apprised of the inveteracy of the army against him, forbore coming to the House, whereby he escaped an imprisonment; and finding the Parliament submitted to their power, he consulted his own safety by retiring beyond the seas, and before the King's death went a second time into France. He now chose to reside in Brittany, and making use of such means as lay in his power for restoring King Charles II (21), he staid there till Monk came to London in the latter end of the year 1659, when he returned and took his seat in the House of Commons with the secluded members on the 21st of February. On the 2d of March, all votes against him were repealed, and the two acts of sequestrations of his estate, and on the 10th, they made him *Custos Rotulorum* of the county of Dorset. Upon the dissolution of that Parliament and the ordering writs for a new one on the 15th, he was appointed of the council of state to govern in the interim (22). During which he was one of those that held a conference at Northumberland house with Monk, where the King's restoration was proposed in direct terms, but not without some conditions (23). Hence it appears that he did not actually promote, though he readily concurred in and submitted to the Restoration, as it was afterwards brought about, without any terms or conditions. Upon the meeting of the Parliament, April 25, 1660, Mr Holles assisted by General Monk and Mr Pierpoint (ancestor to the present Duke of Kingston) placed Sir Harbottle Grimston, who was chosen speaker, in the chair (24). He was afterwards chairman of the committee of seven appointed to prepare an answer to his Majesty's letter delivered to the house May 1 (25), and was also of the committee appointed to confer with that of the Lords for preparing instructions for those who were to go with the letter of answer to his Majesty (26) and probably was the person who drew it up. Lastly, he was one of the twelve Commoners, who with six Lords, carried the Parliament's invitation to the King at the Hague to return (27), on which occasion he was pitched on to make the speech for the Commons (28), and accordingly returned with his Majesty shortly after.

29 S

[F] Correct

Holles, Vol. X. p. 57.

(16) Memoirs of Denzil Lord Holles, &c. p. 240.

\* Whitlock, p. 111.

† Ibid. p. 252.



(f) *Viz.* Clarendon, Whitlock, Rushworth, Journals of Parliament, &c.

though still retaining his first principles, he always sided with the country party. But for the particulars of his public employments and his conduct therein, we shall refer to the general histories cited in the margin (f), the substance of which is put together in the account of his Lordship's life by Arthur Collins, Esq; (g). 'Tis only in the view of making that account more perfect and compleat (which is the more immediate design of these memoirs), that some mistakes committed therein are rectified below [F], and one considerable

(g) In his Historical Collections of the noble Families of Cavendish, Holles, &c. from p. 100 to 162. Lond. 1752. fol.

(29) *Hist* of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 265 to 272. 8vo. edition.

[F] *Correct some mistakes and misrepresentations.* These are as follow. First, Speaking of the plot to bring up the army to awe the Parliament in 1641, he refers to Lord Clarendon's account of it (29), with this remark, that his Lordship's observations and conclusions may admit of some dispute in readers, that will examine the several particulars that were then published. In support of this general charge, nothing is produced but only that his Lordship asserts, 'That Wilmot Ashburnham and Pollard, on their examinations upon oath denied their meeting at Mr Percy's chamber, and of a discourse of the Parliament's neglect of the King, and favouring of the Scottish army, the taking an oath of secrecy, and some other particulars [contained in Percy's letter]. Also alledging, that in all their testimonies produced, there was so little shew of proof of a real design or plot to bring up the army to awe the Parliament, that in truth it was very evident, there was no plot at all, only a free communication between persons (the major part whereof was of the House) of the ill arts that were generally used to corrupt the affections of the people; and of some expedient, whereby in that so public infection the army (in which they had all considerable command, two of them being general officers) might be preserved from being wrought upon and corrupted.' Our author apparently in the view of invalidating the force of these assertions, inserts Percy's letter and the Earl of Northumberland's testimony concerning it given to Mr Holles (30), who was employed by the House of Commons on this occasion, and as it is upon his account only that this matter is introduced, it seems thereby to be insinuated, that he would not have been concerned in the affair, had he not been persuaded of the reality of the plot. But surely it ought to have been observed, in justice to the Earl of Clarendon, that it is no prejudice to the character of Mr Holles, to suppose him innocently drawn into this belief, and engaged in this affair by the artifices of those with whom he was joined at this time, having then, as he himself intimated afterwards, no suspicion of their designs (31); and that therefore Mr Holles's persuasion and behaviour thereupon, is far from being a sufficient reason to dispute the veracity of his Lordship's account, and especially when it is considered, how very positive his Lordship is in maintaining his assertion concerning Percy's letter, and how well it is supported, a bare reference thereto may perhaps hardly be deemed enough to clear Mr Collins from the charge of partiality. The noble author having related what was generally believed afterwards concerning the letter, viz. 'That Percy finding the sea-ports shut, and watches set for his apprehension in all those places [beforementioned] whereby the transporting himself into foreign parts was very difficult, he found means to return to London, and to put himself into his brother's protection, where it is thought he was harboured, till his hurt was cured, the strictness of the enquiry over, and till he had prepared that letter to his brother the Earl of Northumberland, which served as far as in him lay to destroy all his companions.' His Lordship then proceeds thus. 'The truth is, that after his brother's being accused of high-treason, and then upon his hurt in Sussex coming directly to Northumberland house to shelter himself, the Earl, being in great trouble of mind to send him away beyond the seas after his wound was cured, advised with a confident friend then in power, whose affection to him he doubted not, and innocently enough brought Mr Pym into the council, who overwitted them both, by frankly consenting that Mr Percy should escape into France, which was all the care the Earl had; but then obliged him first to draw such a letter from him, as might by the party be applied as an evidence of the reality of the plot after he was escaped; and in this manner the letter was procured, which made a lasting quarrel between the two brothers.' To confirm this his Lordship adds, as a sufficient argument to evince what opinion the House of Commons had of the letter, as well as of their other evidences of the plot, that they never proceeded against

Wilmot, Ashburnham, or Pollard, who were in their power, though they patiently attended, and imported a trial above a year after their accusation.

Another misrepresentation given by Mr Collins, and that founded upon a gross mistake concerning a matter of fact attested by the Earl of Clarendon, relates to the famous Protestation made by both Houses, on occasion of the same plot, to defend the Protestant Religion. His Lordship having recited the Protestation, proceeds thus. 'This oath of their own making to entangle the people (so like a covenant) by which such admirable things had been compassed by their neighbours, and upon which they could make what gloss they pleased when they had occasion, as they did within two days after, some of their own party taking occasion to inform the House, that it was apprehended by many well affected abroad, that if they should take the Protestation, they should thereby engage themselves for the defence of the bishops, &c.' Whereby without any great opposition, in a thin House, the ensuing order was made. Whereas some doubts have been raised by several persons out of this House, concerning the meaning of these words in the Protestation lately made by the members of this House. The true reformed Protestant Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, against all popery and popish innovations within this realm, contrary to the same doctrine. This House doth declare, that by those words was and is meant, only the public doctrine professed in the said Church, so far as it is opposite to popery and popish innovations; and that the said words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of worship, discipline, or government, nor of any rites or ceremonies of the said Church of England. His Lordship farther recites, that this Explanation was made in the House of Commons, without ever advising with the House of Peers; and that they ordered the Protestation, together with the Explanation, to be printed and published without consulting with them (32). Upon this Mr Collins makes the following observation. That in the diurnal occurrences of those times, wherein the proceedings of the Lords and Commons are set forth, some particulars relating to the Protestation, &c. are differently related; and, continues he, as Mr Holles (of whom I am treating) was chosen by the Commons to confer with the Lords thereon; I think it necessary to remark, that the Explanation beforementioned is not cited by any but the Earl of Clarendon (33). Strange escape! It is not only to be seen in Rushworth (34), together with the day, May 13, 1641, when it passed the House, but was also printed and published that same year, together with Mr Holles's speech on presenting the Protestation to the House of Peers, as also the Protestation itself, and the preamble; the whole concluding with the order for taking it, entitled, *Directions for more orderly making the aforesaid Protestation* (35), which being not common to be met with, we shall insert as follows. *It is thought fit that the Protestation which the Parliament lately made, be taken by the City of London, in the several parish-churches in the afternoon of some Lord's day after sermon, before the congregation be dissolved, by all masters of families, their sons, and men-servants, in manner and form following. First, that forthwith notice of this intention be given to the minister, church-wardens, and some other meet persons of each parish in London, liberties, and adjacent parishes, and some of them to give notice to the rest of the parishioners. Secondly, That the minister be intreated (if he please) to acquaint his parish in his sermon, either forenoon or afternoon, with the nature of the business, more or less, as he shall think fit, for the better and more solemn taking the said Protestation; or if the minister refuses it, that some other be intreated to preach, that will promote the business; or if neither of these may be had, that some other convenient course be taken by some well affected to the business, to stay the parish and communicate the matter to them. Thirdly, That the minister or ministers of every congregation first take it in his or their own person, reading the said Protestation in so distinct a voice, that all present may conveniently hear it, and that all the assembly present do*

(31) In his Memoirs, &c. from the year 1641 to 1648. edit. 1695. 4to.

(30) Historical Collections of the Holles Family, p. 108.

(32) *Hist.* of the Rebellion, &c. Vol. I. p. 251, 252, 253, 8vo edition. This particular is confirmed by the author of the Diurnal occurrences of both Houses of Parliament, from 3 Nov. 1640, to 3. Nov. 1641. p. 317—319.

(33) Historical Collections, &c. p. 116.

(34) Rushworth's Collections, Part iii. Vol. I. p. 273. edit. 1692. folio.

(35) It does not appear by what authority these directions were drawn up, but it was evidently done in pursuance to the vote of the House of Commons, die Ven. 30 July, 1641. That this House doth conceive, that the Protestation made by them is fit to be taken by every person that is well affected to Religion, and to the good of the Commonwealth, &c. Diurnal Occurrences, &c. p. 321.



considerable omission supplied in remark [G]. His Lordship's first wife dying at Paris in 1665, whilst he was Ambassador there, he was married in King Henry VIIIth's chapel in Westminster-

do make the same Protestation distinctly after this manner, every man taking this Protestation into his hand. I, A. B. do in the presence of Almighty God, freely and heartily promise, vow, and protest, the same which the leading person took, naming the person. Fourthly, That there be a register-book, wherein every man taking this Vow or Protestation, subscribe his name or mark, and that the names be taken of such as do refuse the same. Fifthly, That all the parishioners aforesaid, whether in town or out of town, be earnestly required to be present at their own parish-church in the afternoon of that Lord's-day wherein it shall be taken, that every man may take it in their own place, and if any be necessarily absent, that they may be desired to take it the next Lord's-day after, or as soon as may be with convenience. Sixthly and lastly, That all whom it doth not immediately concern, be earnestly required to depart. A copy of the whole lies now before me, intitled, *A True copy of the Speech made by the Honorable Denzell Holles, Esq; at a Conference by a Committee of both Houses of Parliament in the Painted Chamber, concerning the Protestation formed by the House of Commons, which was solemnly made by every Member of the same; wherein is set forth the Protestation itself, and the reasons inducing them to make it; together with their desire that the Lords would concur with them in the same zeal and affection for the public safety, with an Explanation upon some doubts made upon the said Protestation.* London printed MDCXLI. but without the printer's name. With regard to Mr Collins, it is observable that this famous Explanation being notoriously levelled against the Bishops, is little consonant to what he remarks in the introduction to his account of it concerning Mr Holles, who, says this author, as he was not only a son of the first Earl of Clare, and brother to the Earl Clare (a constant attendant of the House of Peers), but had also by his learned and elegant speeches in several debates gained great applause, the House of Commons, in their conferences with the Lords, chose him to deliver their sentiments on the most important occasions; except, continues he, their proceedings against the Bishops, wherein he would not be prevailed on to be concerned (36). That is (as it must be understood) after he begun to see into their design against the Monarchy; for before that, he joined in every step that was taken against Episcopacy. And besides the Explanation (37) and Protestation just mentioned, and his speech thereupon, there is in print another, and as tart a one as ever came from him, which he spoke against the Bishops in the debate about taking away their votes in Parliament

[G] Supply an omission in that account.] This omission relates to a passage in his Lordship's private life, wherein his character being aspersed, he printed and published his own defence, under the following title. *A true Relation of the unjust Accusation of certain French gentlemen charged with a Robbery (of which they were most innocent) and the Proceedings upon it, with their Trial and Acquittance in the Court of King's-Bench in Easter Term last. Published by Denzel Lord Holles. Partly for a further Manifestation of their Innocency (of which, as he is informed, many do yet doubt) and partly for his own Vindication, in regard of some Passages at that Trial, which seemed very strongly to reflect upon him.* In the introduction, having mentioned his reasons (the same in substance as in the title) for publishing this account, he proceeds to the matter, wherein he observes, that these two gentlemen, one a youth of about seventeen, called *Valentine Simon, Chevalier de [that is Knight of] Hoëville*, he being designed it seems by his parents, to be a Knight of Malta, when it is usual to give them the appellation of Knight even very young before their going thither to take upon them the vow and habit. The other, whose name was *Adrian Lampriere St des Mazieres*, nineteen years of age, and of a good family in Normandy, as well as the former, both of them neighbours to Lady Holles, and to her seat in those parts, and their parents of acquaintance and friends to her Ladyship. That though they arrived in London on the third of November 1669, yet she heard not of them, 'till they were made to cry to her out of Hertford goal, whither they were sent on the eleventh of that month, having been seized with three more of their countrymen

and acquaintance at Hatfield (38), for robbing four butchers upon Totternoll-hill in Bedfordshire, on the eighth instant. His Lordship engaged with admirable diligence in their behalf, which was become absolutely necessary by the behaviour of one of the butchers [Bellingham], who on every occasion persisted steady in swearing very peremptorily against them. For that reason, notwithstanding there was unquestionable evidence to prove their being in London on the same day and hour when the fact was charged upon them to be committed in Bedfordshire, yet his Lordship was not satisfied till he had found the very persons who actually committed the fact, and brought one of them [Walrond] to confess it in open court. 'Twas his Lordship's management in this last particular, which occasioned the reflections upon him mentioned in the title page of his narrative, and of this he gives the following account. 'I was, says he, from the beginning as certain as of any thing that I had not seen with mine eyes, that the French gentleman were innocent, and therefore when Du Val and Mac Guy were taken up for a robbery, I did verily believe they had done this, and therefore I went with Mr Hall of Dorsetshire to Newgate; but Du Val denied it.' Yet after two days, one of the French gentlemen came to him and told him, that Du Val had then confessed it to a Romish Priest an Englishman. 'It was upon a council-day, and, continues he, I was then going to council, where I acquainted the King with what had been told me that morning, and got the King's warrant to bring Bellingham to confront Du Val.' Whereupon taking two justices along with him they went to Newgate, where Du Val confessed the fact before the justices, and charged Walrond as an accomplice, who was then in the Gate-house on a general suspicion only. His Lordship therefore went to him, and before Lady Broughton, keeper of the prison, and the turnkey, asked him, 'If he knew any thing of the robbery, &c. of which, says he, I desired him but to tell me the truth. My Lord, answered he, as no-body as yet hath come against me to accuse me, so I have not been indicted, and if I should accuse myself, I might bring myself into trouble, and I have not yet my pardon, which I hope I shall obtain by the King's mercy. I replied, Mr Walrond, I will promise you, that whatever you say to me, shall not arise in judgment against you; his answer was, my Lord, I will acquit myself to you, and tell you all, and then did confess to me the whole matter, and told me many particulars; and then indeed I told him, that he had done well, and had told me, what I knew before, for that Du Val and Mac Guy had confessed the same thing; and as to his pardon, I did again assure him, that it should be no prejudice to it, and happily it might be an advantage, for that I would endeavour all I could to help it forward. He afterwards put down in writing what he had said, and I did move his Majesty for his pardon, and got it passed for him in charity, as he had no money to pay for it. But, continues his Lordship, he was terrified at the trial, and told, he had now confessed enough to be indicted for it, and so perplexed with questions, that he knew not almost what he said, and left an impression, I verily believe, with most of the standers by, that he was gained by me to take this robbery upon himself, merely to save the Frenchmen at the bar, himself not at all guilty of it. But how undeservedly that could be imputed to me, let my greatest enemy be judge, if this my narrative be true, as I take the God of truth to witness that it is true, I mean for matter of fact, and for what I relate here as said or done by me.' Having related the whole trial, with all the proceedings preparatory thereto, and the acquittal of the Frenchmen, he proceeds to observe the bad consequences that would probably have followed, if these gentlemen had been condemned and suffered; that they had friends and kindred in their own country, who had courage enough to resent, and very likely would have revenged it upon the next of the English they had found in France, and thence it might have bred a national quarrel. But that now they had received some reparation, for that having since brought their action against the butchers for an unjust and malicious prosecution, they had recovered four hundred pounds damages in the Common-Pleas before the Lord Chief-Justice Vaughan. Lord Holles likewise received satisfaction for

(38) They all went on horse-back, first to visit a merchant at Barnet, with whom they had some business, and missing of him, they went to see Hatfield-house, and were apprehended at the inn where they put up their horses in that town. See a true Relation, &c. Lond. 1671. 4to. 95. 44 pages.

(36) Historical Collections, p. 115.

(37) Lord Clarendon observes, that this was voted in a thin House; but if Mr Holles was not then present, he manifestly concurred in it afterwards.



(b) He had married his 3d wife in 1669. See remark [G].

(i) He had three more sons by his first wife, viz. Denzel, John, and another Denzel, who all died in their infancy. MS. de Famil. de Holles in bibl. Harleian.

(k) Chauncy's History and Antiquities of Hertfordshire, p. 491.

Westminster-abbey, September 14, 1666, to Jane, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir John Shirley of Isfield in Suffex, Knight, widow of Sir Walter Court, Knight; and after her decease, which happened in a few years (b), he married Hester, second daughter and coheir to Gideon de Lou, Lord of the Mannor of Columbiers in the duchy of Normandy in France, widow of James Richer, Lord of the Mannor of Cambernon in the same province. He had no issue by either of these latter wives. He died on Tuesday, 17 Feb. 1679-80, aged 81 years, 3 months, 16 days, and some hours, and was interred at Dorchester, being succeeded in honour and estate by his only son (i) Sir Francis Holles, Baronet [H], who, in the latter part of his life, resided at the seat purchased by his father at Aldenham in Hertfordshire (k), where he was buried. He died March 1, 1689-90, leaving an only son and heir, Denzel Lord Holles, born April 9, 1675. But his Lordship dying of a fever, January 25, 1693-4, unmarried, was the last of this branch of the family; whereby the honour became extinct, and his estate devolved on his heir John Holles Duke of Newcastle, mentioned in the preceding article, who in 1699 erected a stately monument, in the church of Dorchester, with an inscription, in reverence to the memory of his great-uncle, Denzel Lord Holles, the first Baron of Isfield, the subject of this article [I].

the affronts put upon him at the trial by the Lord Chief-Justice Keeling, who when he attempted to speak to the characters of the Frenchmen, stopped him, saying, he must not interrupt the Court; and Lord Holles replying, that it was neither to interrupt the Court, nor to do them any wrong to inform them as much as possible of all passages, &c. The Chief-Justice answered again very angrily, *My Lord, you wrong not the Court, but you wrong yourself; and it is not the first time you have been observed to appear too much for strangers.* 'So, says Lord Holles, I was snubbed and set down again, but I must say it was language I had not been used to, nor I think any of my condition, that had the honour to serve the King, in the quality, I do, of a Privy-counsellor.' The Lord Chief-Justice also upon Walrond's evidence declared (looking fully at Lord Holles, whence the whole Court understood it to be meant of him) *that there had been some foul doings.* Upon these injuries he petitioned the House of Lords, who on Friday March 10, 1670, made the following order. 'This day the Lord Holles produced several witnesses to be examined concerning his complaint on his petition of several indignities put upon him by the Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of King's-Bench, at the trial of some French gentlemen in the said Court of King's-Bench, who were there falsely accused of a robbery by four butchers in Easter-Term last. After the hearing of which witnesses, the Lord Chief-Justice made his defence, and denied, that he intended any thing against the Lord Holles when he spoke those words at the said trial, that it was a foul contrivance, &c. as in the petition is set forth; to which defence the Lord Holles made a short reply, and then voluntarily withdrew himself, and the Lord Chief-Justice withdrew himself also. Upon which the House took the whole matter into serious consideration, and ordered, that the Lord Chief-Justice should be called to his place as a Judge; and openly (in the presence of the Lord Holles) the Lord-Keeper should let him know, that this House is not satisfied, with his carriage toward the Lord Holles in this business, and therefore has ordered, that he should make this acknowledgment, which is to be read by the Clerk as followeth, That he did not mean it of the Lord Holles when he spoke these words (that it was a foul contrivance) and that he is sorry that by his behaviour or expressions, he gave any occasion to interpret it otherwise, and asks the pardon of this House and the Lord Holles. Then the Lord Chief-Justice of the Court of King's-Bench was called to his place, and (the Lord Holles being also present) the Lord-Keeper performed the directions of the House, and the Lord Chief-Justice read the acknowledgment afore said, only changing the stile into the first person.'

(39) Journal-book of the House of Peers, anno 1671.

(40) See the text in note (d).

(41) Ex Regist. Eccles. Sti Petri apud Westminster. They were married in Henry VIIIth's chapel.

(42) His Lordship had a remarkable suit in Chancery with Lady Carr, sister-in-law to his wife, for her portion, which was decreed in his favour in 1686. Vernon's Reports, Vol. I. p. 431. case 406.

John Browne, Cleric. Parliamentorum (39).

[H] *Sir Francis Holles, Baronet.* He was born August 19, 1627, at Dorchester, and created a Baronet in the life-time of his father (40). On the 22d of August, 1661 (41), he married Lucy, youngest daughter to Sir Robert Carr of Slesford in Lincolnshire, Knight and Baronet, and had by her two daughters, Mary and Denzella, who both died in their infancy, and were buried in Holles's south isle adjoining to the church at Isfield, and their mother dying September 15, 1667 (42), Sir Francis took to his second wife, Anne,

eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Francis Pile, the second of that name of Compton-Bauchamp in Com. Berks, Baronet. She brought her husband one daughter, Jane, who dying an infant, was interred in 1673, at Isfield, as was also her mother, on Thursday May 4, 1682. So that she lived to be Baroness Holles, and died in the house of her Lord in Lincoln-square, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, Middlesex \*.

[I] *An inscription in reverence to the memory of the subject of this article.* It is drawn up in the following terms.

To eternize the name and honour of Denzel Lord Holles, Baron of Isfield.

*His birth was equal to his virtues, being the second son of John the first Earl of Clare, who by sea and land, at home and abroad, did not more signalize himself in the service of his country, than he was meritoriously distinguished and rewarded by Queen Elizabeth and King James. All that Denzel's wit or courage, probity or industry presaged in his youth, he made good and exceeded, when a man. For as his excellent endowments and abilities made him early known to his Prince and country, so he could by his eloquence and valour intrepidly defend the liberty of the last, without refusing the obedience that was due to the former. When the rights of the nation were barbarously invaded by that army, which the Parliament levied to secure them, he bore the violence and injustice of his enemies, as it became a finished hero: nor could losses, exile, or his hatred to the factious, make him forget the love that he owed to England. After the restoration of monarchy, he was created Baron of Isfield by King Charles II, and had the honour of representing him in two extraordinary embassies; the one to Lewis the French King, who no less admired the generosity, whereby he maintained so high a character (43), than he dreaded that virtue he was not able to corrupt by his magnificent presents, which were more princely refused, than offered. No part of his reputation was diminished, when he went afterwards Plenipotentiary to the treaty at Breda. His learning was unaffected, useful, and general; but not to be exceeded by any in the knowledge of the ancient records of the kingdom (44), and the distinct powers of the several parts of the administration. So true a friend, that none could exceed or equal him. He was as great a patron to religious, as to civil liberty, which made him universally beloved and lamented; when he peaceably ended a long and glorious life, the seventeenth of February in the year of Christ, one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, and in the eighty-second year of his age. This monument is therefore dedicated to his memory for the honour of the present age, as well as an example to posterity, by his nephew's son and heir John Duke of Newcastle.*

MDCXCIX.

We have inserted this inscription, because it contains an exact and particular account of his Lordship's character. And several articles of it are confirmed and illustrated by remarkable instances in the following letter, wrote, as appears, in confidence, and conveyed privately to Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State (45).

Paris, 1<sup>st</sup> July, —64.

'S I R,

'I have received your's of June 27, most welcome to me; and I give you my humble thanks for it, be the

\* MS. de Famil. de Holles, in Bibl. Harleian.

(43) Sir Henry Chauncey relates, that, during Mr Holles's Embassy in France, he continually kept a noble table, furnished with dishes of meat after the English fashion, and in contempt of the French mode. Antiq. of Hertfordshire, p. 491.

(44) His Remains are an illustrious instance of this truth.

(45) The original was communicated by Dr Birch to Mr Collins. Historical Collections, &c. p. 159.



the contents what they will, which must be what the complexion of the time affords, and not always what you and I would desire. Cloudy enough it is for the poor Protestants, methinks, in all quarters; and no where worse than here. The poor people of Privas, that are forced from their lands and houses, are not suffered to carry away their moveable goods with them, but are robbed of it as they go; and the country of Gex by Genève, which had been antiently the Duke of Savoy's, taken from him by the Swissses of Berne, and upon the restitution of it back from them to him, agreed they should still enjoy their liberty of religion; which the Duke of Savoy still suffered them to do, and afterwards passed it over to the King of France upon an exchange, but with that condition for the freedom of their religion, which they have ever since enjoyed from the time of Henry IV. being all Protestants: now all their temples are every one pulled down to the number of three and twenty, and the exercise of their religion suffered but in two places, where they are glad to make use of barns; and no reason given for it to such as have been deputed hither, both from them and from the Canton of Berne, to endeavour to obtain some favour in it, but *Le Roy le veut*. Truly I doubt it will drive them to despair at last, and they will so wring them, that blood will come at last. Here is a report this week, that the Protestants of Hungary have made their agreement with the Turk; and probable enough, for the Emperor had used them most severely; and certain it is, that the Protestant cantons of the Swissses are so ill satisfied with France, seeing the hard hand held here upon the Protestants, and their mediation for them so little considered, that they begin to hearken to the King of Spain, who hath made an offer to take off the Inquisition in Spain, upon condition that they will enter into a league with him. One Veroldingues of the canton of Uri is the promoter of it, and hath been with all the Protestant cantons about it, inasmuch as Berne have sent their deputies to the Spanish Ambassador there, the Conde de Castañ. The levies which Spain makes there are now perfected, and are upon their march, two thousand Swissses and two thousand Grisons; and but need enough, for they are in Spain in a very bad condition, not able to take the field, a few horse, about five thousand, and in bad equipage, no foot at all; and the Portuguese on the other side as strong, have taken Valença de Alcantara, a place of importance; and the very letters from Madrid say, may take Albuquerque after, and all Estramadura; for, say they, our councils are bewitched and our forces small, that we have nothing to oppose them: and I think they are bewitched indeed, for weak as they are, they go not about to strengthen themselves, nor to make friends. I do not find that Sir Richard Fanshawe, from whom I had a letter this week, is well satisfied with them: his expression is, that he does not find the middle to answer the beginning, whatever the end will be, speaking of his usage there; and I hear his men and the Spaniards have been together by the ears. All seems to make for the greatness of France. The weakness, and divisions, and ill counsels, and ill successes of the undertakings of all the other Christian princes and states, are the elevation of this young king, who may be raised so high, that his brains may turn, and he may *suus viribus ruere*, commonly the fate of human greatness. Yet he hath certainly great advantages of his own, besides what his neighbours contribute to make him great; a clear understanding, a good judgment, an indefatigable industry; then a vast treasure and absolute power within his kingdom, all of them necessary qualifications for one that will carry on great designs. Our war with Holland will be no hinderance to him, and may give way to his growth up at sea, where his greatest defect is, and he knows it; and therefore now bends all his thoughts and care to supply it, and to that purpose hath set up an East-India company, to which himself contributes vast sums, five millions; and allows great privileges to encourage adventurers, who come in apace; and then for the Mediterranean sea and the trade there, he hath now set out a fleet of thirteen ships, eight galleys, some fire-ships, and forty other vessels of lading, with all manner of materials for the building a fort upon the coast of Afric, where he will land near upon seven thousand men, within ten, upon a just account. This under the command of Mr de Beaufort; and if

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once he can get to be considerable at sea, he will be formidable indeed; and yet need not our master fear him except he will; and he only of all the princes of Christendom is out of his reach, who can prejudice him, and receive no prejudice from him; except it be that the other plow with his heifer, get within his councils; so will he unriddle his riddles, and I doubt not doth now; otherwise I should not have orders sent me to go and visit the Princes of the Blood, which is now a tame yielding of that up which we have struggled for all this while, and had gotten with so much difficulty; for in every body's judgment that hears of it, it is giving them the precedency, and as great a dishonour to the King as can be after all this bustle; and to have carried it, as I may say, in the field, to be outwitted, and perswaded out of it in his chamber. Sir, it makes me mad, that I wish myself ten thousand miles off, to be the unhappy man, that must be forced to deliver up the honour of my king and nation. Oh that I had never come hither! or that I might soon be suffered to return from hence (46), where I shall be ashamed hereafter to shew my face, which hitherto I could hold up with some comfort, though I received no favour nor kindness from them. Yet they got no ground of me; nay, they had lost ground, which now they recover with advantage; for to recover a lost game, is more than to have fortune give it at the first; it is the product of a greater virtue. I am full, and glad I can unburthen myself into a friend's bosom; all is, how I shall be sure to get it thither, that it fall not into another hand, which I hope I shall by the means of an honest merchant, which must be your way, when you write any thing you would have no-body else see. Remember my humble service, I beseech you, to our good Lord-General, whose humble servant I am, as I am also most affectionately,

Sir,

Your very faithful

And most humble servant,

HOLLES.

There has been printed another of his Lordship's letters, written in the year 1676, which is evidently dictated by the same patriot spirit, and addressed to Mr Van Benninghen, who had been the Dutch Ambassador in England. But it is too long to be transcribed here\*. We shall only take notice, that, among other memorable passages, his Lordship observes, that England was then in a very weak condition; which he ascribes to two causes. (1.) To the change of the ballance from the nobility to the people. (2.) To a succession of three weak princes together; in which case, says he, the government can hardly stand—'And therefore I make no doubt to affirm, that if the government of the Parliament had not been interposed in the middle, the government must have sunk ere now; for *save what they did, we have not taken one true step, nor struck one true stroke, since Queen Elizabeth's time*.' Whoever compares this passage with the sentiments of his Lordship's father, seen in the preceding article, concerning the Stuarts, will perhaps be inclined to think, that a disgust to that family was inbred in the son.

Besides what have been already mentioned, there came out in 1682, in 8vo, a piece intitled, 'LORD HOLLIS HIS REMAINS: being a second letter to a friend, concerning the judicature of the Bishops in Parliament. In the vindication of what he wrote in his first, and in answer to a book since published against it, entitled, *The Rights of the Bishops to judge in Capital Cases in Parliament, cleared, &c.* It contains likewise part of his intended answer to a second tractate, entitled, *The Grand Question touching the Bishops Right to vote in Parliament, stated and argued*†. In the preface, the editor, who hath added a tract of his own on the same subject, having asserted the authenticity of this piece, observes, that his Lordship lived not to finish his answer to the *Grand Question*, &c. but often affirmed that he had conquered all the difficulties in it. 'Nature, continues he, *was spent.—And when we consider that he had passed the age of man, having arrived to his eighty-first year, and that he continued still writing for eternity—surely I cannot be taxed of impertinence, if I here strew upon his hearse some of Cicero's happy flowers, since one would think they sprung up now for*

(46) His Lordship entered on this embassy July 7, 1663. and propositions for an accomodation being made by the French, after their declaration of war, Jan. 27, 1665 (a), he did not come away presently, but advertising his Majesty that they played a double game (b), he was recalled, and arrived at Whitehall 24 May, 1666 (c).

(a) Kennet's Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 279.

(b) Pointer's Chron. Hist. Vol. I. p. 212.

(c) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under this year 1666.

\* It may be seen in Mr Collins's Historical Account, p. 152—157. who transcribed it from the Memoirs of the Hollis Family; the author of which maintains, that it ought to be set in golden characters, and preserved to all posterity. See Kennet's Hist. of Eng. Vol. III. p. 341. &c. b.

† This dispute was occasioned by the debates in Parliament, preceding the trial of the five Popish Lords in 1675, on account of the Popish plot. Ibid. p. 365. 2d edit.



this very purpose. Est etiam quietæ & puræ atque elegantæ ætatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem ac-

cepimus Platonis, qui uno & oâgagemo ætatis anno scribens mortuus est (47).  
P Senectute.

HOOKER [ROBERT], an eminent mechanic genius, was born on the 18th of July, 1635 (a), upon a peninsula called Freshwater, on the west side of the Isle of Wight, where his father Mr John Hooke was minister. Being a very weakly child he was nursed at home (b), with small hopes of his life for the first seven years. Yet under this constitutional infirmity, which particularly subjected him to violent pains in the head, there appeared a sprightly and active temper, which being accompanied with a quick apprehension and a promptness at his book, induced his father to think of breeding him to the Church; and, having taught him to read, he proceeded in that view to instruct him in Grammar for some time; but growing aged and infirm, was obliged to drop his design, not being able to go through a work wherein he met with too many discouraging hindrances, from the frequent returns of his son's head-ach. Thus left to himself, the boy followed the peculiar bent of his genius, which was naturally turned to Mechanics, and employed his time in making toys of that sort with uncommon attention [A]. These indications led his friends to think of some ingenious trade for him; and, as he had also a great fancy for drawing (c), so, after his father's death, which happened in the month of October 1648, he was placed with the celebrated Painter Sir Peter Lely; but the smell of the oil-colours increasing his head-ach, he quitted that business in a short time, being kindly taken thence by Dr Busby into his house, and supported there while he attended Westminster-school. By this means, he not only acquired a competency of Latin and Greek, together with an insight into Hebrew, and some other oriental languages, but also made himself master of a good part of Euclid's Elements, being encouraged therein by the doctor, who allowed him particular hours for that study (d). About the year 1653, he was removed to Christ-church-college in Oxford (e), a chorister's place having been procured for him there, and he was admitted servitor to one Mr Goodman \*. In 1655, he was introduced to the Philosophical Society at Oxford (f); where, his inventive genius being observed, he was first employed to assist Mr (afterwards Dr) Thomas Willis, in his operations of Chemistry; and this eminent Physician recommending him to the honourable Robert Boyle Esq., he afterwards served that curious and inquisitive gentleman in the same capacity for several years. The same year, 1655, he was instructed by Dr Seth Ward, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, in that science; and applying himself to improve the pendulum for Astronomical observations in the two subsequent years, he contrived a way to continue the motion of the pendulum, so much commended by Ricciolus in his Almagest; which book had been recommended to him by Dr Ward. Having made some trials to this end which succeeded to his wish, the success of these put him upon thinking to improve it further, for finding the longitude; and by the method he had made for mechanic inventions [B], being quickly led to the use of springs instead of gravity for the making a body vibrate in any posture, he first of any one invented, in 1658 and the following year, what is now called the pendulum watch [C]. About the same time he also invented

(a) He was baptized the next day, Ath. Ox. Vol. II. c. 1039. probably on account of his weakness.

(b) All their other children were nursed abroad. Life of Dr Hooke, prefixed to his Posthumous Works, by Rich. Waller, Esq; fol. 1705.

(c) He copied several prints with a pen so well, that Mr Hoskyns (son of the famous Hoskyns, Cowper's master) much admired they could be done by one not instructed. Ibid.

(d) Ibid, and Wood, ubi supra, who says, he likewise learned of his own accord to play 20 lessons upon the organ, and invented 30 ways of flying, as himself and Dr Wilkins of Wadham-college had reported.

(e) Waller, p. 3 probably from our author's papers, there being now no entry of his admission in the college register. Whence Mr Wood, ubi supra, places it in 1650 doubtless on report only.

\* Ibid. N. B. the choir-service was then suppressed.

(f) See an account of this society in the article of Dr Wallis.

(g) Journals of the Royal-Society, Vol. I. p. 104.

[A] He made some mechanical toys with great attention. For instance, seeing an old brass clock taken to pieces, he made a wooden one that would go; he likewise made a small ship about a yard long, fitly shaped, masted, and rigged, with a contrivance to make it fire small guns, as it was sailing cross a haven of some breadth (1).

[B] His method for mechanic inventions. Mr Waller observes, that he never could meet with this method mentioned here, and in several other places of our author's works, and called sometimes by him a *Mechanic Algebra* for solving any problem in mechanics, as easily and certainly as any geometric problem is solved by algebra, asserting that by this his method, he could readily determine whether any such problem was possible, and if so, which was the easiest and nearest way of solving it (2).

[C] He invented the pendulum watch in 1658. The invention whence this watch had its name, is a spring fastened at one end to the plate, and at the other end to the arbor of the ballance, to regulate its strokes and motion. That Mr Hook was the first inventor of this spring cannot be denied, if his first thought was conceived at the time here mentioned; and that it was so, is inferred from the following account of it given by himself, and confirmed by Mr Waller. In the postscript to his treatise of *Helioscopes*, published in 1675 \*, expressly to vindicate his right to this invention, our author writes thus, 'About seventeen years since †, being very inquisitive about regulating the measure of time in order to find the longitude, I did from a mechanical algebra which I was then master

of, find out and perfect this contrivance both in the theory and experimental verification thereof, of which I discoursed to several of my friends, but concealed the modus. About fifteen years ago, viz. in the year 1666, I was in treaty with divers persons of honour for the discovery thereof upon proposed articles of encouragement. This I can prove by undeniable witnesses yet living; and I have still all the papers, articles, and transactions of this matter by me in their own hand writing. In order to bring this treaty to pass, I was necessitated to discover something of my invention about measuring time, which was this way of applying springs to the arbor of the ballance of the watch, for regulating the vibrations thereof in all postures.' We find him also in another place (3), giving the same account, and naming Mr Boyle, as the particular friend to whom he first applied to on the occasion, who imparting the affair to the Lord Brouncker and Sir Robert Moray, they advised the getting of a patent, and that Sir Robert drew up the form of one, 'The principal part whereof, continues our author, viz. the description of the watch so regulated, is his own hand writing, which I have yet by me.' In confirmation of this account, Mr Waller says, that among Mr Hooke's papers, he met with a draught of an agreement to this purpose, between the Lord Brouncker, Mr Boyle, and Sir Robert Moray, with Robert Hooke, M. A. The substance of which was, that Robert Hooke should discover to them the whole of his invention, and should have such a share of the profits to be made by it as is there set forth; and be publickly owned the author and inventor thereof. That there

(1) Our author's own account, in his Life, by R. Waller, p. 1.

(2) Ibid. in a note to an Extract from our author's papers, inserted in p. 3.

\* In the title-page it is put 1676. from the custom of the Printers in beginning the year at Michaelmas; after which, and before Christmas, this treatise of *Helioscopes* must have been printed. See note (49).

† See also Derham's Artificial Clock-maker, p. 102, 103. edit. 1734.

(3) MS notes of our author, ubi supra.

|| And consequently not before 1663, when that degree was conferred upon him. See above in the text, and in note (e).



(b) MS. notes of our author, printed by Waller, ubi supra. Mr Wood tells us, that he explained Euclid's Elements and Descartes's Philosophy to Mr Boyle. Ath. Ox. ubi supra.

(i) This Committee consisted of Wilkins, Ent, Whistler, Ward, Henshaw, Drs. and Mr Hooke. Hist. of the R. S. in two vols. by Birch, edit. 1756. Vol. I. p. 25. N. B. This subject has been since prosecuted by Mr Haukelby, Dr Jurin, and others, as may be seen in the Phil. Transf.

(k) Ibid. p. 125.

(l) Ibid. p. 150.

(4) Ibid. p. 5. Perhaps it was one of these other draughts which Derham tells us was drawn in 1660.

(5) Artificial Clock-maker, ch. viii. edit. 1734.

(6) Ibid. p. 103. Compare his *Brevi Institutio de usu horologiorum ad invenendas longitudes*, edit. 1657. and his *Horologium*, in 1658. with his *Horolog. Offic.* p. 3.

(7) P. 500, & seq.

(8) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 8.

(9) Derham's Artificial Clock-maker, p. 98. edit. 1734.

(10) See a description thereof, with other matters relating to it, in Hooke's Cutlerian Lectures, and in his *Animagin. in Hevelii Machina Cœlestis*, p. 69.

(11) Life of Hooke, p. 3.

(12) A person of this name was an active member of the R. S. at its first settlement in 1660. Hist. of the R. S. in two vols. 4to. edit. 1756. Vol. I. passim.

invented several astronomical instruments, for making observations both at sea and land [D], and was also particularly serviceable to Mr Boyle, in compleating the invention of the air-pump (b) [E]. In 1660, he published a small tract in 8vo. upon the rising of water in slender glass pipes higher than in larger ones, and that in a certain proportion to their bores, together with the cause thereof [F]. This subject was taken into consideration by the Royal-Society, and a committee appointed to examine into the truth of the fact, on the 28th of May, 1661 (i). Which year our author published another piece in 4to. intitled, *A Discourse of a new Instrument* (lately invented by him) *to make more accurate observations in Astronomy than were yet made*. November 12, 1662, Sir Robert Moray, then President, proposed him for Curator of Experiments to the Royal-Society; whereupon, being unanimously accepted of, it was ordered that Mr Boyle should have the thanks of the Society, for dispensing with him for their use, and that he should come and sit among them, and both bring in every day of their meeting 3 or 4 experiments of his own, and take care of such others as should be mentioned to him by the Society (k). He executed this office so much to satisfaction [G], that, upon the establishment of that illustrious body by the royal charter, his name was in the list of those who were first nominated by the Council, May 20, 1663 (l); and he was accordingly admitted, June 3 following, with a peculiar exemption from all payments (m); and he was frequently afterwards a member of the Council himself (n). The same year, on September 28, he was nominated by the Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of Oxford, for the degree of Master of Arts (o); and on the 19th of October it was ordered, that the repository of the Royal-Society should be committed to his care, the west or white gallery in Gresham-college being appointed for that use (p). In the month of May, 1664, he begun to read the Astronomy lecture at Gresham for the Professor Dr Pope, then in Italy\*; and the same year he was made Professor of Mechanics to the Royal-Society by Sir John Cutler, with a salary of fifty pounds per annum, which that gentleman

(m) This exemption was only peculiar, as it was ordered at his admission; for at different times the like exemption was granted to other members, particularly to Dr Charlton and Dr Pell. Birch's Hist. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 247.

(n) See their Journals.

(o) Wood's Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1039, 1040. & Fasti, col. 156. but it does not appear by the Register, whether he was then admitted or diplomated.

(p) Ward's Life of Dr Hooke, in the Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 174.

\* Mr Hooke continued to read this lecture 'till Dr Pope's return some time in the following year. Ibid. p. 112.

(13) Hooke's Life, p. 3.

(14) Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 189.

(15) In his Hist. of the R. S. 4to.

(16) Life of Hooke, p. 8. & seq. 1705. folio.

(17) Philos. Exper. and Observ. &c. of the late Dr R. Hooke, edit. 1725. 8vo.

(18) Hist. of the R. S. &c. in 2 vols. 4to. 1756.

air-pump as then published by Mr Boyle. This draught was in the hands of Mr Waller, whom he informed, that Mr Boyle sent him then to London to get the barrel and other parts of that engine made there, which could not be done at Oxford (13).

[F] *A tract about the rising of water in slender pipes, &c.* In the catalogue of our author's printed works by Mr Ward, the first is, *An attempt for the explication of the phenomena observable in an experiment published by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq; in the XXXV experiment of his Epistolical Discourse touching the air: in confirmation of a former conjecture made by R. H. London, 1661, 8vo.* Upon which that gentleman makes the following remark. Mr Waller, says he, informs us, 'That soon after the beginning of the Royal-Society viz. about April 1661, a debate arose in the Society occasioned by a small tract printed in 1660, about the cause of the rising of water in slender glass pipes higher than in larger, and that in a certain proportion to their bores. This discourse was wrote and published by Hooke, the explication of which difficult phenomenon made him the more regarded. The sum of his reasonings upon this subject he published afterwards in his Micrography Observation VI. in which there are several very curious, and then new remarks, and hints as to the nature of fluidity and gravity, which last is farther prosecuted in his Treatise of Springs. This small tract, continues Mr Ward, here said to have been written and published by Mr Hooke in 1660, seems to agree in all circumstances with that, whose title I have here given, except in the year of its publication 1661. But as it is well known, that books when printed are often antedated, and as I do not find upon the strictest enquiry, that he ever published any other separate discourse upon that subject; I cannot but think this is the tract referred to by Mr Waller (14).'

[G] *He executed this office to their satisfaction.* The journals of the Society are a sufficient testimony of this truth, by the large number and variety of his experiments and inventions therein recorded. Some of these are taken notice of by Dr Spratt, in 1666 (15), and Mr Waller recited a great many of the most considerable of them, and such as were brought nearest to perfection in 1705 (16); several others were printed by Dr Derham afterwards in 1726 (17); and the rest that are worth notice, will fall into the design of Dr Birch; who has published some of them this year, together with others, as a supplement to the Philosophical Transactions (18); wherein likewise several of our author's experiments and observations may be found; and some years ago, about 1640, a large number of his original papers and draughts in the Society's possession, were collected into one volume, and disposed in order of time by Dr Tho. Stack, F. R. S.

[H] His

there were some other draughts which differed only in the division of the profits (4). These circumstances leave no room to doubt that the regulator was invented at the time here fixed for it. But it must not be omitted, that in the first invention, the form of this spring was not spiral (as now) but straight (5), like the clock pendulum, which is of the same use in that machine, as this spring is in the watch, and was invented a little before it, viz. in the preceding year 1657, by Mr Huygens (6). Dr Derham, observing that one end of this tender straight spring played backward and forward with the balance, proceeds thus, 'so that the balance was to the spring as the bob of a pendulum, and the little spring as the rod thereof.' This analogy indeed holds well enough with regard to the form as well as the respective position and motion of these contrivances; but in their respective uses the order is inverse, the spring in that view being to the balance as the bob of a pendulum, and the balance as the rod.

[D] *Several astronomical instruments, &c.* Our author tells us, that he afterwards shewed these instruments to the Royal-Society, and Mr Waller thought they were those instruments which are mentioned in his astronomical lectures, published in his posthumous works (7). About the same time also, as Mr Hooke himself says, he contrived the circular pedulum and the use of it, for continuing the motion of another pendulum which he afterwards shewed to the Royal-Society in 1663, about which time and afterwards several particulars relating to it are inserted in their journals as his (8). He also gives an account elsewhere of his bringing it into use in 1665, and exhibiting it to the said Society the following year; and we are told by another author (9), that 'the motion of this pendulum being as regular as the vibrating one, was contrived by Mr Hooke, to give warning at any moment of it's circumscription, either when it had turned a quarter, half, or any lesser or greater part of it's circle. So that here you had notice not only of a second, as in the pendulum vibrating seconds, but of the most minute part of a second of time, by which means it was made very useful in astronomical observations (10).'

[E] *He was serviceable to Mr Boyle in perfecting the invention of the air-pump.* Our author tells us (11), that in 1658, or the following year, he contrived and perfected the air-pump for Mr Boyle, as it was printed in 1660, having first seen a contrivance to that purpose made for that excellent person by Mr Gratrix (or Greatrix (12)), which was too gross to perform any great matter. Mr Hooke here assumes the honour of perfecting that celebrated machine to himself. The sequel of this memoir, will discover the exact weight of that authority as to such claims. In the mean time 'tis certain, that he made a draught of the



(7) Both the subject and number of the lectures were to be appointed by the Society, who ordered their thanks to be returned to the founder, for his kindness to so worthy a member. Waller, p. 10. from the Journals of the R. S.

(r) Birch's Hist. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 3 and 8.

(s) Ward, ubi supra.

(t) They returned March 14, and the quadrant was produced March 31. Journals of R. S.

(u) This was done by moving the arm with a screw on the limb of the instrument, and might perhaps be the first of the kind, which is now in common use. Waller, *ibid*. There is a description of one at large, p. 54. of the Animad. upon the Machina Cœlestis.

(19) There is also an account of it in the Journal des Sçavans, for Decr. 1666.

(20) The famous Optician at that time.

(21) Life of Hooke, p. 10.

(22) Ward, in our author's Life, p. 190.

(23) *Ibid*. p. 175.

(24) In the Life of Sir Christopher Wren, p. 102.

man, the founder, settled upon him for life (q). On the 4th of January, 1664-5, It was ordered that the Society be summoned to meet on Wednesday following, for the election of Mr Hooke as Curator by office, who was recommended from the Council to the Society by the President. Accordingly, at the next meeting, on January 11, He was elected Curator by office to the Society, and that for perpetuity, with a salary of thirty pounds a year pro tempore (r). And on the 20th of March following, he was elected Professor of Geometry in Gresham-college (s). In 1665, he published at London in folio, his *Micrographia, or some Philosophical Descriptions of minute bodies made by magnifying glasses, with Observations and Enquiries thereupon* [H]. And during the recess of the Royal-Society on account of the plague, the same year, he attended Dr Wilkins and Sir William Petty, about the middle of July, to Durdens, a seat of the Earl of Berkeley near Epsom in Surry, where several experiments were made, which were afterwards communicated to the Royal-Society. And at one of their first meetings after their return to Gresham-college (t); he produced a very small quadrant for observing accurately to minutes and seconds (u). September 19, 1666, he produced a model of his own design for rebuilding the city, destroyed by the great fire. This being approved by the court of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen [I]; though not carried into execution, Mr Hooke was appointed City-Surveyor (w); in virtue of which office he laid out the ground to the several proprietors for rebuilding. As this proved a very gainful employ [K], so a great part of his time was spent upon it, which occasioned an unavoidable interruption in the business of experiments. However, before the expiration of the year, in pursuance of an order by the Royal-Society on the 9th of January 1666-7, he begun to prosecute his observations of the earth's parallax, which had been proposed by him formerly (x). He produced several new inventions in this and the four following years, the most considerable of which are printed in some of his works, or related by Mr Waller. But we must not omit to take notice, that, in 1668, Mr Hevelius, the famous Astronomer at Dantzick, having presented a copy of his *Cometographia* to Mr Hooke (y), among other members of the Royal-Society, our author in return sent the Consul a description of the dioptric telescope, with an account of the manner of using it, at the same time recommending it to him as greatly preferable to those with plain sights (z). This gave the first rise to the dispute between them, mentioned in a preceding Memoir (aa); wherein, though Mr Hooke had the best side of the question, yet he managed it so as to be universally condemned [L]. But in 1671, he attacked Sir Isaac Newton's

(w) One Mr Oliver, a Glass-Painter, was joined with him in it. Waller, p. 13, and Ath. Oxon. ubi sup.

(x) See remark [M].

(y) Birch's History of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 313. Our author had made Hevelius a handsome compliment, on account of his *Selenographia*, printed in 1647. See his preface to *Micrographia*.

(z) *Annus Climactericus* Joh. Hevelii, &c. p. 39, 40, 41.

(aa) That of Dr Halley.

New

[H] His *Micrographia*, &c.] In the Philosophical Transactions, No. 11. there is an account of this book (19). In which, as Mr Waller observes, 'It will hardly be denied that there are more excellent hints and philosophical discoveries, than in most extant of it's bulk. The book, continues he, being well known, I shall only observe that there are described in it several sorts of microscopes, with the ways of using them. As also the baroscope, hygroscope, an instrument to graduate thermometers. An engine to grind optic glasses. An instrument to try the refraction of liquors. I remember, says he, Mr Marshall (20), when he desired the Society's approbation of his new method of grinding spectacles, owned he had the first intimation of it from a hint of Mr Hooke's, in this book about polishing many of the small microscopic glasses at once (21). But whatever merit this piece had, it never was printed but once; the later date 1667, found in some copies, being only put to a new title page (22).

[I] His model was approved by the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen.] Sir John Lawrence, the late Lord-Mayor, being present when the model was produced to the Society, acquainted them, that the said court desired it might be shewn to his Majesty. However no notice was taken of this request; probably because Dr Wren's model had been then delivered to his Majesty, and by him approved and laid before the Council; though as the Doctor had not an opportunity to communicate his either to the Royal-Society or the City, before it was sent to the King, neither of them probably at that time had seen it; that is, in their corporate capacity, or at a public meeting, as it must be understood, for Mr Ward, who gives this account (23), refers therein to a letter wrote to Mr Boyle by Mr Oldenburg, September 18, 1666, of which he has, in the place referred to (24), transcribed the following extract. 'Dr Wren has, since my last, drawn a modell for a new city, and presented it to the King.—I was yesterday morning with the Doctor, and saw the modell.—I then told him, that if I had had an opportunity to speak with him sooner, I should have suggested to him, that such a modell contrived by him, and reviewed and approved by the Royal-Society or a committee thereof, before it had come to the view of his Majesty, would have given the Society a name, and made it popular, and

availed not a little to silence those, who ask continually, 'What have they done. He answered, that he had been so pressed to hasten it, before other designs came in, that he could not possibly consult the Society about it. However, since it is done without taking in the Society, it must suffice, that it is a member thereof that hath done it; and, by what I see, hath done it so, that other modells will not equall it. And I hope, that when it comes to be presented to the Parliament, as the author will be named, so his relation to the Society will not be omitted.' The date of this letter shews, that when Mr Hooke's model was produced to the Society, that of Dr Wren had been seen by Mr Oldenburg, and therefore probably by others, especially as there was not the same reason for keeping the secret so strictly after he had got the start in presenting it to the King. But the chief reason of inserting this extract here, is the manifest disgust that appears in it on the occasion of Dr Wren's not having communicated his model to the Society. This disgust doubtless had spread itself a good way among them; and thence it is obvious to conceive, how a person of Mr Hooke's temper might be encouraged to make the attempt, we have seen he did, upon them by his interest in the City; which behaviour, considering his competitor's great merit and esteem, particularly in that Society, seems otherwise to be unaccountable.

[K] This proved a gainful employ.] The profits of it arose from the money which was given him by the several proprietors of the ground for dispatch. The whole amounted to several thousand pounds in gold and silver, and he put it all into a large iron chest, which was found after his death locked down with a key in it, and a date of the time, shewing it to have been so shut up for above thirty years (25).

[L] He managed it so as to be universally condemned.] This controversy at first was conducted with temper enough on both sides, by means of Mr Oldenburg; who receiving Hevelius's letters, which were addressed to him, returned the substance of Hooke's answers thereto (26). However, these first letters discover the point in dispute between them, which being carried to extremity on both sides, furnished fuel for the flame that broke out afterwards. This point was, whether distances and altitudes could be taken with plain sights any nearer than to a minute. Mr Hooke asserting they could not, whereas,

(25) Waller, ubi supra.

(26) See five of these letters in *Ann. Climaet.* from p. 39 to 46. Our author seems never to have held any direct correspondence with Hevelius.



new theory of light and colours, with somewhat better success in regard to his reputation, though

whereas, with an instrument of a span radius, by the help of a telescope, they might be determined to the exactness of a second. Mr Hevelius on the other hand insisting, that by the advantage of a good eye and long use, he was able with his instruments to come up even to that exactness; and appealing to experience and facts, sent by way of challenge eight distances, each between two different stars, to be examined by our Professor (27). Thus the affair rested for some time with sufficient outward decency, though not without some inward grudge on each side (28). In 1673, the Consul published the first part of his *Machina Cœlestis*, as a specimen of the exactness both of his instruments and observations; and sending several copies to be presented as presents to his friends in England, left out Mr Hooke.

On the other hand the Cutlerian Professor taking occasion to read several lectures upon that book and the instruments therein described, printed them in 1674, with the title of *Animadversiones on the first Part of the Machina Cœlestis of the learned and deservedly famous Astronomer Johan. Hevelius, Consul of Dantzick*. But now not being able to contain himself longer within the bounds of decency, he assumed a magisterial air, and in that spirit threw out several unhandsome reflections upon the Consul. How this behaviour was resented, appears from a letter sent by Hevelius to Mr Oldenburg, Aug. 31, 1675, wherein he writes as follows: Literas tuas, Vir honorande, die 16 Aprilis scriptas una cum transmissis illis libellis—accepi. — Inter libros autem illos—etiam Cl. Hooekii *Animadversiones in Machinam meam reperi, sollicitie quidem & anxie conscriptas.* — Quamprimū versionem [in linguam Latinam] obtinuerō, omnia debite, ut decet, respondebo. Ad hanc autem opellam credas, Mi Amice, ægre admodum accedo, non quod non confidam me suos nodos Gordios solvere, aculeosque suos, quibus me sæpius pungere ipsi placuit, minime detegere atque a me avertere posse, haud quaquam sane! sed quod animus meus res tales plane abhorreat, cum primis cum aliis rixari, verbisque nudis & otiosis, & quidem contra socium ejusdem Ill. Reg. Societ. contendere, prout etiam, sicuti puto, ingenuum & cordatum virum decet. Ego quoque, absit jactantia, re ipsa nunquam non luculenter ostendi, ac semper de me meisque laboribus atque studiis magis quam de aliorum fui sollicitus, & quidem non tam verbis quam opere ipso, ut mea, quousque liceret, perficerem, lubens lubensque (nisi coactus) aliorum Clariss. Virorum operas, utut nonnunquam in quibusdam mecum non convenirent, relinquens; nullum sane ad meas partes coëgi, nec persuadere operose sum conatus, ut suas partes omnino quos veriores esse putarent, desererent; multo minus ita me gessi, quasi in liberatas mentes Dictaturam exercere mihi præsumerem. Adhuc in opusculis meis nequam alicui nec Posteritati leges præscripsi, ut vestigia mea omnimode sequerentur, & quod sic, & non aliter negotia illa tractanda forent, nec rationes meas & inventiunculas esse omnium optimas, securissimas & subtilissimas, quæ unquam excogitari ab aliquo possent, demonstrari sum conatus, nequam profecto. Longe aliter semper sensi & adhuc sentio, sicuti abunde legere est in machina mea cœlesti; posse nimirum cum Deo & die abunde præstantiora, accuratiora, & subtiliora inveniri, & in lucem protrahi. Ego non nisi literis semper consignavi quæcunque pro meo modulo à Deo concessio, jam divino adspirante numine, perfecissem, & quousque ea successissent; prout & tota mea machina non nisi historica relatio est earum scilicet rerum, quæ peractæ à me ope divina essent, quæ via rem aggressus, nihilque addidi, quod sciam, quod non per plurimos annos ad præxim ipsamet deduxissem, ut ita ex mea mente feliciter satis succedere ex ipsa experientia essem compertus; minime vero de rebus futuris, quæ & quomodo fieri deberent & possent, atque sic de incertis nulla gloriosa verba faciendo. At vero Cl. Hooekius, ut video, plane diversum habet animum; magis enim circa aliena quam sua est curiosus; ubi inventa sua jam factis & observationibus à seipso peractis demonstrare deberet, ibi nudis & prolixissimis verbis, & splendidissimis rationibus rem gerit. — Secundo nihil potius agit, quam ut mihi totique mundo persuadeat (mihique passim exprobrat, quod ipsi non obtemperem ac sequar, ac si illi aliquod dominium in me competere) rationem suam observandi astræ esse optimam—quæ in eo genere inveniri posset unquam, cum tamen totum suum negotium in nudis sermonibus & ostentationibus consistat. — Deinde pariter indignum est, aliorum optima intentione peractos, & adhuc per-

gendo labores, quacunque etiam ratione id sit, protinus carpere, contemnere, & rejicere, & quidem tales quos videre Cl. Hooekio nunquam adhuc obtigit, nec videre ulla ratione potuit. — Satiū igitur est, ut judicium suum de nostris qualibus qualibus eo usque suspendat, donec nostra recte viderit, & integerrime absque omni livore examinaverit; nobis vero de suis observationibus credendum, & ambabus manibus easdem amplectendas nihil obtrudat, donec & sua coram intueri, & examinare integrum erit omnibus. — Verum enimvero quomodo in singulis fere animadversionum suarum pagellis mea observata atque opellas fugillet, perstringat, ac floccifaciat, neque ipsum passim carpat, illudat, ac ludibriose, non solum coram suis discipulis sed etiam toto erudito mundo tractet, abunde legere est. Nihil enim recte unquam vel debite à me ex sua opinione susceptum vel transactum, quod non censuram & intempestivam suam correctionem mereatur. — Videri quidem passim vult, ac si mihi admodum sit addictus, ac me mire laudet; sed quo animo & affectu, quilibet ad rem attentus, etiam si putet subtilissime rem à se esse gestum, perspiciet. Summa summarum; dum me laude quasi afficit, ut ex reliquis diversarum pagellarum formulis loquendi manifestum est, magis magisque me ludit ac pungit (29). Videtur fere, quod de me in hisce pagellis quasi vindicare se voluerit, iramque suam ea de causa evomere, quod illum non pariter inter præcipuos meos Angliæ Fautores & Amicos nuper posuerim; sed ratio hæc nimis est leviuscula; & è contrario reliquæ, quas adducit, apud me minime valent; ac itaque nulla fere superest, quam quod alios reprehendendo & redarguendo, suæque ad cælum extollendo, insignem gloriam atque famam sibi acquirere studuerit. — Verum nolo amplius de Cl. Hooekii conatibus erga me, ne tibi amico optimo sim molestus, verba facere; siquidem nolens volens omnimode cogor alio loco hæc omnia fufus deducere, annectendo, non omnia ab ipso prolata, miracula & oracula esse, & quod in alieno plusquam in suo videat. — Equidem ipsi longe gloriosius fuisset, ut nudis verbis pepercisset, remque ipsam solummodo in posterum tractaret, quam ipse in aliis adeo operose carpit, quo omnes & singuli videant, quod talis sit, qualis videri & haberi vult, & quod illi æque facile sit imitari, ac carpere. — Verum iterum iterumque valde dubito, an non Nob. Tycho, Illustriss. Landgravius, aliique, quos in animo suo adeo contemptum habet, plura, majori diligentia, ardore, & multis in rebus (in multis, inquam, non in omnibus, quippe aberrationi quilibet est obnoxius) exquisitius & correctius, & quidem nudis oculis, illisque rudioribus pinnacidiis perfecerint, quam ipse Cl. Hooekius (de aliis non loquor) adminiculo videlicet omnium suarum subtilissimarum inventionum Telescopiorum, Microscopiorum, Polemoscopiorum, Speculorumque, utut ipsi hoc tædiofissimum sit percipere, imo plane absurdissimum videatur. — Unicum autem peto unice, ne dominetur in mentem meam. Nam neque eum, quisquis etiam ille sit, neque ullum aliquem, in meis scilicet qualibus qualibus studiis, pro Dictatore ac Principe agnosco. Vivinus in libera Republica literaria, libera Illostr. Regia Societate, cujus Symbolum NULLIUS IN VERBA (30).

In 1679, Mr Halley, at the request of the R. Society, went to Dantzic on occasion of this dispute, and after examining sufficiently both the instruments and observations made therewith, gave, in a letter to the Consul, that favourable opinion of both, which has been already related in his article (31). Mr Hevelius having besides this received other letters still more fully in his favour, took the opportunity of inserting them among the astronomical observations in his *Annus Climactericus*, printed in 1685 (32). To which he prefixed a long preface, wherein grounding himself upon the strength of these testimonies, he repeats what he had before wrote to Mr Oldenburg, with more confidence and greater indignation, and particularly exclaims against our author's dogmatical and magisterial manner of assuming a kind of dictatorship over him. This book being sent to the Royal-Society, an account was given of it at their request by Dr Wallis, who therein, among other things, took notice, that the Consul's observations had been misrepresented, since it appeared from this book, that he could distinguish by plain sights to a small part of a minute. About the same time Mr William Molyneux also wrote a letter to the Society in vindication of Hevelius, against our author's *Animadversiones*. Mr Hooke drew up an answer to this letter,

(27) One of these distances is that between *Regulus* and *Spica*, mentioned in Dr Halley's article, remark [I], p. 2498.

(28) Mr Hooke afterwards declares he was now unkindly used. See his defence below at note (38). And Hevelius says, that the preference of telescopes to the degree here mentioned, was inculcated by him in these letters ad nauseam. Ann. Climaet. in præfat. p. 9.

(29) This passage is referred to in note (37).

(30) Ann. Climaet. p. 54 to p. 60.

(31) In remark [K], p. 2498.

(32) Among these there are several from Mr Flamstead, who there speaks with great contempt of our author's Astronomical merit. See particularly Ann. Climaet. p. 65. There is also one from Oldenburg, assuring Hevelius, that the R. S. were strangers to the publishing of Mr Hooke's book, and that it had not in the least prejudiced their esteem of him. Ibid. p. 95.

(33) Phil. Trans. No. 175.



(6b) Ibid. rem.  
[M], col. b.  
p. 2500. He also  
proposed the mak-  
ing of an instru-  
ment to observe

though in respect to the argument he was forced to submit [M]. In 1673, he proposed a theory of the variation of the mariners compass, which has been already explained (6b). In the variation, and there is a figure of one to that purpose in his Posthumous Works, p. 486.

(34) Viz. from  
p. 293 to p. 300.

(35) This imputa-  
tion is often  
mentioned by  
Hevelius, though  
not expressly  
charged upon the  
Animadversions.  
See particularly  
Ann. Climaet.  
p. 73. & in  
præf. p. 20.

(36) This is ex-  
pressly charged  
upon him in  
præf. ad Ann.  
Climaet. p. 9.

(37) Mr Heve-  
lius particularly  
complains of this  
passage as a piece  
of mockery upon  
him, and declares  
he was reproach-  
ed more than  
once in the Ani-  
madversions, iron-  
ically, with the  
expense of his  
useless instru-  
ments. Letter  
to Oldenburg, in  
Ann. Climaet.  
p. 57, 59, 60.

(38) These are  
the words refer-  
red to in note  
(28).

(39) Mention is  
made in his Post-  
humous Works,  
p. 498. of a mi-  
crometer divider  
(there described)  
for Hevelius.  
And the late  
Will. Jones, Esq;  
was possessed of a  
letter of our au-  
thor's, containing  
a description both  
of his manner of  
managing large  
telescopes and of  
their object-glas-  
ses together, with  
an offer of procu-  
ring them at the  
lowest price for  
Mr Hevelius.

(40) See remark  
[2], where this  
letter is referred  
to at note (70).

letter, which was read likewise before the Society; wherein he observes, that he was not the first aggressor in print, as appeared from six pages in the *Machina Cœlestis* itself (34); that in his animadversions, he had no where expressed his doubt whether Hevelius's observations could be made true and always the same to two or three minutes, as Mr Molyneux had asserted (35), nor that an instrument of a span radius might be made that should perform observations sixty times more accurate than could be done with his best instruments (36); that as for any disrespectful or undervaluing sentiments he had of Hevelius or his performances, the contrary appears from the following passage, where he says, that 'he would not be understood by these animadversions, to undervalue the works and performances of a person so highly meriting the thanks of the learned world, for his great expence and vast pains in performing a work so highly useful to astronomy and navigation; that he did not in the least doubt, but that it would be a work of perpetual esteem, and much preferable to any thing of the like kind yet done in the world; and that he had gone as far as possible for human industry to go with instruments of that kind, which were as complete and exact as instruments with plain sights could be made; and that Mr Hevelius had calculated them with all imaginable care and skill, and delivered them with the like candour and integrity. But yet that it was my opinion, that this ought not to discourage others from making use of telescopic-sights, and to make better observations with instruments by that means more exact (37).' Our author concludes this defence in the following words. 'As to my not returning the observations of certain distances of stars which Hevelius desired, it is sufficiently known what inconveniences we lay under in this place after the fire of London; and had I found conveniences, yet the unkind reception those things found, which I sent him, was enough to deter me from such a compliance (38), though he was sensible I had often been ready to gratify his curiosity in many other particulars (39). But when his *Machina Cœlestis* was published, I was obliged to write those animadversions, in which I hope all unprejudiced readers will justify my procedure; at least, I am ready to prove any thing I have therein asserted.' It is observable, that though the unkind reception of the things sent is here expressly mentioned, yet no notice is taken of the particular reason given for it, which Hevelius had more than once declared to be the haughty imperious manner of obtruding them upon him; a behaviour which we shall see him hereafter charged with shewing to a much greater man than Hevelius.

[M] He attacked Sir Isaac Newton's theory of light and colours.] After what passed in the Transactions upon this subject, the theory gaining ground continually, our author took a contrary method, and instead of opposing, began to assume some part at least of the credit of it to himself; this appears by the following extract of a letter which Mr Newton wrote to Mr Oldenburg in December 1675. 'As to Mr Hooke's insinuation, that the sum of the hypothesis I sent you [on the 7th instant (40)] had been delivered by him in his Micrography. I need not be much concerned at the liberty he takes in that kind. Yet because you think it may do well, if I state the difference I take to be between them, I shall do it as briefly as I can, and that the rather, that I may avoid the favour of having done any thing unhandsome or unjustifiable towards Mr Hooke. But for this end, I must first (to see what it is) cast out what he has borrowed from Des Cartes or others, viz. that there is an æthereal medium. That light is the action of this medium; that this medium is less implicated in the parts of solid bodies, and so moves more freely in them, and transmits light more readily through them; and that after such a manner, as to accelerate the rays in a certain proportion. That refraction arises from this acceleration, and has fines proportional. That light is at first uniform. That it's colours are some disturbance or new modification of it's rays by refraction or reflexion. That the colours of a prism are made by means of the quiescent medium accelerating some motion of the rays on one side where red appears, and retarding it on the other side where blue appears; and that there are but these two original

colours or colour-making modifications of light; which by their various degrees, or, as Mr Hooke calls it, dilatings, produce all intermediate ones. This rejected, the remainder of his hypothesis is, that he has changed Des Cartes's pressing or progressive motion of the medium to a vibrating one; the rotation of the globuli to the obliquation of pulses; and the accelerating their rotation on the one hand, and retarding it on the other by the quiescent medium to produce colours, to the like action of the medium on the two ends of his pulses for the same end. And having thus far modified his by the Cartesian hypothesis, he has extended it farther to explicate the phenomena of thin plates, and added another explication of the colours of natural bodies fluid and solid.

This, I think, is in short the sum of his hypothesis, and in all this I have nothing common with him but the supposition that æther is a medium susceptible of vibrations, of which supposition I make a very different use, he supposing it light itself, which I suppose it is not. This is as great a difference, as is between him and Des Cartes. But besides this, the manner of refraction and reflexion, and the nature and production of colours in all cases (which takes up the body of my discourse) I explain very differently from him; and even in the colours of thin transparent substances, I explain every thing after a way so differing from him, that the experiments I ground my discourse on, destroy all he has said about them; and the two main experiments, without which the manner of the production of those colours is not to be found out, were not only unknown to him when he wrote his Micrography, but even last spring, as I understood in mentioning them to him. This therefore is the sum of what is common to us, that æther may vibrate; and so if he thinks fit to use that notion of colours arising from the various bigness of pulses (without which his hypothesis will do nothing) his will borrow as much from my answer to his objections, as that I sent you does from his Micrography.

But it may be he means that I have made use of his observations; and of some I did, as that of the inflexion of rays, for which I quoted him; that of opacity arising from the interstices of the parts of bodies, which I insist not on; and that of plated bodies exhibiting colours, a phenomenon for the notice of which I thank him. But he left me to find out, and make such experiments about it, as might inform me of the manner of the production of those colours to ground an hypothesis on; he having given no further insight into it than this, that the colour depended on some certain thickness of the plate; though what that thickness was at every colour, he confesses in his Micrography he had attempted in vain to learn; and therefore seeing I was left to measure it myself, I suppose he will allow me to make use of what I took the pains to find out. And this, I hope, may vindicate me from what Mr Hooke has been pleased to charge me with. Presently after the writing of this letter, our author persisting in his assertion insinuated the same thing before the Royal-Society, with which Mr Newton being acquainted by the Secretary, returned the following answer in a letter dated January 10, 1675-6. 'I am obliged to you, Sir, for your candour in acquainting me with Mr Hooke's insinuations. It is but a reasonable piece of justice I should have an opportunity to vindicate myself from what he undeservedly cast on me; and therefore since you have been pleased to be my representative there, and I have no means of knowing what is done but by you, I hope you will continue that equitable candour; though I think the present business of no great moment as to me, not imagining that the Royal Society are to be imposed on in a thing so plain, or that Mr Hooke himself will persist in his mistake, when he hears the difference stated. The only thing, I said, he could pretend taken from his hypothesis was, the disposition of æther to vibrate; and yet whilst he grasps at all, he is likely to fall short of this too. That æthereal vibrations are light is his; but that æther may vibrate (which is all I suppose) is to be had from a higher fountain; for that æther is a finer degree of air, and

air



In 1674, he published the two following books in 4to. (1.) *An Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth from Observations* (cc) [N]. (2.) *Animadversions on the first part of the Machina Cœlestis of the honourable, learned, and deservedly famous Astronomer, Johannes Hevelius, Consul at Dantzick: together with an explication of some instruments made by R. H* (dd). The Royal-Society having begun their meetings again at Gresham-college, on the 12th of November this year, the Gresham-Committee, December 19 following, allowed him forty pounds to erect a turret over part of his lodgings, for trying his instruments, and making astronomical observations (ee). In 1675, he published *A Description of Helioscopes, and some other instruments, made by R. H.* (ff), with a *Postscript*, complaining of some injustice done him by Mr Oldenburg, the publisher of the Philosophical Transactions, in regard to his invention of pendulum watches. This charge drew him into a dispute with that gentleman, which ended in a declaration of the Royal-Society in their Secretary's favour [O]. During this dispute, our author published in 4to. 1667, his *Lampas*:

(ff) In this treatise he gave a description of a reflecting telescope invented by him, which he had produced to the R. S. Feb. 28 preceding. Waller, ubi supra. Mr Ward is mistaken in saying there is an account of this treatise by Mr Oldenburg, in Phil. Transf. No. 48. See below in note (49).

air a vibrating medium, are old notions, and the principles I go upon. I desire Mr Hooke to shew me therefore, I say not only the sum of the hypothesis I wrote, which is his insinuation, but any part of it taken out of his *Micrographia*. But then I expect too, that he instance what is his own. It is most likely he will pretend I had from him the application of vibrations to the solution of the phenomena of thin plates; and yet all the use I make of vibrations, is to strengthen or weaken the reflecting power of the æthereal superficies; which is so far from being in his *Micrographia*, that the last spring, when I told him of the reflecting power of the æthereal superficies, he took it for a new notion, having till then supposed light to be reflected by the parts of gross bodies. To the things that he has from Des Cartes, pray add this, that the parts of solid bodies have a vibrating motion, least he should say I had from him what I say about heat. And his having from Des Cartes the reduction of all colours to two, you may, if need be, explain further for me thus: that as Des Cartes puts every globulus to be urged forward on one side by the illuminated medium, and impeded on the other by the dark one; so Mr Hooke puts every vibration to be promoted at one end, and retarded at the other by those mediums, and thence both alike derive two modifications of light on the two sides of the refracted beam for the production of all colours (41).

[N] *An attempt to prove the motion of the earth from observations*]. He had begun these observations in 1666, as mentioned in the text; having for that purpose opened a passage of about a foot square through the roof of his lodgings at Gresham-college (42), and therein fixed a tube perpendicular and upright, of about ten or twelve foot in length, and a foot square, so as that the lower end thereof came through the ceiling, and was open into the chamber underneath (43). But he had made no more than four observations, when he was obliged to desist, partly on account of the weather, and partly by reason of his ill health. This hindrance in proceeding with the observations at that time, continues he, has been no small trouble to me, having an extraordinary desire to have made other observations with much more accurateness than I was able to make these, having since found some inconveniences in the instruments, which I have now regulated (44). Thus the design, like most of his, was left imperfect. However, the foundation which he had laid, proved a sufficient encouragement to build upon. Mr Samuel Molyneux and Mr Bradley (45) resumed the enquiry, and determined it by pursuing our author's plan, which had been preferred as the best for that purpose. The account we have in the Philosophical Transactions, No 406. is a clear proof of this fact. We see there, that the observations made by these gentlemen, were begun, continued, and repeated, in hopes of verifying those that Mr Hooke formerly communicated to the public concerning the parallax of the fixed stars. That therefore the same star was made choice of, almost the same method followed, and the instrument constructed upon principles nearly the same, though indeed greatly exceeding the Doctor's in exactness (46).

[O] *A dispute with Mr Oldenburg about pendulum watches.* As this dispute gave Mr Hooke an occasion of asserting his right to the invention of these watches against Mr Huygens, it will be proper to give the following account of it. The dispute had its rise from a letter of Mr Huygens, dated Jan. 30, 1674-5, to the Royal-Society, acquainting them with his in-

vention, and the contrivance whereof he then concealed in an anagram; but explained it fully in a letter of February 20, following. The Society in their letter of thanks intimated to him, that a watch of the like contrivance had been invented some years before by Mr Hooke (47). Shortly after there being printed a figure of Mr Huygens's watch, with a description in the *Journal des Sçavans*; an extract of that journal came out in the Philosophical Transactions, March 12, 1674 (48), wherein no notice was taken of Mr Hooke. This he resented in the postscript mentioned in the text, and calls it *unhandsome proceedings*, maintaining not only that he was the first inventor, but that he had published the invention to the world long since in his Cutlerian lectures upon this subject, which were read in the open hall at Gresham-college before a great number of the Royal-Society and many strangers, in 1664, and having also caused some of the said watches to be made in that and the following year; and towards the conclusion, expresses his resentment in the following words: 'I forbear now to mention any farther the carriage of the writer of the Transactions in this affair (49).' Mr Oldenburg presently returned both the accusation and the resentment as follows, 'It is certain, says he, that the describer of helioscopes some years ago, caused to be actually made some watches of this kind, yet without publishing a description of them in print to the world. And it is as true, that none of these watches succeeded, nor was any thing since done to amend the invention, till Mr Huygens communicated his contrivance to the Society; the description of which and figure being produced at one of their meetings, were not only seen, but a copy of the figure was then taken by Mr Hooke, who knew that both were designed to be published in the Transactions, and had he given to the editor of them the least intimation that he desired notice might be taken at the same time of his invention of the like kind, it would certainly have been complied with, as had been done on other occasions. Witness several of the same tracts, wherein divers discoveries of this ac- cuser have been formerly both printed, and vindicated from the usurpation of others.' In proceeding he insinuates strongly that Huygens hit upon the invention as soon as Mr Hooke, and before he knew any thing of what Mr Hooke had done. Thus, concludes he, 'I shall dismiss him, not doubting but all candid readers will blame him for the expression in p. 30. of his said postscript, which is, that he forbears to mention any further the carriage of the writer of the Transactions in this affair; and only add, that if this writer of mechanics will think fit to explain what he means by it, he shall certainly meet with a full answer, vindicating the integrity of the publisher in such a manner, that all impartial and good men will be abundantly satisfied therewith.' Our author, highly provoked with this nettling answer, made the following reply in his postscript to his *Lampas* the following year. 'The publisher of the Transactions, says he, in that of October 1675, endeavours to cover former injuries by accumulating new ones—otherwise he would not have affirmed that none of my watches succeeded. For how could he be sure of a negative, whom I have not acquainted with my inventions, since I looked on him as one that made a trade of intelligence? Next, whereas he denies their being published to the world in print, he prevaricates, and would have it believed, they were not published to the world, though they were publickly read of in Sir John Cutler's lectures, —and though they were made, and shewn to thou-

(47) Phil. Transf. No. 118.

(48) No. 112.

(49) In No. 118. for Oct. 1675. under the article entitled, An Account of Mr Hooke's Treatise upon Helioscopes. Which account is expressly omitted as needless, and this answer to the postscript is inserted in its stead.

(cc) There is an account of it in Phil. Transf. No. 101.

(dd) There is an account of this book in Phil. Transf. No. 119. probably by himself, as Mr Ward thinks, ubi supra, p. 191.

(ee) Ibid. p. 178.

(41) These letters were formerly in the library of Will. Jones, Esq; which is now in the possession of George Earl of Macclesfield.

(42) That is in the Astronomy Professor's apartments; his proper lodgings, as Geometry Professor, being then taken up for the use of the city. Ward, p. 176. in note (4), and p. 112.

(43) Attempt to prove the Motion of the Earth, p. 17.

(44) Ibid. p. 24. The four observations were made July 6 and 9, Aug. 6, and Oct. 21, anno 1669.

(45) The present Astronomer royal.

(46) These instruments were made by Mr G. Graham, F. R. S. Phil. Transf. No. 406.



*Lampas: or Descriptions of some Mechanical Improvements of Lamps and Water-poisies. Together with some other Physical and Mechanical Discoveries.* The same year he was succeeded in

\* *Lampas*, p. 53.

(50) No. 128.

(51) No. 129.

(52) The date in the title-page of the *Lampas* is 1667, but that seeming inconsistency with the date of this declaration is owing to the custom of the Printers, in beginning their year at Michaelmas.

(53) *Ubi supra*, p. 180.

(54) *Life of Dr Hooke*, p. 7.

(55) That is in the application of the spring to the balance. But Mr Huygens's had a longer spring, and the beats were much slower, the balance turning several rounds every vibration; whereas in Dr Hooke's it turned scarce quite round. *Artificial Clock-maker*, ch. viii. edit. 1734. Mr Hooke's way is that now in use.

(56) *Ibid.* Where the author informs us, that Dr Hooke had a grant the same year for a patent for these watches, but did not take it out, as thinking it not worth while, by reason the single balance watches being much easier made and cheaper, were found to answer very well.

'sands, both English and foreigners, and writ of to many, and lastly in 1666, published to the world in print in the History of the Royal-Society \*.' To this Mr Oldenburg, by way of rejoinder, published the following advertisement at the end of the Transaction for the months of August and September 1676 (50). 'The publisher of this tract intends to take another opportunity of justifying himself against the aspersions and calumnies of an *immoral postscript* put to a book called *Lampas*, published by Robert Hooke. 'Till which time, 'tis hoped, the candid reader will suspend his judgment.' And to the next Transaction (51), was subjoined the following declaration of the Council of the Royal-Society. 'A declaration of the Council of the Royal-Society, passed November 20, 1676, relating to some passages in a late book of Mr Hooke, intitled *Lampas*, &c. Whereas the publisher of the Philosophical Transactions hath made complaint to the Council of the Royal-Society, of some passages in a late book of Mr Hooke's entituled *Lampas*, &c (52). and printed by the printer of said Society, reflecting on the integrity and faithfulness of the said publisher in his management of the intelligence of the said Society; this Council hath thought fit to declare in the behalf of the publisher aforesaid, that they knew nothing of the publication of the said book; and further, that the said publisher hath carried himself faithfully and honestly in the management of the intelligence of the Royal Society, and given no just cause of such reflections.' To this Mr Oldenburg subjoined what follows. 'The Council having justified the publisher, he will only add that part of a letter written to him by Mr Chr. Huygens de Zulichem, 20 Feb. 1675, which relates to the taking out a patent of his the said Mr Huygens's invention, and then let the world judge of the prescriber's accusation about an endeavour to defraud him of his contrivance. The words of the said letter englished, are thus. *For the rest, Sir, if you believe that a privilege (so he calls a patent) in England would be worth something, and that either the Royal-Society or you might make some advantage thereof, I willingly offer you all I there might pretend to.* So that if there was a desire in the publisher to take out a patent of the invention, it was for no other contrivance, but that which was sent by Mr Huygens formerly to the Royal-Society, and was printed in No. 112 of these tracts.' Thus ended this controversy, which Mr Ward observes (53) might have been sooner over, had some warm expressions been forborn on either side. However, there is one expression in it that deserves to be considered, and that is, where Mr Oldenburg declares, *that the watches made by our author's directions in 1665 and 1666, did not succeed, and that nothing was since done to amend the invention, till Mr Huygens communicated his contrivance.* Mr Waller thought that this passage proceeded from passion (54), the invention and principle of Hooke's and Huygens's being, says he, the same as are now [in 1705] used (55), but he acknowledges at the same time that he never could learn whether Mr Hooke's watches were successful or no; and it is observable, that Mr Hooke himself in his answer to Oldenburg does not assert it, but avoids the charge by retorting another, that his antagonist could not know the success of his watches, to whom he had never shewn any of his inventions. Dr Derham indeed is very positive on the side of Mr Hooke, and having given him for the inventor both of the single and double balance watches with the spiral spring, proceeds in these terms. 'The time of these inventions was about the year 1658, as appears from this inscription which I saw upon one of the aforesaid double balance watches presented to King Charles II, viz. *Robert Hooke inven. 1658. T. Tompion fecit 1675* (56), and in confirmation of this, Mr Ward acquaints us that he had then (viz in 1740) lately seen a round brass plate, which was formerly a cover to the balance of one of Mr Hooke's watches, that it was cut through in the form of springs, and had on it this inscription, *R. Hooke invenit an. 1658. T. Tompion fecit 1675.* That this plate was then in the hands of George Graham, F. R. S. who informed him that he had heard Mr Tompion say, he was employed three months that year by Mr Hooke in making some parts of those watches, before he let him know for what use

they were designed; and that Mr Tompion was likewise used to say, he thought the first invention of them was owing to Mr Hooke (57). But here it is obvious to observe, that notwithstanding the invention is placed so high as 1658, yet that date must have been put by Mr Hooke's direction, and that these watches were not made till 1675, that is a year after he had seen the abovementioned figure and description of Mr Huygens's watch. As to Mr Tompion's opinion, that the first invention of these watches was owing to Mr Hooke, it appears that Mr Waller was of the same opinion, and from him we have the foundation upon which it stands, as follows. 'Mr Hooke, says he, told me, that he having shewn a movement regulated by a spiral spring to the Lord Brouncker about the year 1660. Mr Huygens, who had for some time applied himself to invent several ways to regulate time-keepers (58), by the correspondence he held with Mr Oldenburg, among other matters had notice of this, for which there was afterwards an application made to procure a patent [as abovementioned]. This is indeed possible, continues Mr Waller, but whether it were so or not, I cannot determine. That Mr Hooke had, many years before Mr Huygens mentioned, discovered the invention is certain, by what is related in the History of the Royal-Society †, among several new inventions in these words: *There have been invented several kind of pendulum watches for the pocket, wherein the motion is regulated by springs, &c.* Now, though this does not mention the springs being spiral, or fastened to the arbor of the balance, yet it appears it was so, by what is related above; and a passage I have seen in a letter from Sir Robert Moray to Mr Oldenburg, dated Oxon. Sept. 30, 1665, clears it, in which are these words: *You [meaning Oldenburg] will be the first that will know when his [that is Huygens] watches will be ready; and I will therefore expect from you an account of them, and if he imparts to you what he does, let me know it. To that purpose you may ask him, if he does not apply a spring to the arbor of the balance, and that will give him occasion to say somewhat to you, if it be that, you may tell him what Hooke has done in that matter, and what he intends more* (59). Although I cannot be sure what Oldenburg wrote to Monsieur Huygens, yet it is probable their intimacy procured what he knew; and it is evident that Huygens's discovery of this was first published in the *Journal des Sçavans*, and thence in the Philosophical Transactions for March 25, 1675, about ten years after that letter of Sir Robert Moray's, and near 15 after Hooke's first discovery of it. Mr Waller concludes with the concession of Mr Oldenburg (60), to which may be added the attestation of the Royal-Society sent to Mr Huygens, both already mentioned. Upon the whole, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence for absolutely determining this dispute on either side, but it seems most probable that the rudiments of the invention were first laid by Mr Hooke, and that the watch was first perfected † by Mr Huygens. Thus perhaps the prize is divided in the fairest and most candid manner between the English and the Dutch. Yet after all it is observable, that a late French writer gives Mr Hooke's share to a countryman of his own, who deprived Mr Huygens also of all the advantage of his share; it is pleasant enough, what is advanced by him upon the occasion, with all the alertness peculiar to that nation. 'The movement, says he, of watches, was formerly regulated only by the balance and the force of a large spring, which by the unwinding itself rendered the motion swifter or slower. But upon the 7th of July, 1674, the Abbot de Hauteville of Orleans, communicated to the members of the Royal-Academy, the method of regulating the motion of the balance of watches, by means of a small freight spring fixed at one end to the edge of the plate, and at the other end to the edge || of the balance, and regulated it's motion, performing the office of a pendulum \*. After this, Mr Huygens published a letter in the *Journal des Sçavans*, on the 25th of February, 1675, concerning a new invention of very exact and portable watches, wherein he pretended to be the author of that discovery, and accordingly obtained a licence from the King to make the advantage of it. But Mr de Hauteville having opposed it's being registered, and proved that he was the first inventor,

(57) *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 182. note (a).

(58) Mr Huygens probably began to carry his thoughts to some other ways of regulating watches, upon the ill success of his pendulum ones, in finding out the long-tide at sea, which was in the latter end of the year 1664. Birch's Hist. of the R. S. p. 24. Vol. I. or perhaps in 1662, as Mr Hooke says in his treatise of Helioscopes; it being that view which set both these inventors at work.

† By Sprat, p. 247.

(59) It is here taken for granted by Mr Waller, that the spring which was then fixed to the arbor of the balance was a spiral one; whereas Dr Derham intimates, that in Mr Hooke's first invention it was straight. See remark [C], sub finem.

(60) Waller's *Life of Hooke*, p. 6, 7.

† Viz. So far as in some measure to succeed.

|| If so, then in this particular the Abbot's invention differed from that of Messrs. Hooke and Huygens, by whom this other end of the spring was fixed to the arbor or verge of the balance.

\* It is remarkable, that, though the Artificial Clockmaker is abridged by this gentleman, yet he takes no notice of the proofs therein produced, to shew that Mr Hooke invented this spring long before.

Mr



(bb) There is no account of this book in the Phil. Transf. though Mr Oldenburg was dead.

(ii) There is an account of this treatise in the Transactions, No. 139. N B. Our author files himself Secretary of the Royal-Society in both.

(kk) Ward, in our author's Life, ubi supra, p. 183.

(ll) Probably so called, because the plan was different from that of the Transactions.

(61) *Traité general des horloges par le R. P. Dom. Jacques Alexandre religieux Benedictin de la congrégation de Saint Maur*, p. 24. a Paris, 1734. en octav.

(62) *Ibid.* p. 243.

(63) They had been carried on to the month of June preceding by Mr Oldenburg, who first began them on March 6, 1664.

(64) This was published in 1678.

in the office of Keeper of the Repository to the Royal-Society, by Mr Richard Shortgrave their Operator. And upon the decease of Mr Oldenburg, in August 1677, Mr Hooke being appointed to supply his place, began to take minutes at the meeting on the 5th of October, but did not publish the Transactions [P]. In 1678 he published in 4to *Lectures de Potentia Restitutiva: or of Springs, explaining the Powers of springing Bodies: To which are added some Collections* (bb). And the same year came out his *Lectures and Collections*, intitled, *Cometa & Microscopium* (ii) in 4to. Towards the end of this year, in pursuance of an order of the Royal-Society, he assisted in removing their library of books from Arundel-house to Gresham-college, but declined the offer of the Librarian's place, which was erected on the 7th of February ensuing (kk). In 1681, came out his *Philosophical Collections* (ll) (in seven distinct tracts (mm) from 1679 to 1682) in 4to. Not long after this, he grew more reserved than formerly; and though he read his Cutlerian lectures, and often made experiments, and shewed new inventions before the Royal-Society; yet he seldom left any full account of them to be entered in their registers; designing, as he said, to fit them himself and make them public, which he never performed (nn). In 1686, he laid claim to Sir Isaac Newton's Discovery concerning the Force and Action of Gravity, which was warmly refuted by that great Philosopher [Q]. In the beginning of

(mm) Among the two of his own. *At Opera Diffinita*, p. 1. *Cometa & Microscopium*, p. 1. *Mechanical Discourse*, containing a description of the best form of horizontal sails for a mill, and the ground of the inclined sails of ships. No. iii, v. p. 61.

(nn) Waller, p. 24.

Mr Huygens did not reap any benefit from that licence (61). This writer a little further explains himself to this effect, that the Abbot's freight spring, communicated in 1674, was afterwards improved by Mr Huygens's invention of the spiral one (62).

[P] He did not publish the *Philosophical Transactions*. They were published by Dr Nehemiah Grew, who, notwithstanding Mr Hooke's election, being chosen Secretary November 30 1677, began the publication of those papers with the month of January following, and carried them on to the end of February 1678 (63). After this, the Transactions were omitted till January 1682, and it was during this interval that Mr Hooke published his *Philosophical Collections* mentioned in the text. Upon the 30th of November, 1682, Dr Robert Plot being made Secretary in the room of Mr Hooke, the publication of the Transactions was revived, beginning with the month of January following, in the preface to which it is observed, that they had been discontinued for the four last years.

[Q] He laid claim to Sir Isaac Newton's discovery, &c.] We have an account of this matter in the following letters that passed between Sir Isaac and Dr Halley. The first sent by Sir Isaac to the Doctor, is dated from Cambridge, June 20, 1686, and runs thus.

S I R,

In order to let you know the case between Mr Hook and me, I gave you an account of what passed between us in our letters, so far as I could remember. For 'tis long since they were writ, and I do not know that I have seen them since. I am almost confident by circumstances, that Sir Christopher Wren knew the duplicate proportion when I gave him a visit; and then Mr Hook, by his book *Cometa* (64), written afterwards, will prove the last of us three that knew it. I intended in this letter to let you understand the case fully, but it being a frivolous business, I shall content myself to give you the heads of it in short, viz. that I never extended the duplicate proportion lower than to the superficies of the earth, and before a certain demonstration I found the last year, have suspected it not to reach accurately enough down so low; and therefore in the doctrine of projectiles never used it, nor considered the motions of the heavens; and consequently Mr Hook could not from my letters, which were about projectiles, and the regions descending hence to the center, conclude me ignorant of the theory of the heavens. That what he told me of the duplicate proportion was erroneous, namely, that it reached down from hence to the center of the earth. That it is not candid to require me now to confess myself in print, then ignorant of the duplicate proportion in the heavens, for no other reason but because he had told it me in the case of projectiles, and so upon mistaken grounds accused me of that ignorance. That in my answer to his first letter, I refused his correspondence, told him I had laid philosophy aside, sent him only the experiment of projectiles (rather shortly hinted, than carefully described) in compliment to sweeten my answer, expected to hear no farther from him, could scarce persuade myself to answer his second letter, did not answer his third, was

upon other things, thought no further of philosophical matters than his letters put me upon it, and therefore may be allowed not to have had my thoughts about me so well at that time. That by the same reason, he concluded me ignorant of the rest of the duplicate proportion, he may as well conclude me ignorant of the rest of that theory I had read before in his books. That in one of my papers I writ (I cannot say what year, but I am sure some time before I had any correspondence with Mr Oldenburg, and that's) above fifteen years ago, the proportion of the forces of the planets to the sun reciprocally duplicate to their distances from him, and the proportion of our gravity to the moon's *conatus recedendi a centro terræ* is calculated, though not accurately enough. That when Huygenius put out his *Horol. Oscill.* a copy being presented to me (65), in my letter of thanks to him I gave those rules in the end thereof a particular commendation for their usefulness in computing the forces of the moon from the earth, and the earth from the sun, in determining a problem about the moon's phase, and putting a limit to the parallax; which shews that I had then my eye upon the forces of the planets arising from their circular motion, and understood it; so that a while after, when Mr Hook propounded the problem solemnly in the end of his *Attempt to prove the motion of the earth* (66), if I had not known the duplicate proportion before, I could not but have found it out now. Between ten and eleven years ago, there is an hypothesis of mine registered in your books, wherein I hinted a cause of gravity towards the earth, sun, and planets, with the dependence of the celestial motions thereon; in which the proportion of the decrease of gravity from the superficies of the planet (though for brevity sake not there expressed) can be no other than reciprocally duplicate of the distance from the center. And I hope I shall not be urged to declare in print, that I understood not the obvious mathematical conditions of my own hypothesis. But grant I received it afterwards from Mr Hook, yet have I as great a right to it as to the ellipsis. For as Kepler knew the orb to be not circular but oval, and guessed it to be elliptical; so Mr Hook, without knowing what I have found out since his letters to me, can know no more, but that the proportion was duplicate *quam proxime* at great distances from the center, and only guessed it to be so accurately, and guessed amiss in extending that proportion down to the very center, whereas Kepler guessed right at the ellipsis; and so Mr Hook found less of the proportion, than Kepler did of the ellipsis. There is so strong an objection against the accurateness of this proportion, that without my demonstrations, to which Mr Hook is yet a stranger, it cannot be believed by a judicious philosopher to be any where accurate. And so in stating this business I do pretend to have done for the proportion, as for the ellipsis, and to have as much right to the one from Mr Hook and all men, as to the other from Kepler; and therefore on this account also he must at least moderate his pretences. Sir Isaac's *Principia* being at this time in the press under the care of Dr Halley, this letter concludes with some particulars upon that business, wherein he declares his intention to suppress the third

(65) It was printed in 1673.

(66) This book was printed in 1674.



(60) She was his brother's daughter.

of the year 1687, he lost his niece Mrs Grace Hooke (60); who having lived with him many years, the grief for her death hardly ever wore off, being observed to be more melancholy

book of that treatise, on the account of the trouble he had met with from Mr Hooke. After the conclusion, he goes on in a postscript as follows. ' Since my writing this letter, I am told by one, who had it from another lately present at one of your meetings, how that Mr Hook should make a great stir, pretending I had all from him, and desiring they would see that he had justice done him. This carriage towards me is very strange and undeserved; so that I cannot forbear, in stating the point of justice, to tell you further, that he has published Borell's hypothesis in his own name, and the asserting of this to himself, and completing it as his own, seems to me the ground of all the stir he makes. Borell did something in it, and wrote modestly. He has done nothing, and yet written in such a way, as if he knew, and had sufficiently hinted all, but what remained to be determined by the drudgery of calculations and observations, excusing himself from that labour by reason of his other business; whereas he should rather have excused himself by reason of his inability: for it is very plain by his words, he knew not how to go about it. Now is not this very fine? Mathematicians that find out, settle, and do all the business, must content themselves with being nothing but dry calculators and drudges; and another that does nothing, but pretend and grasp at all things, must carry away all the invention, as well of those that were to follow him, as those that went before. Much after the same manner were his letters writ to me, telling me, that gravity in descent from hence to the center of the earth, was reciprocally in a duplicate ratio of the altitude, that the figure described by projectiles in that region would be an ellipsis, and that all the motions of the heavens were thus to be accounted for, and this he did in such a way, as if he had found out all, and knew it most certainly. And upon this information I must now acknowledge in print, I had all from him, and so did nothing myself but drudge in calculating, demonstrating, and writing upon the inventions of this great man. And yet after all, the first of those three things, he told me, is false, and very unphilosophical; the second is as false; and the third was more than he knew, or could affirm me ignorant of by any thing that passed between us in our letters. Nor do I understand by what right he claims it as his own; for as Borell wrote long before him, that by a tendency of the planets towards the sun like that of gravity or magnetism the planets would move in ellipses; so Bullialdus wrote, that all force respecting the sun as it's center, and depending upon matter, must be in a reciprocally duplicate ratio of the distance from the center, and used that very argument for it, by which you, Sir, in the last Transactions (67) have proved this ratio in gravity. Now if Mr Hook by this general proposition in Bullialdus might learn the proportion in gravity, why must this proportion here go for his invention? My letter to Huygenius, which I mentioned above, was directed to Mr Oldenburg, who used to keep the originals. His papers came into Mr Hook's possession. Mr Hook knowing my hand, might have the curiosity to look into that letter, and there take the notion of comparing the forces of the planets arising from their circular motion, and so what he wrote to me afterwards about the rate of gravity might be nothing but the fruit of my own garden. And it is more than I can affirm, that the duplicate proportion was not expressed in that letter. However he knew it not (as I gather from his books) 'till five years after any mathematician could have told it him. For when Huygenius had told how to find the force in all cases of circular motion, [in his *Horol. Oscill.* published in 1673] he had told them how to do it in this as well as in others, and so the honour of doing it in this is due to Huygenius. For another five years after to claim it as his own invention [in his *Cometa* printed 1678] is as if some mechanic, who had learned the art of surveying from a master, should after claim the surveying of this or that piece of ground for his own invention, and keep a heavy quarter to be in print for it. But what if this surveyor be a bungler, and give an erroneous survey? Mr Hook has erred in the invention he pretends to,

and his error is the cause of all the stir he makes. For his extending the duplicate proportion down to the center (which I do not) made him correct me, and tell me the rest of his theory as a new thing to me, and now stand upon it, that I had all from that his letter, notwithstanding that he had told it to all the world before, and I had seen it in his printed books (68) all but the proportion, and why should I record a man for an invention, who founds his claim upon an error therein, and on that score gives me trouble. He imagines he obliged me by telling me his theory, but I thought myself disobliged by being upon his own mistake corrected magisterially, and taught a theory which every body knew, and I had a truer notion of than himself. Should a man who thinks himself knowing, and loves to shew it in correcting and instructing others, come to you when you are busy, and notwithstanding your excuses press discourses upon you, and through his own mistakes correct you, and multiply discourses; and then make this use of it, to boast that he taught you all you spake, and oblige you to acknowledge it, and cry out injury and injustice if you do not; I believe you would think him a man of a strange unfociable temper. Mr Hook's letters in several respects abounded too much with that humour, which Hevelius and others complain of (69), and therefore he may do well in time to consider, whether after this new provocation, I be much more bound (in doing him that justice he claims) to make an honourable mention of him in print, especially since this is the third time that he has given me trouble in this kind.

For your further satisfaction in this business, I beg the favour you would consult your books for a paper of mine intitled an Hypothesis explaining properties of light. It was dated December 7, 1675 (70), and registred in your book about January or February following. Not far from the beginning there is a paragraph ending with these words: "and as the earth, so perhaps may the sun imbibe this spirit copiously to to conserve his shining, and keep the planets from receding further from him; and they that will, may also suppose, that this spirit affords or carries thither the solary fuel and material principle of light; and that the vast ætherial spaces between us and the stars are for a sufficient repository for this food of the sun and planets. But this of the constitution of ætherial natures by the bye."

In these and the foregoing words, you have the common cause of gravity towards the earth, sun, and all the planets, and that by this cause the planets are kept in their orbs about the sun, and this is all the philosophy Mr Hook pretends I had from his letters some years after, the duplicate proportion only excepted. The preceding words contain the cause of the phenomena of gravity as we find it on the surface of the earth, without any regard to the various distances from the center. For at first I designed to write of nothing more. Afterwards, as my manuscript shews, I interlined the words above cited relating to the heavens, and in so short and transitory an interlined hint of things, the expression of the proportion may well be excused. But if you consider the nature of the hypothesis, you will find that gravity decreases upwards, and can be no other from the superficies of the planet than reciprocally duplicate of the distance from the center. But downwards that proportion does not hold. This was but an hypothesis, and so only to be looked upon as one of my guesses, which I did not rely on; but it sufficiently explains to you, why in considering the descent of a body down to the center, I used not the duplicate proportion. In the small ascent and descent of projectiles above the earth, the variation of gravity is so inconsiderable, that mathematicians neglect it. Hence the vulgar hypothesis with them is uniform gravity. And why might not I as a mathematician use it frequently, without thinking on the philosophy of the heavens, or believing it to be philosophically true? To this Mr Halley returned an answer, dated London, 29 June, 1686, wherein he observes, that in 1683, Mr Hooke told him he had demonstrated all the laws of the celestial motions by the reciprocally duplicate proportion of the force of gravity,

(68) This expression shews that those letters were written about the year 1679.

(69) See remark [L].

(70) See remark [M] at note (40).

(67) No. 179. See Dr Halley's article in remark [S], p. 2504.

but



inchooly and cynical, and less active from that time; and the year following he grew very weak and ill, which hindered his studies; but still he read some lectures when he was able

but that being offered forty shillings by Sir Christopher Wren to produce such a demonstration, his answer was, that he had it, but would conceal it for some time, that others trying and failing, might know how to value it, when he should make it public; that he then promised to shew it to Sir Christopher, but never had; that he was acquainted with the entering of Sir Isaac's demonstration into the register books of the Royal-Society, and proceeds, Mr Halley, 'according to the philosophically ambitious temper he is of, he would, had he been master of a like demonstration, no longer have concealed it, the reason he told Sir Christopher and me now ceasing. But now he says, that is but one small part of an excellent system of nature, which he has conceived, but has not yet compleatly made out, so that he thinks not fit to publish one part without the other. But I have plainly told him, that unless he produce another differing demonstration and let the world judge of it, neither I nor any one else can believe it. As to the manner of Mr Hooke's claiming the discovery, I fear it has been represented in worse colours than it ought; for he neither made public application to the Society for justice, nor pretended you had all from him. The truth is this: Sir John Hoskins, his particular friend, being in the chair, when Dr Vincent presented your book, the Doctor gave it it's just encomium both as to the novelty and dignity of the subject. It was replied by another gentleman, that you had carried the thing so far, that there was no more to be added; to which the Vice-President replied, that it was so much the more to be prized, for that it was both invented and perfected at the same time. This gave Mr Hooke offence, that Sir John did not at the same time make mention of what he had, as he said, discovered to him; upon which they two, who 'till then were the most inseparable cronies, have since scarcely seen one another, and are utterly fallen out. After the breaking up of that meeting, being adjourned to the Coffee-house, Mr Hooke did there endeavour to gain belief, that he had some such thing by him, and that he gave you the first hint of this invention. But I found that they were all of opinion, that nothing thereof appearing in print, nor on the books of the Society, you ought to be considered as the inventor. And if in truth he knew it before you, he ought not to blame any but himself for having taken no more care to secure a discovery, which he puts so much value on. What application he has made in private, I know not, &c. †. Sir Isaac's reply to this, dated July 14, 1686, was in these terms.

‘ S I R,

‘ . . . I am very sensible of the great kindness of the gentlemen of your Society to me, far beyond what ever I could expect or deserve, and know how to distinguish between their favour and another's humour. Now I understand he was in some respects misrepresented to me, I wish I had spared the postscript in my last. This is true, that his letters occasioned my finding the method of determining figures, which I then tried in the ellipsis.—But for the duplicate proportion, I can affirm that I gathered it from Kepler's theorem about 20 years ago.—There was another thing in Mr Hook's letters, which he will think I had from him, he told me that my proposed experiment about the descent of falling bodies, was not the only way to prove the motion of the earth; and so added the experiment of your pendulum clock at St Helena, as an argument of gravity's being lessened at the æquator by the diurnal motion. The experiment was new to me, but not the notion. For in the very paper which I told you was writ some time above 15 years ago, and to the best of my memory was writ 18 or 19 years ago, I calculated the force of ascent at the æquator arising from the earth's diurnal motion, in order to know what would be the diminution of gravity thereby. But yet to do this business right, is a thing of far greater difficulty than I was aware of. A third thing there was in his letters which was new to me, and I shall acknowledge it, if I make use of it; 'twas the deflection of falling bodies to the south-east in our latitude (71). And now having sincerely told you

‘ the case between Mr Hook and me, I hope I shall be free for the future, from the prejudice of his letters. I have considered how best to compose the present dispute, and I think it may be done by the enclosed scholium to the fourth proposition \*.' After this letter, Sir Isaac sent the following.

‘ S I R,

‘ Yesterday I unexpectedly struck upon a copy of the letter I told you of to Huygenius. 'Tis in the hand of one Mr John Wickins, who was then my chamber-fellow, and is now parson of Stoak Earth near Monmouth, and so is authentick. It begins thus, being directed to Mr Oldenburg.

‘ S I R,

‘ I received your letter, with Mr Huygen's kind present, which I have viewed with great satisfaction, finding it full of very subtle and useful speculations, very worthy of the author. I am glad that we are to expect another discourse of the Vis centrifuga, which speculation may prove of good use in Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, as well as Mechanics. Thus, for instance, if the reason why the same side of the moon is ever towards the earth, be the greater conatus of the other side to recede from it, it will follow (upon supposition of the earth's motion about the sun) that the greatest distance of the sun from the earth, is to the greatest distance of the moon from the earth, not greater than 10000 to 56, and therefore the parallax of the sun not less than  $\frac{1}{10000}$  of the parallax of the moon; because, were the sun's distance less in proportion to that of the moon, she would have a greater conatus from the sun than from the earth. I thought also some time that the moon's libration might depend upon her conatus from the sun and earth compared together, till I apprehended a better cause. Thus far this letter concerning the vis centrifuga. The rest of it, for the most part concerning colours, is printed in the Philosophical Transactions of July 21, 1673, No 96. Now from these words it is evident, that I was at that time versed in the theory of the force arising from circular motion, and had an eye upon the forces of the planets, knowing how to compare them by the proportions of their periodical revolutions, and also from the center they move about: an instance of which you have here in the comparison of the forces of the moon arising from her menstrual motion about the earth, and annual about the sun. So then in this theory I am plainly before Mr Hook. For he, about a year after, in his attempt to prove the motion of the earth declared expressly, that the degrees by which gravity decreased he had not then experimentally verified, that is, he knew not how to gather them from phenomena; and therefore he there recommends it to the prosecution of others.

‘ Now though I do not find the duplicate proportion expressed in this letter (as I hoped it might); yet if you compare this passage of it here transcribed, with that hypothesis of mine registered by Mr Oldenburg in your book, you will see that I then understood it. For I there suppose, that the descending spirit acts upon bodies here on the superficies of the earth, with a force proportional to the superficies of their parts; which cannot be, unless the diminution of it's velocity, in acting upon the first parts of any body it meets, be recompenced by the increase of it's density arising from that retardation. Whether this be true is not material, it suffices that it was the hypothesis. Now if this spirit descend from above with uniform velocity, it's density, and consequently it's force, will be reciprocally proportional to the square of it's distance from the center. But if it descend with accelerated motion, it's density will every where diminish as much as it's velocity increases; and so it's force (according to the hypothesis) will be the square as before, that is, still reciprocally as the squares of it's distance from the center.

‘ In short, as these things compared together, shew that I was before Mr Hook in what he pretends to have been my master, so I learned nothing by his letters but this, that bodies fall not only to the east, but also in our latitude to the south. In the rest, his correcting and informing me was to be complained of. And

‘ though

\* This was done accordingly in these words, Schol. Casus Corollarii sexti ob-  
tinet in corporibus  
caelestibus; ut se-  
orsum collegerunt  
etiam nestrates  
Wrennius, Hooki-  
us, & Halæus);  
&c. The sixth  
Coroll. is, Si  
tempera periodica  
sint in ratione ses-  
quialtera radio-  
rum, & propterea  
velocitates reciproc-  
ce in radiorum ra-  
tione subduplica-  
ta; vires centri-  
petæ erunt reci-  
proce ut quadrata  
radiorum & con-  
tra.

† See the rest of this letter in Dr Hall v's article, remark [T].

(71) Mr Hooke shewed this by an experiment before the Royal-Society in December 1679. Waller, p. 22. the same year that his letters here mentioned were written to Sir Isaac.



able. At the same time a Chancery-suit, in which he was concerned with Sir John Cutler, on account of his salary for reading the Cutlerian lectures, made him very uneasy; and increased his disorder; so that for some years he did little else besides reading his lectures (pp). In 1691, he was employed in forming the plan of the hospital near Hoxton, founded by Robert Ask Alderman of London [R], who appointed Archbishop Tillotson one of his executors (qq); and in December the same year, our author was created Doctor of Physic, by a warrant from that prelate (rr). Upon the 27th of March, 1695, his Chancery-suit yet continuing, the Council of the Royal-Society granted him a certificate under their common seal, of his full performance of the Cutlerian lecture; and on the 18th of July the ensuing year, it was determined for him to his great satisfaction [S]. In June the same year, 1696, an order was granted to him for repeating most of his experiments at the expence of the Royal-Society, upon a promise of his finishing the accounts, observations, and deductions, from them, and of perfecting the descriptions of all the instruments contrived by him; but his increasing weakness and general decay rendered him unable to perform it (ss). And Saturday April 10, 1697, he begun to write the History of his own Life, but never finished it (tt). He had for several years been often taken with a giddiness in his head, which was sometimes attended with much pain, little appetite, and great faintness. About July this year he begun to complain of the swelling and soreness of his legs, and was much torn with the scurvy; and about the same time being seized with a giddiness, he fell down stairs and cut his head, bruised his shoulders, and hurt his ribs, of which he complained even to the last. He continued some years in this wasting condition; and, in February 1700, by reason of his illness (uu), Dr Halley drew up an account of his marine barometer, and read it before the Royal-Society (ww). For more than twelve months before his death, he was so very infirm as to be in a manner helpless, though he seldom went to bed all the time, but kept in his cloaths, so that the swelling in his legs broke, and at last, for want of care, mortified. Thus languishing 'till he was quite emaciated, he died March 3, 1702, at his lodgings in Gresham-college; whence his corpse was conveyed to St Helen's church in Bishopgate-street, and interred there, the funeral being attended by all the members of the Royal-Society then in London (xx). He persisted to the last in affirming, that he knew a certain method of discovering the Longitude at sea [T]. Mr Waller has given the following character of him, which seems to be drawn with a candid impartiality. He begins with a description of his person, which made but a despicable figure; being short of stature, very crooked (yy), pale, lean, and of a meagre aspect, with dark-brown hair, very long, and hanging neglected over his face, uncut and lank (zz). His features were not the most regular, but in his younger days he had a sharp ingenious look, and was very active. Suitable to this person, his temper was penurious, melancholy, mistrustful, and jealous, which increased upon him with his years; and these qualities were attended with a sharpness of wit in discerning the temper of others, which sometimes shewed itself in giving shrewd

(72) When the experiment mentioned in note (71) was made, our author read a discourse, to prove that the falling body would not describe such a spiral, as we see here Sir Isaac then thought; but either an elliptical spiral, after many revolutions resting in the center at last, or else an ellipsoid, according as it was or was not resisted by the medium. Waller's Life of Hooke, p. 22.

' though his correcting my spiral (72), occasioned my finding the theorem, by which I afterward examined the ellipsis; yet am I not beholden to him for any light into the business, but only to the diversion he gave me from my other studies to think on these things, and for his dogmatism in writing, as if he had found the motion in the ellipsis, which inclined me to try it, after I saw by what method it was to be done.

' Sir,

' I am your affectionate friend

July 27,  
1686.

' and humble servant,

' IS. NEWTON.'

[R] He drew the plan of Alderman Ask's hospital near Hoxton. This has been generally esteemed a handsome building, but Dr Hooke blamed for exceeding the sum at first allotted for it, and by that means lessening the revenue. In answer to this charge he used to say, though the fact was true, yet it was not occasioned by his fault or mistake; but partly by additions and alterations of the first design, and chiefly by his not procuring and agreeing with the workmen himself (73).

[S] It was determined for him to his great satisfaction. His joy on that occasion was found in his Diary thus expressed, DOM SH L G I S S A, that is, Deo optimo maximo sit honor laus gloria in secula seculorum, Amen. I was born on this day of July 1635, and God has given me a new birth; may I never forget his mercies to me, whilst he gives me breath may I praise him (74).

[T] He persisted in it to the last, that he knew how to find out the longitude at sea. Not many weeks before

his death he told Mr Waller and others, that he knew a certain and infallible method to discover the true place of a vessel at sea, as to its east and west distance from the port departed from; Mr Waller suggests that this method might be by other time-keepers than watches, or else by some still different ways; but rather thinks it was by watches, for the improvement of which, our author made many trials and read several discourses (75). However, 'tis evident that his friends entertained his asseveration of the discovery with distrust, and how little credit was then given to it in general, appears from Mr Waller's account thereof. Mr Hooke, says he, ' suffering this invention to be undiscovered to the last, gave some persons cause to question, whether he was ever possessor of it, and to doubt whether what in theory seemed very promising, would answer when put to the test of practice. Others indeed more severely judged, that it was only a kind of boasting in him to assert that, which had not yet been performed, though attempted by many.' Thus stood the opinion of the world at our author's death, and as nothing has appeared since to alter it; so, to say the truth, it needs no other proof than his own account of the matter contained in the postscript to his treatise of Helioscopes (76), especially if it be considered how apt he was in other subjects to make such kind of affirmations as this concerning the longitude. For instance, about the time that Sir Isaac Newton's reflecting telescope begun to gain esteem, he affirmed, *coram multis*, that in 1664, he made a little tube about an inch long to put in his fob, which performed more than any telescope of fifty feet long made after the common manner; but the plague happening, which caused his absence, and the fire, whence redounded profitable employments about the city, he neglected to prosecute the same, being unwilling the glass-grinders should know any thing of the secret (77).

(75) Ibid. p. 6.

(76) See some passages, serving to explain that postscript, in Birch's Hist. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 22.

(77) Gen. Dist. Vol. VI. p. 216. in the notes (a).

[U] Many



threwd guesses and smart characters. Thus framed, setting out in his youth with a collegiate or rather monastic recluseness, he afterwards led the life of a cynical hermit, scarcely allowing himself necessities, notwithstanding the great increase of his fortune after the Fire of London (*a a a*). He declared sometimes that he had a great project in his head as to the disposal of the most part of his estate, for the advancement of natural knowledge, and to promote the ends and designs for which the Royal-Society was instituted; to build a handsome fabrick for the Society's use, with a library, repository, laboratory, and other conveniences for making experiments; and to found and endow a Physico-mechanic lecture like that of Sir John Cutler. But though he was often solicited by his friends to put his designs down in writing, and make his Will as to the disposal of his estate to his own mind in the time of health; and after, when himself and all others thought his end drew near; yet he could never be prevailed with to perfect it; still procrastinating, 'till at last this great design proved an airy phantom, and vanished into nothing, and he died without any Will or Testament that could be found. In like manner, with respect to his philosophical treasures, when he first became known to the learned world, he was very communicative of his discoveries and inventions, but afterwards grew close and reserved to a fault, alledging for an excuse, that some persons challenged his discoveries for their own, and took occasion from his hints to perfect what he had not; for which reason he would suggest nothing 'till he had time to perfect it himself, so that many things are lost which he affirmed he knew (*b b b*). In the mean time, he was restless and indefatigable in acquiring these possessions, always contenting himself with little sleep, and that very irregular; for he seldom went to bed 'till two or three o'clock in a morning, and frequently not at all, but pursued his studies the whole night, and took a short nap in the day. In the religious part of his character he was so far exemplary, that he always expressed a great veneration for the Deity, as may be seen in a great many passages of his writings; and seldom received any remarkable benefit from God, without thankfully acknowledging the mercy; he never made any considerable discovery in nature, invented any useful contrivance, or found out any difficult problem, without setting down his acknowledgment to God, as many places in his diary testified (*c c c*). And he frequently studied the sacred writings in the originals. For, to proceed to his endowments natural and acquired, he was well acquainted with the ancient languages, as well as with all parts of the mathematics. But that which distinguished him was his mechanical genius, and sagacity in penetrating into the secrets of nature. This shews itself in the great number of experiments made by him, amounting to several hundred; and in his new and useful instruments, that were numerous; as also in his happy talent of adapting theories to observations, and contriving easy and plain methods to prove those theories, and confirm them by further trials. Had he been more steady in his pursuits, and perfected one discovery before he entered upon another, he might perhaps in some cases have done greater service to the public, and prevented what often gave him uneasiness, the fear of losing the credit of them by others, who built upon his foundation (*d d d*). For many of his inventions were never brought to the perfection of which they were capable, nor put in practice 'till some other person improved upon them [*U*]. However, the various productions of his genius were esteemed by the most learned Philosophers both at home and abroad; and covering his failures with his merit, he may justly claim a place (though not in the front) among those illustrious persons who adorned the Royal-Society in the last age. His papers being put by his friends into the hands of R. Waller, Esq; Secretary to the said Society, that gentleman collected such as were thought worthy of the press, and published them under the title of his Posthumous Works [*W*] in 1705, to which he prefixed an account of his life, in folio.

(*b b b*) In the course of this memoir, we have seen him frequently apt to carry those pretensions too far.

(*c c c*) It was often expressed in these letters, D. O. M. G. M. Deo opt. max. gratias max.

(*d d d*) Life of Dr Hooke, p. 27.

[*U*] Many of his inventions were never brought to perfection.] This might possibly arise from the fertility of his invention, which continually presenting somewhat new to his mind, gave him both less time and inclination to attend to one thing long together. This is Mr Ward's remark, who supports it, by several of our author's letters written to Mr Boyle, wherein it was surprising to find what a number and variety of things he was in pursuit of at the same time (78).

[*W*] His posthumous works.] These works contain, (I.) A general scheme or idea of the present State of Natural Philosophy, and how it's defects may be remedied by a methodical proceeding in making Experiments and collecting Observations, whereby to compile a Natural History, as the solid basis of the Superstructure of true Philosophy. (II.) Lectures of Light, explicating it's Nature, Properties, and Effects, particularly that of the Sun and Comets. In these lectures he gives a mechanical explication of memory, as also of our ideas of time and duration. (III.) A Discourse of the Nature of Comets. It appears by this discourse that Mr Hooke went into the general mistake concerning the comet of 1680, in believing it to be two comets from the inter-

mission of it's appearance while twisting round the sun. To this is added a Discourse of Gravity, containing an hypothesis of the cause of Gravitation and Magnetism. (IV.) Observations upon Dr John Dee's Book of Spirits. (V.) Lectures and Discourses of Earthquakes and subterraneous Eruptions; explicating the Causes of the rugged and uneven face of the Earth; and what Reason may be given for the frequent finding of Shells, and other Sea and Land petrified Substances scattered over the whole terrestrial Superficies (79). He ascribes all these phenomena to earthquakes, and as to shells, in answer particularly to the objection from the Cornu Ammonis found in the stone-quarries at Portland, which it was observed must needs contain a much larger fish than any found in these northern climates; he is even hardy enough to suppose that this our island might once stand in the torrid zone, and be removed thence into it's present situation by an earthquake; he gives the histories of several remarkable earthquakes, and applies them to the explication of the fables in Ovid's Metamorphoses, which book he maintains in the same humour to be an allegorical account of earthquakes. (VI.) Lectures concerning Navigation and Astronomy. P

(79) Our author here follows Columna's opinion, that these shells and petrified substances are the exuviae and parts of animals. He also asserts the same thing in his Microg. ch. xvii. and in his lecture de Potentia Restitutiva he maintains, not only that the island of Teneriffe is the product of an earthquake, but that most if not all other hills in the world were thus generated. See more of this subject in Dr John Woodward's article.



HOOKER [RICHARD], the celebrated author of *The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, was born in the year 1553 [A], at Heavy-tree near Exeter. His parents were more remarkable for their virtue and industry than for their extraction and riches (a); though some of his ancestors had been Mayors of Exeter (b), and his uncle John Hooker (c) was then Chamberlain of the same, and accounted rich (d). He was designed by his parents for a trade; but his school-master, who admired his modesty, gravity, sweetness of temper, and quick apprehension, perswaded them to continue him at school, 'till he could find out some means to ease them of part of the charge of his education. Accordingly, his uncle was prevailed upon to maintain him one year at the university; and Dr Jewel Bishop of Salisbury was so kind as to allow him a pension. He got him also admitted, in the year 1567, one of the Clerks of Corpus-Christi-college in Oxford [B]: but his pension, and his chief hopes of subsistence, ceased with that good Bishop's life in the year 1571. However, Providence raised him two other patrons, in Dr Cole then President of the college, and Dr Edwin Sandys Bishop of London [C], and afterwards Archbishop of York (e); by whose interest, on the 24th of December 1573, he was elected scholar of his college; which not only incorporated him into that learned body, but also afforded him a tolerable maintenance (f). On the 23d of February, 1576-7, he took the degree of Master of Arts, which he compleated the Act following, and was admitted Fellow of his college the same year. Among other parts of learning, being a good master of the oriental languages, he was appointed, July 14, 1579, Deputy-Professor of the Hebrew tongue in the university, in the room of Mr Kingmill, who, by over study, was become disordered in his senses (g). But in October the same year, he and others were expelled the college by Dr John Barefoot, then Vice-President: the cause, whatever it could be, was but trifling and insufficient, for they were restored the same month. After that, he continued his studies in all quietness, and with the utmost alacrity and success, as may be guessed from his writings. He entered into Holy Orders about the year 1581, and soon after, being appointed to preach at St Paul's-cross in London, he was so unhappy as to be drawn into a most unfortunate marriage, of which an account is given below in the note (b) [D]. Losing by that his fellowship, he remained without preferment 'till December 9, 1584, when he was presented by John Cheney, Esq; to the rectory of Drayton-Beauchamp in Buckinghamshire; where going to settle, he led an uncomfortable life with his

(a) The Life of Mr Richard Hooker, by Isaac Walton, edit. 1675. 8vo. p. 158.

(b) See Isacke's Mem. of Exeter, p. 96, 115. and Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 312.

(c) See above, in the article H O L I N S H E D [RAPHAEL], note [E].

(d) Walton, p. 159.

(e) Idem, p. 160—165.

(f) Walton, p. 167.

(g) Walton, p. 168, 171. and Wood's Ath. ut supra, col. 302, 330.

(b) Walton, p. 172—176.

(1) Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 302.

(2) Walton, as above, p. 163, 164.

[A] In the year 1553.] A. Wood says, that it was about the time of Easter, an. 1554 (1).'

[B] One of the Clerks of Corpus-Christi college in Oxford.] He continued in that station 'till the eighteenth year of his age: about which time he had a dangerous fit of sickness, that had like to put an end to his life. As soon as he was perfectly recovered, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter, to see his good mother, being accompanied with a countryman of his, and of his own college, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or else want of money, or their humility, made it so. They took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see Bishop Jewel, who made Mr Hooker and his companion dine with him at his own table. At their departure, the Bishop gave him good counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money: which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him; and at Richard's return, the Bishop said to him, 'Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God, with much ease;' and then delivered into his hand a walking staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany; and he said, 'Richard, I do not give but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her, I send her a Bishop's benediction, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on foot to the college, and so God blefs you, good Richard (2).'

[C] And Dr Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London.] The way Mr Hooker came to be known to this good Bishop, happened to be thus. He, and his old intimate friend, and fellow-exile Bishop Jewel, meeting accidentally, the latter gave Bishop Sandys such a character of Mr Hooker's learning and good behaviour; that though Bishop Sandys was educated at Cambridge, and had there many friends; yet he resolved, that his son Edwin should be sent to Corpus-Christi college in Oxford, and by all means be pupil to Mr Hooker, (who was then nineteen years of age, and five years standing in the university) though his son Edwin was not much younger than Mr Hooker. For the Bishop

said, 'I will have a tutor for my son that shall teach him learning by instruction, and virtue by example; and my greatest care shall be the last; and God willing, this Richard Hooker shall be the man into whose hands I will commit my Edwin (3).' This Edwin was afterwards knighted, and wrote *Europæ Speculum*.—Mr Hooker had at the same time another considerable pupil, namely, *George Cranmer*, eldest son of Thomas Cranmer, son of Edmund, brother to the famous Archbishop Cranmer.—And, in process of time, he became a very considerable tutor (4).

[D] He was so unhappy as to be drawn into a most unfortunate marriage.] The manner in which he was intrapped into that marriage, is thus related by Mr Walton (5). There was then belonging to the church of St Paul's, a house called the Shunamite's house, set apart for the reception and entertainment of the preachers at St Paul's Cross, two days before, and one day after, the sermon. That house was then kept by Mr John Churchman, formerly a substantial draper in Watling-street, but now reduced to poverty. Mr Hooker came thither from Oxford, so wet and weary, that he was under the utmost anxiety, for fear he should not be able to perform his duty the Sunday following. But Mrs Churchman nursed him so well, that he was enabled by that means to discharge well the office of the day. For this he was so very thankful, that, as Mr Walton expresses it (6), 'he thought himself bound in conscience to believe all that she said: so the good man came to be persuaded by her, *That he was a man of a tender constitution; and that it was best for him to have a wife, that might prove a nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry*. He fearing no guile, because he meant none, gave her a power to chuse a wife for him; promising upon a fair summons to return to London, and accept of her choice. And he did so, in that or the year following. Now, the wife provided for him was her daughter *Joan*; who brought him neither beauty nor portion: and, for her conditions, they were too like that wife's, which is by Solomon compared to a dripping house.'—Which A. Wood explains, by saying, that she was a silly clownish woman, and withal a meer Xantippe (7).

(3) Walton, p. 165, 166.

(4) Idem, p. 169 and 166.

(5) P. 173, 174, 175.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ath. ut supra, col. 302.



his wife Joan. In that condition he continued about a year; and in the mean time received a visit from his two former pupils, Mr Edwin Sandys and Mr George Cranmer [E], who observed and pitied his unhappy situation. So that, at their return to London, Mr Sandys solicited his father, who was then translated to the archbishopric of York, to remove him to some more suitable benefice. Accordingly, the mastership of the Temple becoming vacant soon after, the Archbishop made so strong interest in his behalf, that on the 17th of March, 1585, he was by patent fixed in that honourable employment, being then in the 34th year of his age (i). A country retirement would have better suited his natural disposition; however, he promised himself here that blessed tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for. But it was soon impaired, and at length entirely destroyed, by the repeated vexations he met with from Mr Walter Travers, Lecturer of the Temple, and a rigid Puritan. This man being disappointed in his expectation of the mastership, and differing from Mr Hooker in many doctrinal points; his resentment, and their mutual differences, ended at last in a public opposition in their preaching (k). So that what Mr Hooker delivered in the forenoon, Mr Travers confuted in the afternoon (l). Thus it continued a long time, 'till the opposition became so visible, and the consequences so dangerous, especially in that place, that Archbishop Whitgift caused Mr Travers to be silenced by the High-Commission-Court. Upon that Mr Travers presented his *Supplication to the Privy-Council*; which being ineffectual, he made it public [F]. And that

(i) *Idem*, p. 177, 178, 179.

(k) Walton, p. 199, &c.

(l) Fuller's *Church-History*, b. ix. p. 216.

[E] Received a visit from his two former pupils, Mr Edwin Sandys, and Mr George Cranmer.] They found him with a Horace in his hand, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field; which he told those gentlemen he was forced to do, because his servant was gone home, to dine, and assist his wife to do some necessary household business. When his servant returned and released him, his two pupils attended him to his house, where their best entertainment was his quiet company, which was presently denied them; for Richard was called to rock the cradle; and the rest of their welcome was so like this, that they staid but 'till next morning, which was time enough to discover and pity their tutor's condition. And having in that time remembered and paraphrased on many of the innocent recreations of their younger days, and by other such like diversions, given him as much present pleasure as their acceptable company and discourse could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his wife Joan, and seek themselves a quieter lodging for next night. But at their parting from him Mr Cranmer said, *Good Tutor, I am sorry your lot is fallen in no better ground as to your Parsonage: and more sorry, your wife proves not a more comfortable companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your restless studies.* To whom the good man replied, *My dear George, if Saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my wife Creator hath appointed for me; but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit to his will, and possess my soul in patience and peace* (8).

[F] Mr Travers presented his *Supplication to the Privy-Council*; which being ineffectual, he made it public.] I cannot find, that it was then made public otherwise than by dispersing written copies of it (9). For I believe it was first printed in 1612; and hath been subjoyned to most of the later editions of Mr Hooker's works, where it may be seen. When it was presented, the members of the council were much divided in their sentiments. All the Archbishop's enemies there were, of course, favourers of Mr Travers; who had, besides, many great and powerful friends at Court. But even their united endeavours could never move the Queen to revoke what the Archbishop had done: she left spiritual matters to his discretion; and, as one humorously expresses it (10), 'Whitgift's finger moved more in Church matters, than the hands of all the Privie Counsellors besides.' — From Mr Travers's *Supplication* it appears, that the reasons alledged for silencing him, were, 'That he was not lawfully called to the function of the Ministry, nor allowed to preach according to the laws of the Church of England: that he preached without licence: that he inveighed against certain points of doctrine taught by Mr Hooker, as erroneous; not conferring with him, nor complaining of it to the Bishop.' — Contrary to the order made in the 7th of her Majesty's reign, importing, 'that erroneous Doctrine, if it came to be publickly taught, should not be publickly refuted, but that notice thereof should be given to the Ordinary, to hear and determine such causes, to prevent publick disturbance' (11). —

The unsound and erroneous Doctrines charged by him upon Mr Hooker, were, 1. That Mr Hooker 'had taught certain things concerning *Predestination*, otherwise than the word of God doth, as it is understood by all Churches professing the Gospel, and not unlike that wherewith *Coranus* sometimes troubled his Church; "I [adds Mr Travers] both delivered the truth of such points in a general doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him also privately upon such articles. In which conference, I remember, when I urged the consent of all churches and writers against him that I knew; and desired, if it were otherwise, what authors he had seen of such doctrine? he answered me, *That his best author was his own reason.*" 2. Another Doctrine maintained by Mr Hooker, and censured by Mr Travers, was, 'That the assurance of that we believe by the word, is not so certain, as of that we perceive by sense.' Upon which Travers observes, "I both taught the doctrine otherwise, namely, the assurance of Faith to be greater, which assured both of things above, and contrarie to all sense and human understanding, and dealt with him also privately upon that point." 3. He also highly condemned this other doctrine of Mr Hooker, 'That the Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ, and a sanctified Church by profession of that Truth, which God hath revealed unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect Church;' and further, 'That he doubted not, but that thousands of our fathers, who lived and dyed in the superstitions of that Church, were saved, because of their ignorance, which excused them;' alledging to that end 1 Tim. i. 13. Or, as Mr Hooker himself reports these last words in his answer, 'I doubt not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers, living heretofore in the Popish superstition, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly.' Mr Travers's reflexions upon that point, are as follow. "The matter being of set purpose openly and at large handled by him, [viz. Hooker] and of that moment, that might prejudice the faith of Christ, encourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable ways, and others weak in faith to suffer themselves easily to be seduced, to the destruction of their souls; I thought it my most bounden duty to God, and to his Church, whilst I might have opportunity to speak with him, to teach the truth in a general speech in such points of doctrine. At which time I taught, That such as dye, or have dyed at any time in the Church of Rome, holding in their ignorance that Faith which is taught in it, and namely *Justification in part by Works*, could not be saved by the Scriptures to be saved." 4. He charged likewise Mr Hooker, with 'so setting forth in one of his sermons, the agreement of the Church of Rome with us, and their disagreement from us, as if we had consented in the greatest and weightiest points, and differed onely in certain smaller matters.' 5. It appears further from Mr Hooker's answer (12), that Mr Travers found fault with him, for 'Praying in the entrance of his sermon only, and not in the end; for naming Bishops in his prayer; kneeling when

(8) Walton, p. 177.

(9) See the beginning of Mr Hooker's Answer.

(10) Fuller's *Church History*, book ix. p. 218. See also Strype's *Life of Abp Whitgift*, p. 235.

(11) See the *Supplication*, &c. in Mr Hooker's Works, edit. 1666. p. 487, &c. and Fuller, at above, p. 217.

(12) His Works, as above, p. 498.



that obliged Mr Hooker to publish an answer [G], which he inscribed to Archbishop Whitgift

‘ when he prayed, and when he received the Communion.’—Such was the substance of Mr Travers’s Supplication, and of his accusations therein laid against Mr Hooker; to which, what answers Mr Hooker made, will be seen in the next note.

[G] *And that obliged Mr Hooker to publish an answer.* In that answer, he makes a reply to the several articles of unsound doctrine charged upon him by Mr Travers, which it is not only expedient but also necessary to lay before the reader. 1. With regard to the first article, Mr Hooker explains himself in these words. ‘ In the other conference, he questioned about the matter of *Reprobation*, misliking first, that I had termed God a permissive and no positive cause of the evil, which the schoolmen do call *malum culpæ*. Secondly, that to their objection, who say, *If I be elected, do what I will, I shall be saved*; I had answered, that the will of God in this thing is not absolute, but conditional, to save his elect believing, fearing, and obediently serving him. Thirdly, that to stop the mouths of such as grudge and repine against God for rejecting cast-aways, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpose and counsel of God, without a foreseen worthiness of rejection going, though not in time, yet in order, before. For, if God’s electing do in order, as needs it must, presuppose the foresight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be; nor onely the positive foresight of their being, but also the permissive of their being miserable, because election is through mercy, and mercy doth always presuppose misery: it followeth, that the very chosen of God acknowledge, to the praise of the riches of his exceeding free compassion, that when he in his secret determination set it down, *Those shall live and not dye*, they lay as ugly spectacles before him, as lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their fathers loyns, miserable, worthy to be had in detestation. And shall any forsaken creature be able to say unto God, Thou didst plunge me into the depth, and assign me unto endless torments, onely to satisfy thine own will, finding nothing in me for which I could seem in thy sight so well worthy to feel everlasting flames?—When I was further asked, what my grounds were? I answered, that St Paul’s words concerning this cause were my grounds.’—And, with regard to that saying of his, alledged by Mr Travers, *That his best author was his own Reason*; he thus explains himself—instead of ‘ the testimonies and the sayings of mortal men; I alledged that which might under no pretence in the world be disallowed, namely *Reason*, not meaning thereby mine own Reason, as now it is reported, but true, sound, divine reason; reason whereby those conclusions might be out of St Paul demonstrated, and not probably discoursed of onely; reason, proper to that science whereby the things of God are known;—This is the *reason* which I intended.’ 2. To the second objection, viz. *That the assurance of things which we believe by the word, is not so certain as of that we perceive by sense*; Mr Hooker thus replies, ‘ And is it as certain? yea, I taught, as he himself, I trust, will not deny, that the things which God doth promise in his word, are surer unto us, than any thing which we touch, handle, or see. But are we so sure and certain of them? if we be, why doth God so often prove his promises unto us, as he doth by argument taken from our sensible experience? We must be surer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwise it is no proof. How is it, that if ten men doe all look upon the moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the moon as another; but many believing one and the same promise, all have not one and the same fulnesse of persuasion? How falleth it out, that men being assured of any thing by sense, can be no surer of it than they are; whereas the strongest in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour, and strive, and pray, that his assurance concerning heavenly and spiritual things, may grow, encrease, and be augmented.’ 3. To the third and fourth objections; about the *Salvation of the Papists*; and the *Church of England’s Agreement with them*; he answers thus. ‘ In settling the question between the Church of Rome and us, about *Grace* and

*Justification*, lest I should give them an occasion to say, as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute their opinions, we propose to ourselves such, instead of theirs, as we can refute; I took it for the best and most perspicuous way of teaching, to declare first how farr we doe agree, and then to shew our disagreement: not generally (as Mr Travers his words would carry it) but about the matter onely of Justification; for further I had no cause to meddle at this time.’—The Sermon wherein he treated of that point, was a Discourse about Justification, Works, &c. printed at the end of his Ecclesiasticall Politie; where the words to our present purpose, are these.—‘ This openeth a way to the understanding of that grand question which hangeth yet in controversie between us and the Church of Rome, about the matter of justifying Righteousness. First, although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ were, for his honour, and by his special protection, preserved clean from all sinne: yet touching the rest, they teach as we doe, That infants that never did actually offend, have their natures defiled, destitute of justice, averted from God; That in making man righteous, none do efficiently work with God, but God. They teach as we do, that unto justice no man ever attained, but by the merits of Jesus Christ. They teach as we do, That although Christ, as God, be the efficient; as man, the meritorious cause of our justice: yet in us also there is some thing required. God is the cause of our natural life, in him we live: but he quickneth not the Body without the Soul in the Body. Christ hath merited to make us just: but, as a medicine, which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; so, by the merits of Christ there can be no Justification, without the application of his merits. Thus farr we joyn hands with the Church of Rome. Wherein then do we disagree? We disagree about the nature and essence of the Medicine, whereby Christ cureth our disease; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of means, which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our souls comfort—’

With regard to that assertion of his, in particular, That he doubted not but God was merciful to save thousands of our fathers living heretofore in Popish superstition, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly; all that he says in his own vindication is, ‘ A man that should read this, [Mr Travers’s severe reflections] and not know what I had spoken, might imagine that I had at the least denied the Divinity of Christ. But they which were present at my speech, and can testify, that nothing passed my lips more than is contained in their writings, whom, for soundnesse of doctrine, learning, and judgment, Mr Travers himself doth, I dare say, not onely allow, but honour:—and this spoken in a sermon, the greatest part whereof was against Popery, they will hardly be able to discern how *Christianity* should herewith be so grievously shaken (13).’ The conclusion of Mr Hooker’s answer breathes a truly charitable spirit. ‘ I take no joy, says he, in striving, I have not been nuzled or trained up in it. I would to Christ they which have at this present enforced me hereunto, had so ruled their hands in any reasonable time, that I might never have been constrained to strike so much as in mine own defence.—Sith there can come nothing of contention; but the mutual waste of the parties contending, till a common enemy dance in the ashes of them both, I do wish heartily that the grave advice which *Constantine* gave for re-uniting of his clergy, so many times, upon some small occasions in so lamentable sort divided; or rather the strict commandment of Christ unto his, that they should not be divided at all; may at the length, if it be his blessed will, prevail so farr, at least in this corner of the Christian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of strife, together with the causes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of small moment never disjoyn them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptism, bands of so great love have linked.—Finally, that no strife may ever be heard of again, but this, Who shall hate strife most, who shall pursue peace and unity with swiftest paces (14).’

(13) His Works, p. 506.

(14) Ibid. p. 509.

[H] H



Whitgift (*m*). This answer procured him great reverence and encouragement from some, and as much neglect and hatred from others. In order therefore to undeceive and win these, he entered upon his famous work of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie, and laid the foundation of it in the Temple. But finding that busy place not so fit for study and close attention, he earnestly intreated Archbishop Whitgift to remove him to some quieter place [*H*]. The Archbishop having the disposal of the preferments belonging to the diocese of Sarum, during the vacancy of that see, presented him, in 1591, to the rectory of Boscomb in Wiltshire; and, on the 17th of July the same year, to the prebend of Nether-Haven in the said church of Sarum, of which he was also made Sub-dean (*n*). At Boscomb he finished four books of his Ecclesiastical Politie, which were entered into the register-book at Stationers-hall, March 9, 1592, but not published 'till 1594 (*o*) [*I*]. The year following, quitting Boscomb, he was presented, July 7, 1595, by Queen Elizabeth, to the rectory of Bishops-Bourne in Kent, vacant by the promotion of Dr William Redman to the bishopric of Norwich. In this living he continued 'till his death, without any addition of dignity or profit, discharging all the duties of his function in a regular and exemplary manner (*p*). He used to preach once every Sunday, and he or his curate to catechize after the second lesson in the evening service. His sermons were neither long nor earnest, but pronounced with a grave zeal and an humble voice [*K*]; and where he fixed his eyes at the beginning of his sermon, there they continued 'till it was ended, in order to prevent his imagination from wandering; so that he seemed to study as he spoke (*q*). Before he had been one year at Bourne, his books, and the innocency and sanctity of his life, became so remarkable, that many turned out of the road (scholars especially), on purpose to see Him whose life and learning were so much admired (*r*). In this place he composed the fifth book of his Ecclesiastical Politie, which was published by itself in the year 1597. He finished there also the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of that learned work; but whether we have them as left by himself hath been much questioned (*s*) [*L*].

About

[*H*] *He earnestly intreated Archbishop Whitgift to remove him to some quieter place.*] His letter was to this effect.

'My Lord,

'When I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my colledge, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage. But I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. And, my Lord, my particular contests here with Mr Travers have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the Holy Scripture, and other laws both humane and divine. Whether the conscience of him, and others of his judgment, ought to be so far complied with by us, as to alter our frame of Church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to him, and our established ceremonies, as often as their tender consciences shall require it. And, in this examination, I have not onely satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise, in which I intend the satisfaction of others, by a demonstration of the reasonableness of our *Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*.—But, my Lord, I shall never be able to finish what I have begun, unless I be removed into some quiet countrey parsonage, where I may see God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat mine own bread in peace and privacy. A place where I may, without disturbance, meditate my approaching mortality, and that great account which all flesh must, at the last great day, give to the God of all spirits—(15).'

[*I*] *At Boscomb he finished four books of his Ecclesiastical Politie, &c.*] They were finished in the year 1592, and the author sent a manuscript copy of them to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, 'for his favourable approbation,' with a letter dated the thirteenth of March, 1592. But they were not published, as is said above, 'till the year 1594, nor the fifth 'till the year 1597. 'It is, according to Mr Strype's judicious observation, a just Discourse of the Ecclesiastical State of this Church, built upon great reason and judgment, managed with admirable clearness and conviction, and with a strain of great learning and modesty withal: designed for a vindication of the Church of England, as it stood reformed at first, and established by law, against those that, so much and so intemperately, cried out for another platform of government. Which that most judicious divine did happily refute (16).' It is 'the standing defence of the Church of England,' and hath kept its value and

reputation better than any other performance of the last century. But, as it is in almost every one's hands, no further account need be given of it here.

[*K*] *But pronounced with a grave zeal and an humble voice.*] The design of his sermons; as indeed of all his discourses, was, to shew reasons for what he said: and with these reasons such a kind of rhetoric, as did rather convince and persuade, than frighten men into piety. Studying not so much for matter, which he never wanted, as for apt illustrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing applications; never labouring by hard words, and then by needless distinctions and subdistinctions, to amuse his hearers, and get glory to himself; but glory only to God. Which intention he would often say was as discernable in a preacher, as an artificial from a natural beauty (17).

[*L*] *He finished there also the 6th, 7th, and 8th, books of that learned work; but whether we have them as left by himself, hath been much questioned.*] What hath occasioned any dispute about the genuineness of those books, is, that they contain certain assertions concerning the true Nature of the Legislative Power, the Original of Government, and the Regal Power as derived from the people; which R. Baxter, and other Puritan authors, have taken an advantage of; and which the writers on the other side have imagined and affirmed, could never have dropped from Mr Hooker's pen (18). Mr Walton having sifted this point to the bottom, we shall here give the substance of what he hath said upon it. He tells us then, that he had been informed 'by one, who very well knew Mr Hooker, and the affairs of his family, that about a month after his death, Archbishop Whitgift sent one of his Chaplains to enquire of Mrs Hooker for the three remaining books of Polity, written by her husband; of which she would not, or could not give any account.—That, about three months after that, the Archbishop procured her to be sent for to London, in order to be examined by some of the Privy-Council, concerning the disposal of those books: but, by way of preparation for the next day's examination, the Archbishop invited her to Lambeth, and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, that one Mr Charke, and another minister that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her husband's study, and look upon some of his writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen, and that she knew nothing more concerning them. Her lodging was then in King-street Westminster, where she was found next morning dead in her bed, and her new husband (19) suspected and questioned

(17) Walton, as above, p. 199—202.

(18) Idem, p. 208, 209, 210. and Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 302.

(19) Walton, p. 211.

(p) Ibid.

(q) Idem, p. 218, 219.

(r) Walton, p. 217.

(s) See Walton, p. 233, &c.

(17) Walton, p. 220.

(18) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 304.

(19) She was married again very soon after Mr Hooker's death.

(15) Walton, p. 209.

(16) Strype's Life of Abp Whitgift, p. 400, 421.



About the year 1600, and the 46th of his age, he fell into a long and sharp sickness, occasioned by a cold he took in his passage by water between London and Gravesend. He continued,

questioned for it; but was declared innocent of her death.—The three last perfect books being thus lost; Dr John Spencer, who was of the same college and contemporary with Mr Hooker; (betwixt whom there was so firm a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their studies, particularly about the Books of Ecclesiastical Politie) had the three imperfect books, or rough draughts of them, delivered to him by Archbishop Whitgift; to be made as perfect as might be, by him, who both knew Mr Hooker's hand writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions.' For the truth of this, Mr Walton appeals to an epistle, first and usually printed before Mr Hooker's five books, and signed with J. S. the two initial letters of Dr Spencer's name, but omitted in Dr Gauden's edition of 1662; wherein are these passages. 'There is a purpose of setting forth the three last books also, their Father's *posthumi*.—And, though like Rachel, he died as it were in the travel of them, and hastened death upon himself by hastening to give them life; yet he held out to behold with his eyes these *partus ingenii*, these Benjamins, sons of his right hand, though to him they were Benonies, sons of pain and sorrow. But some evil disposed minds, whether of malice or covetousness, or wicked blind zeal, it is uncertain, as if they had been Egyptian midwives, as soon as they were born, and their father dead, smothered them, and by conveying away the perfect copies left unto us nothing but old imperfect and mangled draughts, dismembered into pieces;—no favour, no grace, not the shadows of themselves almost remaining in them.——But seeing the importunities of many great and worthy persons will not suffer them quietly to dye and to be buried, it is intended that they shall see them as they are.' Mr Walton goes on thus,—the reader may note, that this epistle of Dr Spencer's was writ, and first printed, within four years after the death of Mr Hooker, in which time, all diligent search had been made for the perfect copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore intended to be compleated out of Mr Hooker's rough draughts. And I do profess by the faith of a Christian (adds Mr Walton) that Dr Spencer's wife, who was my aunt and sister to George Cranmer, told me forty years since, in these or in words to this purpose, that *her husband had made up or finish'd Mr Hooker's last three books; and that upon her husband's death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, which was Dr Abbot, or unto Dr King, Bishop of London; and that she did as he enjoyn'd her* (20).—Dr Henry King Bishop of Chichester, son of this Dr King Bishop of London, explains this latter part, in the following manner, in a letter to Mr Walton (21);—'My father's knowledge of Mr Hooker, was occasioned by the learned Dr John Spencer, who, after the death of Mr Hooker, was so careful to preserve his unvaluable sixth, seventh, and eighth books of Ecclesiastical Polity, and his other writings, that he procured Henry Jackson, then of Corpus-Christi college, to transcribe for him all Mr Hooker's remaining written papers, many of which were imperfect; for his study had been rified or worse used by Mr Clark (22), and another of principles too like his: but as these papers were, they were endeavored to be compleated by his dear friend Dr Spencer, who bequeathed them as a precious legacy to my father; after whose death they rested in my hand, 'till Dr Abbot, then Archbishop of Canterbury, commanded them out of my custody, authorising Dr John Barkham (his Lordship's chaplain) to require and bring them to him to Lambeth. At which time I have heard they were put into the Bishop's library, and that they remained there 'till the martyrdom of Archbishop Laud, and were then by the brethren of that faction given with the library to Hugh Peters, as a reward for his remarkable service in those sad times of the Churches confusion: and though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavours to corrupt and make them speak that language, for which the faction then fought; which was, *To sub-*

*ject the sovereign power to the people.*'——But to return to Mr Walton,—he conceives, that from Dr Spencer's, and no other copy, there have been divers transcripts, to be found in several places; as namely in the Bodleian Library, in that of Dr Andrews late Bishop of Winchester; in the late Lord Conway's, in Archbishop Usher's, and many others; and most of these pretended to be the author's own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminished, as men have thought fittest to make Mr Hooker's judgment suit with their fancies, or give authority to their corrupt designs. For proof of a part of which, he gives the following testimonies: 1. Dr Barnard, sometime Chaplain to Archbishop Usher, in a book of his called *Clavi Trabales*, printed in 1661, declared, that, in his search and examination of that Archbishop's manuscripts, he found the three written books, which were the supposed 6th, 7th, and 8th, books of Mr Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; and that in those three books, now printed as Mr Hooker's, there are so many omissions, that they amount to many paragraphs, and which cause many incoherencies. The omissions are by him set down at large in that book, to which the reader is referred. 2. Mr Fabian Phillips attested it under his hand, that he was ready to make oath if required, that Dr Sanderson Bishop of Lincoln did, a little before his death, assure him, he had seen a manuscript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr Richard Hooker, in which there was no mention made of the King or Supreme Governors being accountable to the people. So that, as Mr Walton goes on, there appears to be both omissions and additions in the said last three printed books. 3. King Charles I. declared, *they were not allowed to be Mr Hooker's books.*—Mr Walton concludes his examination in these words. 'In this relation concerning these three doubtful books of Mr Hooker's, my purpose was to enquire, then set down what I observed and know; which I have done, not as an engaged person, but indifferently, and now leave my reader to give sentence for their legitimation, as to himself, but so, as to leave others the same liberty of believing or disbelieving them to be Mr Hooker's (23).—But, notwithstanding all these arguments, Bishop Gauden (24), Mr Richard Baxter (25), and others (26), maintain, that those three books are genuine, and not interpolated.

Of these three books, the sixth and eighth were published at London in 1648, 4to, under this title, 'Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie; the sixth and eighth Books. By Richard Hooker. A work long expected, and now published according to the most authentique copies.' In an advertisement to the reader, it is said, that they were then published, to prevent some erroneous, if not counterfeit copies, that were abroad: and that fruitless endeavours had been used to recover the *seventh*, that they might have been published to the world's view at once. It is also said, that, before publication, they had been compared with the several copies abovementioned.——But we are assured, that, long before that, even as early as the year 1617, all the *Eight* books, with certain tractates and sermons, and the author's life, were published in two volumes folio (27). Notwithstanding which, as if they had never before seen the light, that enterprising divine, Bishop Gauden, put them out in 1662 fol. under this title, 'The Works of Mr Richard Hooker, (that learned, godly, judicious, and eloquent divine) vindicating the Church of England, as truly Christian, and duly reformed: in eight books of Ecclesiastical Polity. Now compleated, as with the sixth and eighth, so with the *seventh*, (touching Episcopacy, as the Primitive, Catholic and Apostolick Government of the Church) out of his own Manuscripts, never before published. With an Account of his holy Life, and happy Death, Written by Dr John Gauden, now Bishop of Exeter. The entire edition dedicated to the Kings most excellent Majestie, Charles the II. By whose Royal Father (near his Martyrdom) the former Five Books (then onely extant) were commended to his dear Children, as an excellent means to satiate private scruples, and settle the publique peace of this Church and Kingdom.'

(23) Walton, p. 233, &c.

(24) In his edition of Mr Hooker's Works, 1662.

(25) In Fasciculo Liter. p. 100. Nonconformists Plea for Peace; and Christian Directory in several places.

(26) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 571.

(27) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 305.

(20) Walton, p. 234, 235, 236.

(21) Prefixed to Mr Hooker's Life.

(22) So it is here, though in Mr Walton's Life it is Charke.



continued, notwithstanding, his studies to the last [M]. Wasted at length with labour and his lingering illness, he expired on the 2d of November 1600 [N], and was buried in the church of Bishops-Bourne, where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory by William Cowper, Esq; (t) [O]. His character is given below in the note [P]. He left no son, only four daughters (u) [Q], none of which made any considerable figure in life. Besides his Ecclesiastical Politie, and Answer to Mr Travers, he writ some other pieces [R], which were published after his decease.

(t) Walton, p. 225, &c. 231.

(u) Id. p. 231.

It is somewhat unaccountable, that Dr Gauden should insinuate, (as he doth) that the *Seventh* book was now first published, when it had been out ever since the year 1617: and that he should say, in his dedication to King Charles II, that the works of Mr Richard Hooker (which he presented to him) were 'now augmented, and I hope [adds he] completed with the three last books, so much desired, and so long concealed,' when the 6th and 8th had been published by themselves but thirteen or fourteen years before. Surely his ignorance or confidence was great!—what he says further upon the same point, in his Life of Mr Hooker (28), deserves notice; being as follows. —Of these eight books, 'five have many years been extant in publique; the last three were thought to have been never finished, and to be sure they have been for many ages suppressed; which are now come to light, after our late long troubles.'—Each of them is by learned critics judged to be genuine or authentick, though possibly not so compleat and exact as the curious author intended: The *Seventh* book, by comparing the writing of it with other indisputable papers, or known manuscripts of Mr Hookers, is undoubtedly his own hand throughout: the *eighth* is written by another hand (as a copy) but interlined in many places with Mr Hookers own characters, as owned by him.' In the life of Mr Hooker, prefixed by Bishop Gauden to this edition of his works, there were many material Mistakes, and more Omissions; which to correct and supply, Mr Isaac Walton wrote another life of Mr Hooker, that was published in 1665.

[M] He continued, notwithstanding, his studies to the last.] He strove particularly to finish his Ecclesiastical Politie; and said often to Dr Saravia, who visited him daily, 'That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reason, but to live to finish his three remaining books of Polity; and then, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace,' which was his usual expression. 'Tis thought he hastened his own death, by his intense application to compleat that work. And how great a value he set upon it, appears from the following instance. A very few days before his death, his house was robbed; of which having notice, he asked, *Are my books and written papers safe?* And being answered, *that they were:* his reply was, *then it matters not, for no other loss can trouble me* (29).

[N] He expired on the 2d of November, 1600.] It is amazing how some of Mr Hooker's contemporaries should be so much mistaken, as they have been, about the exact time of his death. Mr Camden, from whom greater exactness might have been expected, places it under the year 1599 (30). The mistake is yet greater in his epitaph: for that places it under the year 1603, and in the 50th of his age. But Mr Walton having made proper enquiry, was informed by Mr William Somner, Register for the province of Canterbury, that Richard Hooker's Will bears date October 26, 1600, and was proved the 3d of December following. His death is particularly fixed on the 2d of November, by Archbishop Laud; who wrote the following memorandum in the title-page of Mr Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, then belonging to him, which came afterwards into the hands of the learned Mr William Fulman. *Richardus Hooker, vir summis doctrinæ dotibus ornatus, de Ecclesiâ præcipuè Anglicanâ optime meritus, obiit Novemb. 2, circiter horam secundam postmeridianam, anno 1600* (31).

[O] Where a monument was afterwards erected to his memory by William Cowper, Esq;] The inscription upon it is in these words; *Richardus Hooker Exoniensis, Scholaris Sociusq; Collegii Corp. Christi Oxon. deinde*

*Lond. Templi interioris in sacris Magister, Rectorq; hujus Ecclesiæ, scripsit octo libros Politicæ Ecclesiasticæ Anglicanæ, quorum tres desiderantur: Obiit An. Do. M.DC.III. Ætat. suæ l. Posuit hoc piissimo viro monumentum An. Do. M.DC.XXXV. Gul. Cowper Armiger, in Christo Jesu quem genuit per Evangelium. 1 Corinth. iv. 15.*

[P] His character is given below.] Mr Hooker, as to his person, was of a mean stature, and stooping; his face full of heat-pimples, caused by his inactivity and sedentary life: and, though not purblind, he was short or weak sighted (32). His complexion was sanguine, with a mixture of choler; his motion and speech slow even in his youth, never expressing an earnestness in either of them, but an humble gravity, suitable to the aged (33).—With regard to the qualities of his mind; he was a man of great humility, meekness, and piety (34): so bashful, that as in his younger years his pupils might easily look him out of countenance, so neither then, nor in his more advanced age, did he ever willingly look any man in the face (35). He was never known to be angry, or passionate, or extream in any of his desires; or ever heard to utter an unseemly word—By his unwearied application, he attained to perfection in the learned languages; and had made the subtilty of all the arts easy and familiar to himself, and useful for the discovery of such learning as lay hid from common searchers: so that, by these, added to his strong reason, and joined to his restless industry, he did not only know more of causes and effects; but what he knew, he knew better than other men (36). Nor was he a stranger to Music and Poetry. He would often say, that God abhors confusion as contrary to his nature; and that the Scripture was not written to beget disputations, and pride, and opposition to government, but charity and humility, moderation, obedience to authority, and peace to mankind: of which virtues, he would as often say, no man did ever repent on his death-bed (37).

[Q] He left only—four daughters.] Whose names were Alice, Cecily, Jane, and Margaret. One of the eldest was married to Mr Chalinor, sometime a Schoolmaster in Chichester. Margaret, the youngest, was married to Ezekiel Clark, B. D. Rector of St Nicolas in Harbledown near Canterbury; and by him had a son, Ezekiel, Rector of Waldron in Sussex, and a daughter. His other daughters died before they were marriageable. He left each of them a hundred pounds; and the inventory of his effects, which were mostly books, amounted to 1092l. 9s. 2d. Mr Hooker had a sister, named Elizabeth Harvey, which lived to the age of 121 years, and died in September 1663 (38).

[R] Besides his Ecclesiastical Politie, &c. he writ some other pieces.] Namely, I. 'A Discourse of Justification, Works, and how the foundation of Faith is overthrown; on Abak. i. 4.' II. 'A Sermon of the Nature of Pride; on Abak. ii. 4.' III. 'A Remedy against Sorrow and Feare, delivered in a funeral Sermon, on John xiv. 27.' These three printed at Oxford, 1612, 4to. IV. 'Of the certainty and perpetuity of Faith in the Elect, especially of the Prophet Abakkuk's faith; on Abak. i. 4.' V. 'Two Sermons upon part of St Jude's Epistle, viz. ver. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.' Printed at Oxford, 1614, 4to. All these sermons were first published by Mr Henry Jackson, Fellow of Corpus-Christi-college Oxford; and have been several times since reprinted at the end of the Ecclesiastical Politie. VI. 'Causes of Contention concerning Church-government.' Oxon. 1641. 4to. VII. 'A Sermon on Matth. vii. 7. found in the study of Dr Andrews Bishop of Winchester, and published by Isaac Walton, at the end of his Life of Bishop Sanderfon (39).'

(32) Walton, p. 217, 218.

(33) Id. p. 158.

(34) P. 163.

(35) Id. p. 218.

(36) Id. p. 166.

(37) Id. p. 171.

(38) Walton, p. 231, 232.

(39) Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 305.



(a) Willis's Account of the Cathedral, &c. Vol. III. p. 657.

(b) See his age at the time of his death.

† Dugdale's Warwickshire, 2d edit. 1730. in the dedication to Dr Hough, then Bishop of Worcester, by Will. Thomas, D. D. who observes further, that Mr Hough acquired also a true taste of gentility and honour from the knightly family of the Helts of Aston near Birmingham.

(c) At the age of 16, as it is (perhaps mis-) printed for 19 in Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185.

(d) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 190. Hence it may not improbably be collected, that his admission in the university was in Act-Term 1669.

\* Athen. Oxon. col. 1185.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1185.

(2) Ibid. col. 1014.

(3) Mr Wood tells us, that he was sea-bound (as he terms it) in his voyage, by which means coming not time enough, he lost preferment there upon the translation and change of ecclesiastical places, vacant by the death of certain Bishops of that country. Ibid. col. 1185.

(4) In the preface to his Life of the Duke of Ormond.

(5) The Duke spent two summers there, in the time that the Earl of Clarendon was in Ireland, Lord-Lieutenant of that country, in the first part of King James II's reign. See the article of Lord Chancellor Clarendon.

(6) In the just mentioned preface; where it appears, that the Chaplain had his patron's consent for this undertaking; by whom, another writer assures us, he was justly valued and highly esteemed. Some account of the Right Rev. Dr John Hough, &c. p. 6. 1diti. 1743. 4to.

HOUGH [JOHN], the good Bishop of Worcester, particularly distinguished by the share he had in bringing about the Revolution in 1688, was born in the county of Middlesex (a) in the year 1650 (b); and having acquired a true taste of literature at the school of Birmingham in Warwickshire †, he was removed thence to Oxford, and elected Demy of Magdalen college in 1669 (c). He took his first degree in Arts, April 10, 1673 (d), and became Fellow of the college in 1675 \*. On the 8th of June the following year, he proceeded Master of Arts (e), and having entered into Holy Orders, he exercised his function for some time at a place called North-Aston in the diocese of Oxford (f). Upon the breaking out of the popish plot, Mr Hough's chamber in the college was searched by order of the Vicechancellor in 1679, upon suspicion of his holding a correspondence with a person of that religion [A]; but nothing of this kind could be found; and in 1681 he was appointed domestic-chaplain to the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the university, who being then in Ireland Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom, Mr Hough crossed the sea in February, and waited upon his Grace at Dublin. However, there happening no considerable vacancies in the Irish Church (g), he returned with his patron, in the beginning of May the following year 1682, unpreferred to England (h) [B]; where he was collated to a prebend in the church of Worcester in 1685, being installed March 12 the same year (i); and he was afterwards presented to the rectory of Tomsford in Bedfordshire (k). On the 10th of March the year following he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (l); and on the 15th of the next month, being April 1687, he was statutably elected President of his college by a majority of the Fellows, after they had rejected a *mandamus* from his Majesty King James II. in behalf of one Anthony Farmer, A.M. of that house. Mr Hough's election was regularly confirmed by the Bishop of Winchester, Visitor of the college, and he was admitted Doctor of Divinity June the 22d following ||, but the same day was removed from his presidency by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and Dr Samuel Parker Bishop of Oxford put into his place. That prelate dying before the expiration of the year, was succeeded therein by Bonaventure Gifford, a Sorbon doctor and secular priest of the Romish Church; who being installed by proxy on the 31st of March 1688, took possession of the President's lodgings June the 15th. But soon after, upon the Prince of Orange's declaration to come to England, an order passed, October 12, for restoring Magdalen-college to it's rights, and Dr Hough was restored, on the 25th of that month, to the presidency by the Bishop of Winchester, commissioned by the King for that purpose [C]. After the Revolution, the Doctor was nominated by King William,

(e) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 201.

(f) Athen. Oxon. col. 1185.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) See the Duke of Ormond's article, Vol. II. p. 1068.

(i) Willis's Account, &c. ubi supra, Vol. III. p. 671. N. B. This account shews, that he had the living of Tomsford at that time.

(k) Id. Vol. II. p. 437. where it is observed, that he had this rectory at his election into the see of Oxford.

(l) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 219.

|| Id. ibid. col. 230.

[A] His chamber was searched by the Vicechancellor. This person with whom he was suspected to hold a correspondence, was Thomas Kingsley, who had been sometime his intimate acquaintance, but in 1671, had left the college as well as his country to embrace the Romish faith. The Vicechancellor was Dr John Nicholas, Warden of New-college, who, says Mr Wood in his usual rough language, left no stone untouched to shew his activity against Papists or well-wishers to them, purposely to gain the good will of the Parliament then sitting, and so consequently preferment; but, continues he, the design to search his [Mr Hough's] chamber, took no effect (1). This same Vicechancellor had also one William Joyner seized for a Priest or Jesuit, who had been a fellow of the same college, and changed his religion (2).

[B] He returned with the Duke to England. That he returned at the same time with the Duke, seems to be clearly inferred from the circumstance alone of his coming back without any preferment in Ireland (3), and is further confirmed by what Mr Carte observes (4), that he lived several years in the Duke's family, which considering the time of his Grace's death, viz. in 1688, could hardly be said with any tolerable degree of accuracy, if he had staid longer in Ireland. The last mentioned author informs us, that Mr Hough had projected a design of writing the Duke's life, and made a considerable progress therein. But upon the coming of Sir Robert Southwell to Cornbury (5), in 1685, who claimed the right of performing that task to himself, the Doctor yielded it to him. A concession which is greatly lamented by Mr Carte, who does not scruple to assert, that the world thereby lost the sight of as fine a pen as ever any age has produced. Mr Carte likewise assures us, that he had several particulars concerning the Duke's private life from the Doctor (6), whose authority in relating some of these, he has expressly cited. Among others it may not be amiss to take notice of the following circumstance, relating to the Duke's third son, Lord John Butler, created Earl of Gowran in 1676. 'That young nobleman died the same year at Paris, having gone thither a little before for the recovery of his health, much impaired by his irregularities. While he was there in a lingering and wasting way, the Duke of Ormond in a fatherly and christian concern

for his future welfare, put him in mind of his excesses, which had reduced him to that weak condition, and were like to put a speedy period to his life, and suggested to him those reflections, which perhaps had been too long deferred, though necessary to fit him for another world. There was something, continues Mr Carte, so noble, just, pious, and christian, in the sentiments expressed in the letter, which his Grace wrote upon this occasion, that I would fain have given it a place among others of that sort in the Appendix, that the world might have seen one of the finest pieces of the kind that hath been ever written. For this is the character which I have of it from the present Bishop of Worcester, (*the beauty of whose pen renders him an excellent, and indisputable judge of that of others*) who had preserved a copy of it, but could not easily find it among his papers. I am inclined to believe the reader will not think his patience abused in giving him the remainder of this narrative as follows. 'The Duke laid his son's manner of life to heart, but all his remonstrances could not correct or restrain the impetuosity of his youth. A repartee of his Grace's may not improperly be related on this occasion. Mr Cottington of Holme-Patrick, about twelve miles from Dublin, had a fine house pleasantly situated on the sea side, and was often visited by the Duke of Ormond and his sons, and other great men, who delighted in the place for the pleasure of it's situation, and the amusements which the sea afforded. He had undertaken to build a new chapel on the ruins of an old one, and asked every body that came to his house, to contribute something towards the building and ornament of the chapel. Among others, my Lord John Butler being applied to, had promised him the Ten Commandments to be put over the altar. Mr Cottington was much pleased with his Lordship's generosity, and when he went to Dublin, could not forbear extolling the present, in a visit which he made to the Duke. As he was making great encomiums on Lord John, his Grace replied, *I could easily guess at the nature of my son's generosity, he can readily part with things he does not care to keep himself* (7).

[C] He was elected, removed, and restored to his Presidency. A transaction of so great importance

(7) Life of the D. of Ormond, Vol. II. p. 450.



William, in April 1690, Bishop of Oxford (m), upon the death of Dr Timothy Hall. He was elected accordingly on the 29th of April, and being consecrated in the Bishop of London's chapel at Fulham on Sunday May 11, had then a licence to hold the presidency *in commendam* (n) [D] Upon the translation of Mr William Lloyd to the see of Worcester, Dr Hough succeeded him in that of Litchfield and Coventry, on the fifth of August 1699 (o). He was not only a considerable benefactor to this bishopric †, but whilst he continued there, he procured an Act of Parliament for annexing the living of Tattenhill to the deanery of Litchfield, on account of its insufficient maintenance; the income of which dignity is said to be doubled by that augmentation (p). On the death of Dr Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1715, that metropolitanical chair was offered to our Bishop, of which he declined the acceptance out of modesty (q). But upon the decease of Dr Lloyd succeeded him in the see of Worcester [E], September 29, 1717 (r). He was now near seventy years of age; yet he lived upwards of twenty-six years Bishop of Worcester, in a constant exemplary residence upon his diocese, discharging all the duties of the episcopal function. In 1722 he buried his lady, Letitia, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Fisher of Parkington in Warwickshire, Bart. and widow of Sir Charles Lee of Billesley in the same county, Knight\*. A little before his death, he wrote a remarkable letter to the Lord Digby, an extract of which shall be inserted below [F]. The even temper of his mind bore so just a proportion to his well tempered constitution of body, as by an happy result of both, to extend his age to the beginning of his ninety-third year, and almost to the completion of the 53d year of his episcopate. His lamp of life burnt clear, if not bright, to the last; and though his body was weak, he had no pain or sickness, as he himself acknowledged, not only on several occasions, at a considerable distance of time from his death, but even a few minutes before he expired. It may well be doubted whether he felt the agonies that are usual at the separation of soul and body; but it is certain that he died very sedately and with a quiet mind. His end was peace, and he enjoyed tranquillity at the last. The easiness of his death seems to have been as much derived from the serenity of his mind and a good conscience, as from his insensibly exhausted spirits; or rather, by a concurrence of both, in the scripture language, he gently fell asleep. He died March 8, 1743, *satisfied with a long life, equally full of days and honour*, and with a pleasing prospect of that *salvation* which God had shewed him (s) [G].

(m) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 118; and 814. and Fasti, col. 229. and Salmon's Chronol. Historian, under the year 1687.

(n) Wood's Athen. Oxon. ubi supra. and Willis, Vol. II. p. 437.

(o) Willis, Vol. III. p. 657.

† See the next rem. [E].

(p) Some Account of the Right Rev. Dr John Hough, &c. p. 9, 10. Lond. 1743. 4to.

(q) Ibid. p. 19, 20. ad finem.

(r) Willis, where last cited.

\* Dugdale's Warwickshire, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. 989, 990. She died in the year of her grand climacteric, being baptized Aug. 11, 1659.

(s) Some Account, &c. p. 17, 18.

(8) See particularly Kennet's History of England, Vol. III. 2d edition. Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. and especially the State-Trials, Vol. IV.

(9) Some Account of the Life of Dr John Hough, p. 6, 7.

(10) Bishop Burnet observes, that though the reserved rents make up no more than 5000 l. yet the extended value amounts to 40000 l. a year. History of his own times, ubi supra. To which it may be added, that the whole town of Calais in France, when in the hands of the English, was a part of its endowment.

Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford, in the section relating to Magdalen-college.

(11) He held it as long as he continued in the see of Oxford.

(12) Some Account of the Life &c. p. 8.

as this was to the kingdom, has been largely related in our general histories, to which we refer the reader (8); and shall only insert what is observed of it in relation to Dr Hough's memorable courage and conduct therein by a late writer (9). 'I willingly hasten, says he, to that critical juncture in the reign of King James II, when at the head of a society, perhaps of the best endowed foundation in Europe (10), *St Mary Magdalen College in Oxford*, he made that noble stand in behalf of our reformed religion and our civil liberties, which contributed so much to the success of our happy revolution. It is disputable indeed whether he shewed greater courage and constancy, or prudence and temper, in the management of so important a contest with the misguided Crown; and whether he displayed a greater love of the liberties of his country in baffling the instruments of an illegal ecclesiastical commission, or integrity and conscience in adhering so firmly to the statutes of his college, and his own oath, in opposition to all the artifices as well as menaces of an arbitrary Court; in his engaging by his weighty influence the members of that learned body to act unanimously, and in confirming by his own example their resolutions to sacrifice their interest to their duty on that great occasion. Under this article I shall only add, that his Lordship equally retained the same inviolable love of his country in all public exigencies, whilst he sat in Parliament, and during his retirement from business on account of the infirmities of his advanced age, even to the last moments of his life.'

[D] *He held his presidency in commendam.* He always retained a very particular regard and affection for his college, of which that society received several valuable attestations. For besides what he expended in repairing and ornamenting the lodgings of the President while he enjoyed that station, he afterwards gave the sum of one thousand pounds, as his own grateful contribution towards the new buildings of that place of his education, as well as scene of his government for several years (11). In that capacity he endeavoured to encourage learning in the most obliging manner; he both distinguished studious and sober young men by his own favour, and recommended those of a more promising genius to the favour of their superiors, that by the interest of great men, they might meet with suitable rewards of their several studies (12).

[E] *He succeeded Bishop Lloyd in the see of Worcester.* When his Lordship removed from the see of Oxford to that of Litchfield and Coventry, he did not

merely repair, but almost rebuild as well as adorn the episcopal house at Eccleshall; and made such alterations in what was left by his predecessor in an imperfect state [upon his translation to the see of Worcester] as to render it a commodious and agreeable seat. Bishop Lloyd had caused the ruins of the old episcopal castle at Eccleshall, a seat that had not been inhabitable from the times of the confusion, to be removed; and erected a house on the site of part of them, though not finished in so ample a manner as he proposed to do, nor with that elegant taste, that was shewn by his successor Bishop Hough, in the reformation of his plan, which however was carried on at a very considerable expence of them both. But the most beneficial instance of Bishop Hough's public generosity, was given upon his translation to the See of Worcester, when he rebuilt so great a part of the episcopal palace at Worcester, and made such improvements in his other seat [the castle] at Hartlebury, that (as is asserted by good hands) he expended upon both those houses, at least seven thousand pounds. And these schemes were executed with so nice a judgment, that his Lordship has left little to be superadded by any of his successors towards perfecting both those episcopal sees (13).

[F] *An extract of his letter to the Lord Digby given below.* That Lord was a person eminently distinguished by his goodness and piety (14), and there had been a long friendship between them, after an acknowledgement of which, and of his own sincere regard for Lord Digby's noble family and relations, the Bishop uses these memorable words of himself: 'I am weak and forgetful—In other respects I have ease to a degree beyond what I durst have thought on, when years began to multiply upon me: I wait contentedly for a deliverance out of this life into a better, in humble confidence, that, by the mercy of God through the merits of his Son, I shall stand at the resurrection on his right hand. And when you, my Lord, have ended those days that are to come (which I pray may be many and comfortable) as innocently and exemplarily as those that are passed, I doubt not of our meeting in that state, where the joys are unspeakable, and will always endure (15).'

[G] *A pleasing prospect of that salvation which God had shewed him.* The author of Some Account of the Bishop's Life, has given his character at length, an extract of which we shall lay before the reader as follows. Having spoken of his Lordship's public benefactions, he proceeds in these terms. 'As for his more private

(13) Ibid. p. 8—10. and Willis's Account of the Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 657.

(14) See several letters to a person of this family by Mr Pope, in the volumes of his Works containing his letters.

(15) Some Account, &c. p. 15, 16.



private acts of charity, there is good reason to believe (from several proper intimations) that they constantly ran very high, and were very extensive. And with regard to his occasional charities, it is well known to those that were more particularly acquainted with his Lordship, and the numerous objects of them, that they were distributed with a very liberal hand, and in an uncommon proportion. With respect to his usual manner of living, it was very agreeable to his function; hospitable without profuseness, and adjusted suitably to his own circumstances, and to those with whom he had any business or correspondence. His conversation with all persons was full of humanity and candour, as well as it was prudent and instructive. And as he treated all sorts of persons, and of what party soever in secular affairs with courteousness and affability; so he shewed a great equality of temper, and a largeness of soul, towards such as differed from him in religious matters. Indeed I know but of one exception in his conduct towards the latter sort of men; namely, that he had formed so just an idea of the gross abuses of the Church of Rome,—that if ever he expressed a more than ordinary warmth, or rather some degree of indignation, it was shewn in exposing those doctrines and practices of that Church.—But his kindness to his particular friends shone most brightly in the entertainments of his conversation with them, in his affectionate correspondence with the absent part of them, in his readiness to use all opportunities of serving them, and in the firmness and constancy of his professions of friendship throughout the course of so long a life. He mixed the gentleman and the bishop on all proper occasions, and especially with regard to his own clergy, whom he treated with such a brotherly condescension, and in so obliging a manner, as to be intirely beloved by them, and at the same time he well knew how to preserve the dignity of his station, and the reverence due to the episcopal character; a behaviour that equally procured him the affection and veneration of the clergy, and the respect and honour of the most distinguished part of the laity. It would be inexcusable if I omitted here to take notice of that peculiar happiness of his Lordship's compositions, which is so very conspicuous not only in his more elaborate discourses from

the pulpit, but in the gentlemanly, polite, and friendly manner of his epistolary correspondence; in which latter kind of writing, he must be allowed to have excelled.' The author having recommended a well chosen collection of these letters, as very worthy of the public view, proceeds thus. 'But how much soever that valuable accomplishment, of which his Lordship was so great a master, may be admired by the best judges, it must at the same time be allowed to admit of no manner of comparison with the more solid ornaments of his moral excellencies, that were raised to so high a degree of perfection, and of so genuine and unaffected a piety as he was endued with. Of these his more exalted qualities, all that had the honour of his friendship and correspondence in any part of his life, are irrefragable witnesses. But more especially his heavenly temper of mind, his contempt of the world, and his indifference for life, were most visible in the latter period of his own. His aspirations after a better state, as founded upon christian principles, appeared clearly on many former occasions; but his firm faith in the promises of the gospel, exerted itself most remarkably in his declining years, as well in conversation with some of his friends about his hopes of a better state, and even his own private thoughts of the nature of that state, as in several letters to others of them about the gradual decays of his body, the just sense he had of his approaching dissolution, and his intire resignation to the will of God.' This writer concludes his account in the following words. 'Though his [the Bishop's] friends might have been for some time prepared for his final change, by the infirmities that must be supposed to attend a life spun out to so uncommon a length; yet the loss of so good a man is as much lamented by all that knew him, as if they had been deprived of him in his earlier years, and the more active part of his life. But their greatest consolation is, that his whole life here, though comparatively long, was but a short education for that inconceivably happy state, of which, without doubt, he is now in as full possession, as can be expected antecedently to the joyful re-union of soul and body at the consummation of all things (16).

'June 29, 1743.'

(16) Ibid. p. 10—19.

P

(a) Baronagium Angliæ, p. 34. MS. Dugdale's Baronage, Tom. II. p. 278.

(b) Pat. 1 Mar. p. 7.

(c) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

(d) Camden. Annal. p. 54.

(e) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 583, &c.

(f) Camden. Annal. p. 220, 221.

(g) See his article in this Dictionary.

(h) Stowe's Chronicle, p. 674. Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1257.

HOWARD [CHARLES], of the most noble House of Norfolk, an able Statesman, an experienced Seaman, and most loyal Courtier, which raised him successively, from his hereditary honour of Baron of Effingham, to those of Lord-Chamberlain of the Household, Knight of the Garter, Lord High-Admiral of England, Earl of Nottingham, and Lord Chief-Justice in Eyre of all the forests, &c. south of Trent. He was born in the year 1536 (a), in the latter end of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, his father having then the title only of Lord William Howard. His mother's name was Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gamage of Glamorganshire. Lord William being by letters patent, dated March 11, 1553, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, raised to the title of Baron of Effingham (b), and, on the 20th of the same month, declared also Lord High-Admiral, his son served under him in several expeditions, 'till the accession of Queen Elizabeth (c), when he was about twenty-two years of age. His father coming into great favour with that princess, he enjoyed a considerable share of it, and in 1559 was sent over into France, to compliment Charles the Ninth (d), who had just ascended that throne. Nine years afterwards he was appointed General of the Horse, in the expedition made by the Earl of Warwick against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, who had taken arms in the North; and in crushing which rebellion he was very active (e). In the following year he commanded a squadron of men of war, which the Queen was pleased to direct to escort Anne of Austria (f), daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, to the coast of Spain. Upon this occasion the Spanish fleet were obliged to take in their flags, while they continued in the British seas, having been sufficiently instructed in that point of ceremonial, in their passage to Flanders, by Sir John Hawkins (g). In 1571, he was chosen to represent the freeholders in Parliament as Knight of the Shire for the county of Surry; and very soon after succeeded his father in his title and estate, who died January 12, 1573 (h), in the great office of Lord Privy-Seal, and very highly in the Queen's favour [A]. Her

[A] And very highly in the Queen's favour.] There are several circumstances that determined us to give these memoirs a place in this collection, such as his being the great author of this nation's safety in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the high character he bore in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and his being at the head of those, who formed an opposition to the Earl of

Effex. Without this life, many of those already given had remained incomplete, and the lights thrown upon that reign, one of the most memorable in our history, had been imperfect and obscure. That the reader may enter into it the more perfectly, it will be requisite to say something in this note concerning his father, that a short sketch of his character, alliances, and connections



Her Majesty, with good reason, distinguished the son as she had done the father, by promoting him to the greatest offices in the kingdom, not hastily, but, as her manner was, by a due progression. He became first Chamberlain of the Household, an office which his father had also enjoyed; and on the 24th of April, 1573, he was elected Knight of the Garter (i). Some of the writers of those times say, that he was raised to check (l) Leicester's greatness; which is thus far probable, that they were certainly the most opposite people in the world in their tempers. For whereas Leicester was, at least if the best authors of those times deserve credit, a deep dissembler, excessively ambitious, and one who sought to govern all things; the Lord-Chamberlain, on the other hand, was an open, generous, public spirited man, in the good graces of the Queen from his known affection to her person, and exceedingly popular, as well on account of his hospitality, affability, and other good qualities, as for the sake of his most loyal and heroic family. When therefore the Earl of Lincoln died in 1585, the Queen immediately determined to raise the Lord Effingham to the post of High-Admiral (m), which she did with the general approbation of her subjects, and much to the satisfaction of the seamen, by whom he was so deservedly beloved [B]. After the Spaniards had spent three years in preparing their Armada, and sent it, in their own opinion, to the assured conquest of the kingdom of England, the Queen willingly intrusted the care of herself and the nation to this noble Lord, of whose conduct she had the highest opinion, and of whose fortune she had equal hopes. As soon as he knew that the Spanish fleet was ready to sail, he put to sea, and continued cruising for some time; 'till the Court having received advice that the Spaniards would be unable to make any attempt that year, and the lateness of the season rendering this intelligence probable, Secretary Walsingham wrote to him, directing that four of the largest ships should be sent into port, and the seamen discharged, to save expence. The Admiral wrote back, to excuse his not obeying this direction, and in the close of the letter desired, ' That if his reasons were thought insufficient, the ships might remain at his ' expence

(i) Ashmole's History of the Order of the Garter, p. 715. Camden. Annal. p. 285.

(l) Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 736.

(m) Stowe's Chronicle; p. 709. Holinshed's Chronicle, p. 1413.

nections may appear, which will illustrate several passages that are but very briefly mentioned in this life of the son.

This Lord William Howard, was the son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and Lord High-Treasurer of England, by his second wife. He was half brother to Elizabeth Countess of Wiltshire and Ormond, mother to Queen Anne, and grand-mother to Queen Elizabeth (1). He was also half brother to Lord Edmund Howard, whose daughter Katherine was consort to Henry the Eighth, and had a share in her misfortunes, being condemned with his wife to perpetual imprisonment, to the forfeiture of his goods, and of the profit of his lands for life, but was quickly pardoned. He was Governor of Calais in the reign of Edward the Sixth, Lord High-Admiral in that of Queen Mary, Lord-Chamberlain, and afterwards Lord Privy-Seal in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to whom by the mother's side as we have seen, he was nearly related (2). His first wife Katherine, was the daughter of John Broughton, Esq; by whom he had an only daughter, Agnes, who espoused William Powlett Marquis of Winchester (3). But by his second wife Margaret, daughter to Sir Thomas Gamage of Gloucestershire, he was the father of Charles, of whom in this article, and of Sir William Howard of Lingfield in Surrey, and five daughters (4). Douglas, who was first the wife of John Lord Sheffield, afterwards of Robert Earl of Leicester, by whom she became mother of Sir Robert Dudley, and being disowned by her husband, was obliged to marry in his life-time for her own safety, Sir Edward Stafford, Knight. Mary, who first espoused Edward Lord Dudley, and afterwards Richard Mompesson, Esq; Frances, who became the wife of Edward Earl of Hertford. Martha, who espoused Sir George Bouchier, third son to the Earl of Bath, and Katherine, who died young (5). He directed by his last will and testament, that a tomb should be built for him in the chancel of the church at Rygate, which was accordingly performed (6). This being then, and for some generations after, the chief residence of his family, one of the most distinguished branches of the most illustrious house of Howard (7).

[B] By whom he was deservedly beloved.] There had been so many of the family of Howard honoured with this high office, they had served with so much reputation, had shewn such indulgence to the seamen, and so high a regard to the honour of the English flag, that it was no wonder this nobleman stood in so high credit with all the seafaring part of the nation. But besides these, there were some very peculiar circumstances that operated in his favour. His father had been Lord High-Admiral, and had vindicated the honour of the English flag, when he escorted King Philip,

for which he was adored by the seamen (8). He was one of the adventurers in, as well as patrons of, the Russia company at its first institution, which made him very acceptable to the merchants (9). This Lord himself, though very young, had behaved, while he bore a public character in France, with that dignity and spirit which did honour in those times to this nation. Yet all these considerations together, were nothing when put in balance with a single act of his own in the character of the Queen's Admiral in the narrow seas, which perhaps the reader will not be displeased to see in the words of that worthy collector of voyages and discoveries Mr Hakluyt, who speaks of it thus to this nobleman himself (10). ' When the Emperor's sister, ' the spouse of Spain, with a fleet of an hundred and ' thirty sail, stoutly and proudly passed the narrow ' seas, your Lordship, accompanied with ten ships only ' of her Majesty's navy royal, environed their fleet in ' most strange and warlike sort, enforced them to ' stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonnets for the ' Queen of England, and made them perfectly to understand that old speech of the prince of poets.

' Non illi imperium pelagi sævumque tridentem,  
' Sed tibi forte datum.

' Yet after they had acknowledged their duty, your ' Lordship, on her Majesty's behalf, conducted her ' safely through our English channel, and performed ' all good offices of honour and humanity to that ' foreign princess. At that time all England beholding your most honourable carriage of yourself in that ' so weighty service, began to cast an extraordinary ' eye upon your Lordship, and deeply to conceive that ' singular hope, which since, by your most worthy and ' wonderful service, your Lordship hath more then fully ' satisfied.' It was not much the custom of those times, more especially in discourses of this kind, to be very particular either in respect to facts or dates; in order to supply these, it is proper to acquaint the reader, that this event happened in 1570, and that the Princess herein mentioned, was the Archduchess Anne, daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, who passed from Zealand into Spain to espouse Philip the Second (11). We shall see in another place, that this did not proceed from any extraordinary heat or impetuosity in Lord Effingham's temper, which prompted him to rash actions to gratify his own humour, which, in reference even to the Flag, was so cool and temperate (except with regard to foreigners) that he could willingly share any honours even with his rivals (12); so that from hence we may collect, he looked on this act of vigour as a thing of necessity.

(8) Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 365.

(9) See the Character to the Russia Company by Philip and Mary.

(10) See the Epistle Dedicatory, prefixed to the first volume of his Works.

(11) Camden's Annal. p. 220, 221.

(12) See this more particularly explained in the note.

[C] Should

(1) Baronagium Angliæ, fol. 34. b.

(2) Godwin. Annal. Strype's Annals. Camdeni Annal. Eliz. Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, cap. xiv. Stowe's Annals.

(3) Brook's Catalogue, p. 243.

(4) Baronagium Angliæ, ubi supra.

(5) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.

(6) Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey, Vol. IV. p. 179.

(7) Dugdale's Baronage, Vol. II. p. 278.



(n) Camden. Annals, p. 571.

(o) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. chap. xvi. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 591.

(p) Stowe's Annals, p. 747.

(q) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 597. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. c. xv. Camden, Stowe.

(r) See Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, in the 3d volume of Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, p. 173.

(s) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 596. Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 172. Stowe's Annals.

(t) Camden. Annals, p. 720. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 607.

'expence (n).' When he received intelligence from Captain Fleming of the approach of the Spanish fleet, and saw of what mighty consequence it was to get out what few ships were ready in the port of Plymouth, he, to encourage others, not only appeared and gave orders in every thing himself, but wrought also with his own hands, and with no more than six ships got the first night out of Plymouth; and the next morning, having no greater force than thirty sail, and those the smallest of the fleet, attacked the Spanish Navy (o). He shewed his conduct and prudence, by dispatching his brother-in-law Sir Edward Hobby to the Queen, to inform her of the great disproportion between the enemy's force and his own, to desire her to make the proper disposition of her land forces for the security of the coasts, and to hasten as many ships as possible to his assistance (p). His valour was conspicuously displayed in the repeated attacks he made on a superior enemy; and the coolness of his temper, a quality, though less shining, yet no less useful, appeared in his passing a whole night in the midst of the Spanish fleet, and retiring as soon as he had light enough to discover his own without loss (q). It was owing to his magnanimity and prudence that the victory was so great; and such as have suggested that it might have been still greater, readily acknowledge that this did not happen through any fault of the Admiral's, who always shewed the utmost alacrity in his country's service (r). The Queen expressed her sense of his merit in the most honourable terms, and, though naturally extremely frugal, bestowed upon him a pension for life, and, at his request, granted a pardon and a pension likewise to Captain Fleming the Pirate (s), who first brought the news of the Spanish fleet's being on our coasts; which shews how careful this great man was, that the merits of meaner persons should not pass unrewarded or be overlooked [C]. In 1596, he commanded in chief at sea, as the Earl of Essex did by land, the forces sent against Spain (t), and was at very great expence out of his own private fortune in providing for that expedition. His prudence and moderation, as well as his great experience and reputation with the seamen and soldiers, were amongst the principal causes of the success the English met with in that great and glorious enterprize (u); and his conduct throughout the whole was so wise and fortunate, that upon his return home, the Queen, on the 22d of October the next year, advanced him to the dignity and title of Earl of Nottingham (w), the reasons of which are inserted in his patent [D]. To this mark of

(u) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 186. Stowe's Annals, p. 773.

(w) Pat. 39 Eliz. p. 3.

[C] Should not pass unrewarded or be overlooked.]

It is not intended in this note, to enter into a long historical account of that great action which belongs properly to our histories. It is sufficient to say, that it was the greatest and most important naval victory that this or perhaps any other nation ever gained; besides, our principal business here, shall be to point out some particular circumstances that especially relate to the personal history of the Lord High-Admiral Howard, which could not be so conveniently inserted in the text. He was always ready to hear whatever could be offered in council, and from thence formed his resolutions; but having once deliberated, he was quick and determined in execution, and not to be driven from his own mature thoughts by the hasty conceptions and bold undertakings of others (13). On the twentieth of July, the Spanish Armada passed by Plymouth, when the Admiral having gained the wind, stood after them and engaged them very briskly with the ships he had with him. He carried his flag on board the Ark Royal, which was a vessel of eight hundred tons burthen, her complement four hundred men, of which thirty-two were gunners, and continued to chase and fight that mighty fleet 'till the 28th of the same month, when he sent in twelve fire-ships amongst them (14). He engaged the enemy again the next day with equal courage and success before Graveline; and at length having forced them, contrary to all probability, and even to his own expectation, to place their safety in a general and ill ordered flight, he continued the pursuit to the 4th of August, and then returned to Harwich (15). In the course of this fight, he resisted the intreaties of the bravest and boldest officers in his fleet, who persuaded him to board them. But he considered that they had numbers of regular troops, and he none, that their ships were larger, better built, and higher moulded, so that this would have given them great advantages, and have exposed his own people extremely. By this forbearance he kept the advantage of wind and tide, and thereby preserved the superiority which he had gained, by the same skill and prudence so much improved it, that he sunk, took, and spoiled many, and lost of his own, only one small pinnace (16).

They might perhaps in this have been pursued further, and with yet greater advantage; that they were not, proceeded not at all from any fault in the Lord High-Admiral, but his fleet was ill furnished with provision, and his ammunition all spent (17). This likewise put it out of his power to detach a squadron to the

West of Ireland, which would have prevented even the sorry remains of that fleet from getting home; as it was, of one hundred thirty-four sail, of which the Spanish Armada was composed when the Admiral left Portugal; there returned but fifty-three (18), and those in a very shattered and deplorable condition. It was universally acknowledged, that the honour gained in so unequal a contest, was entirely due to the vigilance, prudence, and wise resolution of the Admiral, and to his care in keeping the Duke of Parma's forces blocked up by Lord Henry Seymour, with his squadron of small ships on the coast of Flanders (19). But after all, this wonderful victory was chiefly to be attributed to Providence, since, if the English fleet had not been driven into Plymouth by foul weather, the Duke de Medina Sidonia had never been tempted by the arguments of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, in breach of his master's orders, to bear away for that port, in hopes of burning and destroying (20) them, which he might likewise have performed, if Thomas Fleming had not brought the Admiral news of their being at sea. If they had prevailed, their design was to have sailed up the Thames with their lighter ships, and to have attempted London. But if instead of this they had followed their King's orders and proceeded to Calais, which they might have done without the knowledge of the English fleet, and detached from thence a squadron strong enough to have forced the English and Dutch ships from before Dunkirk, the Duke of Parma might have joined them, and the expedition conducted according to his original intention (21). In this case the whole order of things had been changed, and the Queen must have put her cause entirely upon her army, which though numerous and well provided, commanded by the flower of her nobility and gentry, was composed chiefly of new raised men, and must have disputed with a superior force of veteran troops, commanded by the greatest Captain of that age, and who was himself suspected of having particular views on, and considerable intelligence in, this island.

[D] The reasons of which are inserted in his patent.] While preparations were making for the voyage to Cadiz, one great design of which was to prevent a new invasion, by the destruction of the force the Spaniards were preparing for that purpose, the Queen received advice that Calais was besieged by the Spaniards; the Earl of Essex was sent to the coast to command some land forces raised upon that occasion, but being of a very active and generous spirit, he with several other young noblemen

(18) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 604. Strype's Annals, Vol. III. ch. xv.

(19) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 603.

(20) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 172.

(21) Camdeni Annal. p. 563. Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 173.

(13) Camden, Stowe, Holinshed, &c.

(14) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 597—601.

(15) Strype's Annals, Vol. III. chap. xv.

(16) Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 603.

(17) Stowe's Annals, p. 743, 749. Sir W. Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 173.



favour, the Queen shortly added another, making him Justice Itinerant of all the forests south of Trent for life (x). But as there cannot be a more slippery situation than in a Court, the

(x) Pat. 39 E. 1.  
p. 1.

(22) Stowe's  
Annals, p. 770.  
Camden. Anna.  
p. 719, 720.

(23) Sir William  
Monson's Naval  
Tracts, p. 366.

(24) Memoirs of  
the Reign of  
Queen Elizabeth,  
by Dr Birch, Vol.  
II. p. 54, 55.

noblemen and persons of distinction (22), embarked on board the Rainbow, commanded by Sir William Monson. The Lord High-Admiral hastened also into the Downs on board the Vanguard, and on the sight of his flag, Sir William Monson took in that which he bore. The Admiral upon this, sent his boat with orders to carry his flag in the top equal with his own, which out of modesty the Earl of Essex opposed, but Sir William Monson (23), notwithstanding, obeyed; which sufficiently shews this noble Peer was not so ambitious of rank, or so desirous of shewing superiority, as men frequently are in such high stations. But the news coming that Calais was surrendered, the Earl and the Admiral returned to the prosecution of their first design, towards which they contributed largely out of their private fortunes. The English fleet, commanded jointly by these two Lords, having upwards of seven thousand land troops on board, and being joined by a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships, sailed from Plymouth on the first of June 1596, and arrived before Cadiz on the 20th of the same month. The issue of that expedition is well known, and has been already represented in another place; however we shall insert part of a letter (24) from the Lord Admiral to the Lord Hunsdon his father-in-law, who did not live to receive it, to shew his sense of things, and in a particular manner his candour with respect to Essex.

' My LORD,

' I can assure you there is not a braver man in the world than the Earl is, and I protest in my simple poor judgment, a grave soldier, for what he doth is in great order and good discipline performed. The number of gentlemen in the town was great, for the principal men of Xeres, and those parts of Andalusia nearest hereabouts, did put themselves in. For we were descried from Cape St Mary (which we could no ways avoid) yea, and I think from Cape St Vincent. This gentleman, Sir Anthony Ashley, the bearer, who hath behaved himself both wisely and valiantly, will shew you all the particulars, which it is not possible for me to write. But I must not forget to let your Lordship know, that all men did generally well, but the chiefest for the service done by sea, besides the Earl, were the Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my son Southwell, who had the leading, and performed it notably. The place was so narrow, that although many ships would have come up to them, yet they could not possibly, since the press was so thick, that one of our ships was aboard another. The while that the ships fought, the town and the forts played upon us at their pleasure. This was all performed, and all things quieted in twenty-four hours, to God's glory and her Majesty's honour and renown, which will spread over all these parts of the world. The King's loss is thus great: first, the loss of his ships, which was a great part of his strength. Then the goods laden into them for the Indies, which were burned, confessed to be worth eleven millions, the like whereof was never seen at one time before. If they had not been burned that night, by the express commandment of the Duke of Medina, we should have had two millions of the merchants, for so it was agreed upon. Besides this, the town is of wonderful importance, standing as it doth, and of great strength, which we caused to be burned on Sunday last, the day before we came away from thence, which was the fifth of this present July. The mercy and clemency which hath been shewed, will be spoken of through those parts of the world. No cold blood touched, no woman defiled, but have been with great care embarked and sent to St Mary port. All the ladies, which were many, and all the nuns, and other women and children, which were likewise sent thither, have been suffered to carry away with them all their apparel, money, and jewels, which they had about them, and were not searched. Having ended our business in Cadiz by Saturday the third day of July, the next day being Sunday aforesaid, we shipped our men, and set fire to the town of Cadiz and the forts, reserving nothing from the fire but the churches, and on Monday the fifth of July we set sail out of the port in a very circumspect order, to keep our small men, and such fly-boats as

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' carried soldiers, and were ill able to make defence, might be safely protected from any attempt that the galleys in any calm weather might make against them; since which time we have made sail with slender winds and less adventures, as high as Cape St Mary.'

As in most conjunct expeditions, so in this, there was much disagreement between the chiefs, though no public falling out. We find not that the Admiral charged Essex with any thing; but that Earl, after admitting that the whole project of the voyage was laid by his colleague, makes four capital objections to the manner in which it was executed (25), viz. that they did not possess the Indian fleet; that they did not leave a garrison in Cadiz; that they did not wait for the homeward bound ships; and that they did not visit and ransack the rest of the ports of Spain in their return. The two former he ascribes to the Lord Admiral, and the two last to Sir Walter Raleigh. One may with justice, even at this distance of time, acquit the Admiral of the first, because taking the Indian fleet would have turned chiefly to the advantage of the seamen. Sir William Monson, who was the Earl of Essex's Captain, says very impartially, that it was his own fault, through his eagerness in landing and attacking the city, which put the Admiral under the necessity of doing the same (26). In respect to the second, the fleet could not furnish provisions sufficient for a garrison of four thousand men. On the whole, it seems highly probable that both the Earl and the Admiral were very public spirited men, and had nothing in view but the common good, though they differed about the means of promoting it. The Earl thought, that keeping of the city and isle of Cadiz, would discredit the power of Spain, and distract the King's measures; the Lord Admiral thought there was danger in this, and that the end would be more effectually accomplished by destruction, and for this reason he delayed the treaty for the ransom of the ships, though offered two millions, that he might give the Spaniards time to take and execute their own purpose of burning them. At their return, the Earl of Essex took every measure to set his own conduct in a fair light, and to obtain the applause of the people at least, if not the approbation of the Court. The Queen, as her custom was, did not appear entirely satisfied, because on the foot of the account exactly stated, she was sixty-four thousand pounds out of pocket by this Cadiz expedition (27). An outward reconciliation at least was procured between the two Lords; but the Earl going the next year upon the Island voyage, the Admiral, as we have mentioned in the text, procured himself to be created Earl of Nottingham, with this clause in the patent (28).

' That by the victory obtained, anno 1588, he had secured the kingdom of England from the invasion of Spain, and other impending dangers; and did also, in conjunction with our dear cousin Robert Earl of Essex, seize by force the isle and strongly fortified city of Cadiz, in the farthest part of Spain; and did likewise entirely rout and defeat another fleet of the King of Spain, prepared in that port against this kingdom.'

The title of Nottingham had belonged to the Mowbray's, Dukes of Norfolk (29). John Lord Mowbray, in the life time of his father, was created Earl Warren and Surry, by the virtuous King Henry VI, after his death became Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Nottingham, and Earl Marshal of England; he married Elizabeth, daughter to John Talbot, the first Earl of Shrewsbury, and by her had issue an only daughter, Anne, espoused to Richard Duke of York, who in her right was created Earl of Nottingham (30). But they both dying without issue, as her father likewise did, all the estates and titles of the Mowbray's came to the Howards and the Berkeleys. William Lord Berkely, was created Earl of Nottingham and Earl Marshal of England by Richard the Third, and was advanced to the title of Marquis Berkeley by Henry the Seventh, to whom, dying without issue, he left most of his estate (31). Henry the Eighth bestowed the title of Nottingham, with other high titles, upon his natural son, whom he married to Mary, daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk (32), so that the Admiral affected this honour, as being descended from the Mowbray's, it's

30 B.

ancient

(25) Censure of  
the Cadiz Expedition,  
addressed to Mr Bacon.

(26) Naval  
Tracts, p. 186.

(27) Ex Compu-  
to deliberat. Do-  
min. Thesaurar.  
Burleigh.

(28) Pat. 39 E-  
liz. p. 3.

(29) Baronagium  
Angliz. M.S.

(30) Brooke's  
Catalogue, p.  
167.

(31) Brooke,  
Vinc. et, Dug-  
dale.

(32) Godwin,  
Lord Herbert,  
Dugdale.



(y) Sydney's  
State Papers,  
Vol. II. p. 77.

(z) Stowe's An-  
nals, p. 788.  
Sir William  
Monson's Naval  
Tracts, p. 195.

(a) Camden.  
Annal. p. 794.  
Stowe's Annals,  
p. 788.  
Pat. 41 Eliz. p.  
24. in dorso.

(b) See the arti-  
cle of DEVE-  
REUX [Ro-  
BERT] in this  
Dictionary.

(33) Camden's  
Annals of King  
James.

(34) See the arti-  
cle of DEVE-  
REUX [Ro-  
BERT], Earl of  
Essex, in this  
Dictionary.

the Earl of Essex, at his return from that which was stiled the Island Voyage, though coolly received at first, quickly after gained such an ascendancy over the Queen his mistress, as to procure what he had long sought, the post of Earl-Marshal; which giving precedence of the Earl of Nottingham, his Lordship resigned (y) his white staff, and for some time remained at Chelsey, rather through chagrin than in disgrace [E]. It was not long before the Queen recalled and restored him to her favour in as high a degree as ever, notwithstanding all the practices of the opposite faction. In demonstration of his loyal gratitude, the next eminent service in which his Lordship engaged was in 1599 (z), when the State was in very great danger. On one side, the Spaniards seemed to meditate a new invasion, and some intelligence was received they were on the very point of executing it, having assembled a great fleet at the Groyne, on board of which many English fugitives were directed to repair. On the other hand, the Earl of Essex, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, acted in a strange manner, treating with the rebels, more especially the Earl of Tyrone, whom he was sent to reduce, and forming some designs of employing the troops, with the command of which he was intrusted by the Queen, to the disturbance of her government. Her Majesty, who always placed her safety in being too quick for her enemies, issued her orders to the city of London, to furnish immediately sixteen ships for the reinforcement of the navy, and six thousand men for her service by land. The like directions being sent into other parts of the kingdom, such a fleet and such an army were drawn together in a fortnight's space, as took away all appearance of success from foreign and domestic enemies; and to shew the confidence she had in the Admiral's fidelity and capacity, she was pleased to repose in him the sole and supreme command both of fleet and army, with the high title of LORD-LIEUTENANT-GENERAL of all ENGLAND (a), an office unknown to succeeding times, and which he held with almost regal authority for the space of six weeks; being sometimes with the fleet in the Downs, and sometimes on shore with the forces. In the mean time, the restless and unfortunate Earl of Essex having taken a sudden resolution to leave his command in Ireland and return to England, the Queen thought fit to punish this contempt with a short restraint, and afterwards seemed inclined to have received him again into favour; but he, either hurried on by his own rash disposition, or instigated thereto by some desperate persons about him, attempted to raise a force sufficient to compel the Queen to do what he thought expedient; and failing in this, after an irruption from thence, and traversing the city, retired with such as were about him to Essex-house in the Strand, where he fortified himself, and confined the Chancellor, the Chief-Justice of England, and other Privy-Counsellors, sent by the Queen to enquire into the grievances he pretended had compelled and authorized his extraordinary conduct. This was on the 8th of February (b), 1600, when the Queen saw herself in the decline of her life, and, after she had triumphed over foreign foes, in the utmost danger of being imprisoned or deposed. In this perilous situation,

ancient possessors. Yet he did not think proper at this time to insist upon that topic, or to claim any precedence, for reasons which the reader will find in the next note: in the ensuing reign however he availed himself of his descent, and procured a grant from King James, by which his seat in the House of Peers, as Earl of Nottingham, was assigned him, according to the original creation in the time of Richard the Second, and not from this new patent (33); and this is a strong confirmation that the grounds mentioned in the next notes, were the true sources of the animosity between the two Earls.

[E] *Rather through chagrin than in disgrace.* The Lord Admiral had scarce received his new dignity, before his rival the Earl of Essex returned from the Island Voyage, and on account of some miscarriages therein, was at first a little under a cloud; from whence, however, it was not long before he emerged with greater splendor than ever. It was then that he began at least openly to express great resentment in reference to the Earl of Nottingham's patent; which though at this time it may seem very extraordinary, and not the less so, considering the times in which it happened, yet, as we have shewn elsewhere, it was not altogether groundless or without colour of justice (34). The Earl of Essex, in virtue of his title, had the precedence of the Admiral; but in consequence of his being created Earl of Nottingham, the great offices he enjoyed, gave him precedence before all Earls, except the Earl of Oxford, and consequently of the Earl of Essex, who thought this hard, because, in the preamble of the patent, the motive of creating mentioned, was his service at Cadiz, in conjunction with the Earl of Essex; who having the precedence then, and losing it by this creation, considered this new honour as injurious to himself, and as expressive of superior merit in the new Earl over him. According to his usual warmth he carried this very high, talking sometimes of demanding a commission to examine the patent; sometimes of chal-

lenging the Earl of Nottingham, or any of his sons; and at others, of referring what he took to be a grievance to the Queen's pleasure (35). But in all probability there was another cause unnoticed by any writer of those times, which might augment his uneasiness; since there is nothing improbable in supposing that he suspected the new Earl in taking the title of Nottingham, had in view the obtaining the office of Earl Marshal, which his ancestors with the same title had borne. However this is certain, that on the 18th of November, his absence in the House of Peers was excused on account of indisposition, the Earls of Worcester and Southampton testifying his sickness (36). The Queen directed Sir Walter Raleigh to interpose for the accommodation of this high dispute, during which the Earl still continued to abstain from appearing in the House (37). At length it was in some measure adjusted by the grant of that high office which the Earl of Essex so much desired, and in all probability it was to give room for that, that by the Queen's express command, the House was adjourned from Tuesday the 20th of December to Wednesday the 11th of January following, when the Earl of Essex took his seat as Earl Marshal of England, and thereby recovered his precedence (38). But with respect to the Earl of Nottingham's resigning his white staff in disgust, it seems not to be true, since, on the day beforementioned, he likewise took his seat immediately after the new Earl Marshal as Lord High Steward of the Queen's household, and continued to enjoy that office during the remaining part of this reign, as appears clearly from the Journal of Parliament (39). It is also evident that this victory of the Earl of Essex, was not gained so much over the Earl of Nottingham, as over the Queen herself, who granted it with a kind of constraint, and with visible marks of reluctance, which, as signs of his triumph, the Earl of Essex was pleased with at the time, though it proved afterwards his ruin (40).

(35) Sidney's  
State Papers,  
Vol. II. p. 77.

(36) See Sir Si-  
mond Dewe's  
Journal, p. 579.

(37) Sidney's  
State Papers, ut  
supra.

(38) Dewe's  
Journal, p. 535.  
Camden's Annal.  
Marshal. An-  
glican Catalog.

(39) Dewe's  
Journal, p. 599.

(40) See his ar-  
ticle in this Dic-  
tionary.

[F] With



tion, she had recourse to the loyalty of her people, and to the courage and conduct of her nobility, giving the command of all to the Lord-Admiral, who she often said (c) was born to serve and to save his country. He performed on this occasion, as on all others, the utmost the Queen could expect; for he reduced the Earl of Essex to such distress, that he was content to yield himself without terms; and when he had so done, the Lord High-Admiral treated him with all the lenity and kindness possible (d) [F]. The Earl of Nottingham was one of the peers summoned to sit in judgment on that unhappy Earl, February 19, 1600, and shewed an earnest desire to come at the truth of that mysterious and melancholy affair. The Earl of Southampton, who was condemned at the same time, applied himself particularly to the Earl of Nottingham to intercede for him with the Queen; and he did it so effectually, that he was for the present reprieved (e), and afterwards pardoned. The same year his Lordship was appointed one of the Commissioners for executing the office of Earl-Marshal of England (f), and immediately added this post to his title, as we see in the Journal of the ensuing Parliament (g). In the Queen's last sickness he was absent from Court for some time, by reason of his consort's indisposition and death; concerning which, whatever secret history may report, we must be strangely credulous to believe it was owing to the Queen's reproaches about the death of Essex (b) [G]; more especially if we consider he was sent for when she was in extremity, to

(g) Sir Symonds Dewe's Journals of Parliament, p. 599.

(b) Birch's View of Sir Thomas Edmond's Negotiations, p. 206.

[F] *With all the kindness and lenity possible.* It does no small honour to the memory of the Earl of Nottingham, that when the Queen and kingdom was in danger, he was ever called, and came to their relief. On the insurrection of the Earl of Essex, which threw the Court into the greatest consternation, he was immediately chosen to command those who still remained attached to their duty. His courage was equal and his skill and popularity not inferior to those of the Earl of Essex. But though on this and some other occasions, he stood as it were the head of the opposite faction, yet in reality it was Essex who had declared against Nottingham, rather than the latter against him. In another place it has been shewn, that Earl was driven into rebellion, partly through the violence of his own temper, but chiefly through the arts of his enemies, from the number of which, however, the Earl of Nottingham is justly excluded (41). The blame is commonly laid upon Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Raleigh, never upon the Earl of Nottingham, who was not called upon to act his part 'till the very last scene, and then acted, as he always did, with great openness and honour. He invested Essex-house; he procured the liberty of the Privy Counsellors confined there; he absolutely refused either hostages or terms to the Earl of Essex, and gave his reasons plainly, that rebels had no title to either; but of his own accord he offered courteously to suffer the ladies to go out; and when the Earl demanded two hours time to fortify the passage through which the Countess of Essex and Lady Rich went out, he consented to that too; and when Essex, before that time expired, proposed three things, first, that they should be civilly treated, that the Lord Admiral positively promised; next, that their cause should be justly and lawfully heard, he said that was not to be doubted; and lastly, that Mr Ashton the minister might attend him in prison; the Lord Admiral engaged to intercede with the Queen, and it was accordingly granted (42). On this they surrendered at ten at night, February the 8th, 1600, when the Lord Admiral carried the Earls of Essex and Southampton, not to the Tower, but to the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth. There is a curious letter of Secretary Cecil's, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, written immediately after the thing happened, addressed to the then Lord President of Munster, which the reader will not be displeased to see. It is conceived in the following terms, and, though short, contains the best account of this strange affair (43).

' Sir GEORGE CAREW,

' Because I am not ignorant that greatest accidents are most subject to be misreported by such as are either in passion or ignorance. I have thought very fit, with all convenient speed, to acquaint you with a most dangerous attempt which hath happened on Sunday last, wherein both her Majesty's own person, and the usurpation of this kingdom, was openly shot at. By this Proclamation, the proceedings of the Earl of Essex will appear, and therefore I shall only need say this unto you, that I think by that time my letters shall come unto you, both he and the Earl of Southampton, with some others of the principals, shall have lost their heads. I send you the

' note of most of them that were in open action with them. If the Queen had not put herself in strength that very morning, and barricaded Charing-cross and other places of the back parts of Westminster, their resolution was to have been at Court by noon; whereof, when they understood, they put themselves into London, and from thence, hoping to have been followed by the city, they resolved to come back; but being repulsed at Ludgate by a stand of pikes, and the city holding fast for the Queen, they and some fifty of their complices ran to the water and put themselves into Essex-house, which the Earl had furnished with all manner of warlike provisions, and then defended themselves 'till towards six o'clock in the evening, at which time the Lord Admiral sent unto them, that if they would not yield, he would blow up the house, which he might have done sooner, but that the Lady Essex and the Lady Rich were within it. Whereupon, notwithstanding their great batteries, they all yielded to her Majesty's mercy. Thus you have a true relation of this dangerous accident, unto which I will only add this, that even when a false alarm was brought to the Queen that the city was revolted with them, she never was more amazed, than she would have been to have heard of a fray in Fleet-street. And thus much for this time, I thought good to let you know, 'till further opportunity, committing you to God's protection.

Your loving

From the Court at  
Whitehall,  
Feb. 10, 1600.

and assured friend,

RO. CECIL.

The commanders of our little army were:

The Lord-Admiral, Lord-General,  
Earl of Cumberland, Lord-Lieutenant,  
Lord Thomas Howard, Marshal,  
Lord Grey, General of the Horse,  
Lord Burghley, Colonel-General of the Foot,  
' who with some ten horse went into London and proclaimed the Earl of Essex a traitor, with all his adherents, by the mouth of the King of Arms, notwithstanding that my Lord of Essex with all his complices were in the city.'

After his condemnation, the Earl of Essex, who began to change his opinions, and to see that he had acted very rashly, and had aspersed many who had done him no wrong, thought it his duty with great humility to ask their pardon, and amongst the rest, of the Earl of Nottingham, who went frequently to see him in the Tower, but was not present at his execution, or so far as any authentic history records, any way instrumental in his death (44). His credit with the Queen and with the nation was not in danger of suffering if the Earl had been spared.

[G] *That it was owing to the Queen's reproaches about the death of Essex.* There are always marvellous traditions floating in the minds of men upon remarkable events, and after passing from hand to hand, without ever being brought to public view during the age to which they belong, start up sometimes in the next,

(44) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 300, 301.

(c) Stowe's Annals, p. 792.  
Camden. Annal. p. 582, 845.  
Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 759.

(d) Stowe's Annals, p. 792.  
Memoirs of the Sydneys, by Arthur Collins, Esq; Vol. II.

(e) Camden. Annal.  
State Trials, Vol. I. p. 207.

(f) Pat. 44 Eliz. p. 14. in *id.*

(41) Camden, Naulton, Stowe.

(42) Camdeni, Annal. p. 845, 846.

(43) Birch's Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 468, 469.



(i) Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England and France, by Dr Birch, p. 208.

(k) Camden, Annal. p. 912.

(l) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, p. 206. Camden, Stowe.

(m) Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by Dr Birch, Vol. II. p. 501, 514.

(n) Pat. 1 Jac. I. p. 18.

to persuade her to those things which were requisite in her condition, particularly to go into and remain in bed, which none could do but himself, and in which he succeeded (i). It was to him she said, when near her end, *My throne has been held, in the way of succession, by princes, and ought not to go to any but my next and immediate heir.* This being by him reported to the Privy-Council, they appointed him, in conjunction with the Lord-Keeper and the Secretary, to desire a more express designation of the successor; and upon this, she named the *King of Scots*, her nearest kinsman (k). He farther provided with all possible prudence for the peaceable coming in of the successor, by causing a stout squadron, commanded by Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Monson, to be stationed in the Downs during the Queen's illness, which awed the Arch-Duke and the French; and, on the Admiral's order, King James was proclaimed, with all imaginable alacrity, on the 25th of March, the day after the Queen's death (l). This service at that juncture, when, as it afterwards appeared by Lord Cobham's and the powder plot, there wanted not some who meditated public confusion, could not but be represented and received in the most favourable light, by a prince, to whom, as a Howard, this noble peer was remarkably agreeable; all that family having been constantly attached to his title, and Lord Henry Howard (m) the principal correspondent his Majesty had in England. Upon the accession of King James, he not only retained his great office, and was honoured with a large share of that prince's confidence, but, as a signal mark of favour, was likewise made choice of to officiate as Lord High-Steward at the ceremony of the Coronation (n). Soon after this, he was named Ambassador to the Court of Spain, for the conclusion of a strict intercourse

next, and pass for authentic history. We have in another place given the reader that account of this matter, which an eminent French writer had from Sir Dudley Carleton; we will here produce another from an eminent writer of our own, whose indefatigable researches have thrown great lights upon this period of our history (45). 'I shall add, says he, as the best commentary upon the Earl of Monmouth's memoirs, a story which was frequently told by his great-granddaughter the late Lady Elizabeth Spelman, whose father, John Earl of Middleton, married Martha, daughter of Henry Earl of Monmouth, eldest son of Earl Robert, author of the Memoirs. When Katherine Countess of Nottingham, wife of the Lord High-Admiral, and sister of the Earl of Monmouth was dying, as she did according to his Lordship's own account, about a fortnight before the Queen, she sent to her Majesty to desire that she might see her, in order to reveal something to her Majesty, without the discovery of which she could not die in peace. Upon the Queen's coming, Lady Nottingham told her, that while the Earl of Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of asking her Majesty's mercy in the manner prescribed by herself during the height of his favour, the Queen having given him a ring, which being sent to her as a token of his distress, might entitle him to her protection. But the Earl, jealous of those about him, and not caring to trust any one of them with it; as he was looking out of his window one morning, saw a boy, with whose appearance he was pleased, and engaging him by money and promises, directed him to carry the ring, which he took from his finger, and threw down, to Lady Scroope, a sister of the Countess of Nottingham, and a friend of his Lordship, who attended upon the Queen, and to beg of her that she would present it to her Majesty. The boy by mistake carried to Lady Nottingham, who shewed it to her husband the Admiral, an enemy of Lord Essex, in order to take his advice. The Admiral forbade her to carry it or return any answer to the message, but insisted upon her keeping the ring. The Countess of Nottingham having made this discovery, begged the Queen's forgiveness, but her Majesty answered, God may forgive you but I never can, and left the room with great emotion. Her mind was so struck with this story, that she never went into bed, nor took any sustenance from that instant; for Camden (46) is of opinion, that her chief reason for suffering the Earl to be executed, was his supposed obstinacy in not applying to her for mercy.' This story differs remarkably in one particular from that of Sir Dudley Carleton; for whereas here it is made an accident that the ring fell into the hands of the Countess of Nottingham; in that account it is expressly said, the Earl sent it to her as being his relation. There are some other circumstances which impeach the credit of this story. In the month of June in the year preceding, her Majesty, in a conversation with the Count de Beaumont, Ambassador from France (47), after owning herself to

be weary of life, with sighs and tears in her eyes, touched upon the subject of the Earl's death, and said, that having been apprehensive, from the impetuosity of his temper and his ambition, that he would precipitate himself into destruction by some ill design; she had advised him above two years before, to content himself with pleasing her on all occasions, and not to shew such an insolent contempt for her as he did, but to take care not to touch her scepter, lest she should be obliged to punish him according to the laws of England, and not according to her own, which he had found too mild and favourable for him to fear any suffering from them; but her advices, however salutary and affectionate, could not prevent his ruin. It is very clear from hence that the Queen was melancholy, and melancholy on the account of Essex, nine months before her death, and when it was impossible she should have heard of this story. It appears also from the letters of the same minister, that the Countess of Nottingham died almost a month before the Queen, and which is still more extraordinary, the Queen declined giving him audience on account of her great grief and concern for the death of that lady. But what shocks the credibility of this tale most of all, are those marks of confidence shewn by the Queen, to the very last, towards the Earl of Nottingham himself, who if it had been true, was infinitely more culpable than his Countess. Her words about the succession (48) are very remarkable; she said, she desired no other successor than the King of Scots, and not that her kingdom should fall into the hands of rascals. It is well enough known, that Sir Robert Cecil, then Secretary of State, and those of his faction, were fallen into suspicion with the Queen, and in some degree into her displeasure, and this chiefly because she saw them exercise a power which she was no longer able to controul. A very little before, they had compelled her to pardon the Earl of Tyrone against her judgment, which she resented exceedingly, and this was the true cause of her regretting the Earl of Essex, and lamenting his death as she did, because she saw, that with him ended that balance which with great dexterity she had maintained for so many years, and that her ministers were now become her masters. This accounts so thoroughly for all the publick and private narratives of that long and great disquiet, which brought upon her her last sickness, is so natural a commentary on her last words; and, if it was necessary, might be supported and illustrated by so many uncontroverted passages in the history of these times, that there is no need to have recourse to such kind of traditional reports. It may be, the circumstance of the ring might be taken from Lady Scroope's sending one to King James as a token, by her brother, that the Queen was really dead. The name of this lady was Philadelphia, youngest sister of Katherine Countess of Nottingham, and wife of Thomas Lord Scroope of Bolton (49). What adds some weight to this conjecture is, that this ring sent by the Lady Scroope to King James, was also thrown out of a window (50).

(45) Birch's View of Sir Tho. Edmond's Negotiations, p. 206.

(46) Annal. p. 803.

(47) Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Vol. II. p. 505.

(48) Ibid. p. 508.

(49) Baronagium Angliæ, MS. fol. 19.

(50) Birch's Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, p. 212.



intercourse of friendship with that Crown, in pursuance of the treaty made at London the eighteenth of August, 1604 (*o*), wherein also his Lordship was an acting Commissioner. It was very requisite that extraordinary state should be kept up in this embassy, and therefore the Ministry fixed upon the Earl of Nottingham, not as a nobleman of very great fortune, but from his high birth, established reputation, and from the known generosity of his temper and the number of his dependants, who were content, at their own expence, to accompany him in this voyage. Accordingly he set out for Spain, with a retinue, wherein were four Lords and twenty-six knights (*p*); and, for the support of this great train, he had an appointment of fifteen thousand pounds, which fell, however, very far short of his expences. He left England in the latter end of March, having three men of war and four other vessels for himself and his retinue; he landed at Corunna on the 16th of April, and, after making his public entry into Madrid with all possible marks of deference and respect, had his first audience of his Catholic Majesty on the 18th of May (*q*). Sir Charles Cornwallis, who accompanied him, and who was left Ambassador in Ordinary, reports the Earl's conduct to have been such, as was highly honourable for himself, his master, and the English nation; and that the Spaniards exceedingly admired and revered (according to the honourable disposition of that people) the hero, whose courage and conduct had overcome their Invincible Armada. He took the Spanish King's oath for the due observation of the treaty, and obtained an assurance, that the secret articles consented to by the Constable, should be as punctually observed as if inserted in the treaty, according to the tenor of his instructions [*H*]. He had his audience of leave, to which he

(*o*) Grimeston's History of Spain, p. 1326. Stowe's Annals, p. 846.

(*p*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 67. Wotton's Life of King James, in the Compleat History of England, Vol. II. p. 673.

(*q*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 68, 69.

[*H*] According to the tenor of his instructions.] We have mentioned in the text, the motives which induced the Court to make choice of the Earl of Nottingham for this extraordinary embassy, on which the eyes of Europe were fixed, and in regard to which, it imported the King and his Ministers extremely, that it should be conducted with equal discretion and dignity. The instructions given him upon this occasion, are of like importance to our public and to his personal history, and for this reason we thought it absolutely necessary to insert them (*51*). They were conceived in the following terms.

You are so well acquainted with the state and condition of our affairs since our coming to this Crown of England, and with the reason and particular carriage in our late treaty with our good brethren the King of Spain and the Arch-Dukes, as we shall not need to make any larger deduction thereof, seeing you have been both a principal commissioner in debating and concluding of the said treaty, and have since assisted in all the conferences succeeding thereupon about the due execution of the same. And therefore leaving all these particular to the recognition of your own judgment and memory, we will now only represent unto you, that where we stand bound already by our oath, which we have taken for the satisfaction of the said Princes, before the Constable of Castile and the Ambassadors of the Arch-Dukes, being thereunto specially authorised for the due observation of all and every particular contained in the said treaties of peace, wherein, by the assistance of God, we never intend for our part to be defective; we have now thought fit according to the said treaties, to require the like oath and obligation at the hands of the said Princes with whom we have contracted that amity. Wherein, when we observe how careful the King of Spain was to send to us a personage of great birth and quality about him, we likewise resolve to requite our said brother with the like proportion of honour, by sending some such person, as for his quality and birth, may discharge that service to our both contentments: of the which sort, having none more eminent or proper in all respects, in regard of your birth, place, and antiquity in council, or the great commandments you have had of the armies of this kingdom both by land and sea, joined with the assurance we have, as well of your ancient affection to our person and title, as of your duty and loyalty to us (since we became your sovereign) than we do esteem and acknowledge you to be. We having made election of you for this employment, and no other, you shall therefore, upon receipt of our commission and dispatch, repair from hence into Spain, to such place where you shall understand that our good brother is abiding: and for your better passage, we have appointed certain of our ships to attend you for your transportation by sea, leaving it to your own choice and election, to take such way by land or sea as your knowledge and judgment of the places will direct you unto. After your arrival there, you

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shall present to our good brother the King of Spain, our kindest salutation, with offer of friendship, and princely offices towards him and his, and then present our letters of credence. After all which, you may signify unto him in our name, that as soon as the season of the year hath permitted, we would no longer defer to send you unto him, as well to make demonstration of our gratitude and thankful accepting of the honour and kindness he hath done; as first, in sending the Count Villa Mediana, to congratulate our coming to the Crown, with expressing of his desire to revive and continue the kind amity which of long time hath been entertained between us, our kingdoms and estates; as afterwards, then reasons of state and other dependencies of discord between him and this our realm of England, required a further treaty for reconciling and taking away all former differences, and establishing of an absolute and perfect amity between us; that then he sent unto us the Constable of Castile, a personage so near unto him, and of so great honour, sufficiency, and trust, by whose care and orderly conduct, things have been facilitated and brought to such a happy and desired issue as now we see they are, to the glory of Almighty God, and the peace and tranquillity, not only of his and our kingdoms and dominions, greatly hazarded and entangled by the calamity of the former war, but also to the whole repose of Christendom, which by participation was not a little embarrassed and distracted thereby. Next, you may confidently report unto him, that as before our coming to this Crown, there never passed any other but friendly offices and correspondency between him and us; so now, seeing it hath pleased God not only to settle us peaceably in the possession of this Crown (which our undoubted right hath cast upon us) but by our treaties of peace, to take away also all future occasions to revive the former troubles that were depending between him and these our realms of England; so there is nothing more religious unto us, and next to our duty to God, nothing more acceptable in this world, than to maintain firmly and inviolably, all good correspondence with him, according to the true construction of the treaties, accounting it one of the greatest blessings that God hath endowed us with all to be in perfect peace and amity with all the princes and estates in Christendom; the conservation whereof, shall ever be highly recommended unto us.

For proof and confirmation whereof, as also to give testimony to the world of the love and respect we bear to him, we have sent you expressly to visit him in our behalf, and to receive reciprocally in our name, the oath which is to be taken by the said King, for the preserving of the said peace and concord between us, wherein you shall refer the time and order to his prescription; only we forewarn you, that in the performing of that ceremony, which is likely to be done in the King's chapel, you have especial care, that it be not done in the forenoon, in the time of mass, to the scandal of our religion, but rather



(*r*) Grimeston's History of Spain, p. 1337.  
Stowe's Annals, p. 871.

(*s*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 89.  
Grimeston's History of Spain.

(*t*) Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 91, 92.

(*u*) Stowe, p. 1005, 1007.  
Wilson's History of King James, p. 690, 691.

(*w*) Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anthony Weldon, p. 123, 124.

(*x*) Camden's Annals of King James, p. 651, 652.

(*y*) Aulicus Cœquinaria, p. 169.

(*z*) Camden's Annals of King James, p. 653.

(*a*) By comparing the different accounts of this business.

he was conducted by the Constable on the 7th of June (*r*), when the King put on his finger a diamond ring of the value of three thousand pounds, and on the 15th he embarked at the port of St Andero for England. During the whole time that he resided at the Court of King Philip the Third, he was treated with the utmost distinction and regard, maintained, to the admiration of the Spaniards, his dignity, and did the highest credit to the nation. At his departure, the King of Spain made him presents, which amounted to twenty thousand pounds (*s*). On his return, he was not so well received at Court as he had the strongest reasons to expect, which was by no means owing to his ill conduct, or to any fault of the King's, himself being injured, and his master abused by false reports, that the Admiral, while employed in this embassy, had assumed more state, and acted with less precaution, than became him (*t*). However, he quickly recovered his master's good graces, attended on the Lady Elizabeth when she was married to the Elector Palatine, and afterwards, as Lord Admiral, escorted her with a squadron of the royal navy to Flushing (*u*). This was the last service he did his country in that capacity; for being now grown very old and infirm, it was thought expedient by some of his best friends, that he should resign his office to the new favourite, Villiers, at that time Earl, and afterwards Marquis and Duke of Buckingham. Some of the memoir writers (*w*) of those days treat this matter in a way highly prejudicial to the King's memory, exceedingly disgraceful to Buckingham, and not much for the reputation of the Earl of Nottingham. It appears, however, upon due enquiry and impartial and serious consideration, that most of these stories are very ill founded, and that, in reality, the Earl of Nottingham's laying down his post, after he had enjoyed it with great honour thirty-two years, was not either uneasy to him, or in the manner of it capable of fixing any disgrace on his master. The proposition came first from himself, without any knowledge of the Marquis, and was very easily agreed to. His estate was not great; and, at the beginning of the King's reign, he had married a young wife, the daughter of the Earl of Murray, for whom he was desirous of providing as well as for her children. The terms, therefore, on which he consented to resign, were these, that a debt of eighteen hundred pounds, due from him to the Crown, should be remitted (*x*); that he should have an annual pension of a thousand pounds (*y*); and that, as Earl of Nottingham, he should take place in the House according to the descent of his ancestors, and not according to the date of his patent (*z*). These terms were quickly adjusted. The Marquis went in person to see him, and to return him thanks for resigning, as of his own motive he did, and by recommending him for his successor did it in his favour; at the same time, the Marquis made the young Countess a present of extraordinary value, that is, three thousand pounds, as we have reason to believe. He carried his respect to this venerable old man as far, and preserved it as long, as possible, calling him always father, and bending his knee whenever he approached him, to the day of his death (*a*). The true cause of the Earl's inclination to resign his employment was, his being sensible of a decay in his abilities, which becoming prejudicial to the King's interests, might in time have tarnished his former services; and that upon his resignation he might be honourably and kindly treated, he was desirous of having the King's favourite for his successor. It may not be amiss to remark upon this, that, to prevent the Marquis's youth and inexperience from being as detrimental to the Crown as the

' rather in the afternoon, at what time their service is more free from note of superstition.

' Then you may address yourself to the Queen our sister, if occasion be so offered, and present the like salutations to her from us and our dear wife the Queen, with assurance of our kind affections towards her; assuring them both, that it was one of our especial charges to you, to advertise us of their good health immediately after your arrival.

' At the next access to the King, and before the performance of the ceremony of the oath, our pleasure is, that you present unto the King, our servant Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knight, with this declaration, that so far as we have appointed him our Ambassador resident with the said King, we do desire him to receive him in charge, and on all occasions to give him favourable access and hearing, as one of whom we have made especial choice to use in that employment, for his integrity and sufficiency to do us service, and for the confidence that we repose in him, that he will carefully discharge his duty in the entertaining of the good amity between us and the said King, our countries and states.

' These things being thus performed, you are to require an instrument in authentic form, of the King's ratification of the said treaties of peace, signed with his hand, and sealed with his Great-Seal, as we already delivered the like to the Constable of Castile; and as it is requisite by the prescription of the treaties, wherein you must be careful, that the private articles be not omitted, which the Constable descended unto after the signing of the treaty, and undertook to procure the ratification thereof by the

' King his master. You are likewise to require an instrument of the King's oath, signed by him, and attested by his Secretary, reciting the names of such principal persons of the nobility as were present at the swearing thereof, according as we have given the like here to the Constable.

' For all other things which by discourse or complement may occur, either with the King, the Queen, the Princes their children; the grandees, or the Ambassadors of other princes that reside in that Court, and shall come to visit you; we hold it needless further to instruct you, who are so well experienced in all things belonging to matters of honour and affairs.'

We have a very large and distinct account of this embassy printed, the very title of which will convince the reader in what point of light it was considered at that time, and how much honour was supposed to result therefrom, to the King and kingdom. Thus it run:

' A Relation of such Things as were observed to happen in the Journey of the Right Honourable Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord High-Admiral of England, his Highness's Ambassador to the King of Spain: Being sent thither to take the oath of the said King, for the Maintenance of Peace between the two famous Kings of Great-Britain and Spain, according to the several Articles formerly concluded on by the Constable of Castile in England in the Month of August, 1604. Set forth by Authority. By Rob. Treswell, Esq; Somerset Herald, London, 1605, 4to.'



the old age and infirmities of the Earl, and to put the navy under a better regulation than ever, it was resolved that the new Lord High-Admiral should have an experienced Council placed about him, without whose advice he was to do nothing. These, for their names are still preserved, were Messieurs Fortescue, Osborn, Gaughton, Sutton, and Pits, on whom, upon this occasion, the King conferred the honour of knighthood; and this regulation had very good effects (b). All these measures seem to have been concerted before the resignation, which made Buckingham shew so much reverence and affection for the Earl of Nottingham, and speak of him always, and upon all occasions, as one to whom he was under the highest obligations (c). Besides all this, Sir Robert Mansel, who though of a very honourable and since noble family, yet being a younger brother, had been once the Earl of Nottingham's menial servant, but was then Vice-Admiral during pleasure, by the favour of the Duke had that office confirmed to him for life by patent; which exercise of his influence in favour of Sir Robert, his old master took so kindly, that aged and infirm as he was, he made Buckingham a visit to return him thanks (d). On the whole, therefore, there seems to be nothing dishonourable in this transaction; for all parties were gratified in their particular views, and all seem to have been perfectly content. What is said to the contrary, flows evidently from a desire of prejudicing the world against the memory of men from surmises and conjectures, a method of all others the most destructive of the end and fruit of history, which ought to discover the truth, and instruct thereby such as peruse it. As for the few remaining years of his life, they were spent by the Earl of Nottingham in honourable ease and retirement to the time of his decease, which happened on the 14th of December, 1624, when he was in his eighty-seventh year (e). He was a person extremely graceful in his appearance, of a just and honest disposition, incapable either of doing bad things, or seeing them done without exposing them. His steady loyalty to the Crown preserved his reputation unstained, and his fortune unhurt, when the rest of his family were in the utmost danger (f). Queen Elizabeth knew and valued his integrity, and preferred his candour to the policy of some of her greatest favourites. She had a peculiar felicity in suiting the employments of men to their capacities, and this never appeared more clearly than on those occasions wherein she made choice of this nobleman, whose courage no danger could daunt, whose fidelity no temptation could impeach, much less corrupt. In public employments he affected magnificence, as much as he did hospitality in private life, keeping seven standing houses, as Dr Fuller phrases it (g), at once. It is true, we meet with opposite accounts of this Lord's character and conduct, especially in the latter part of his life; but as these are only in private letters, written by one (h) apparently prejudiced against him of whom he speaks; and as the rough soldier-like behaviour of Elizabeth's active times, suited little with the stiff and solemn air of the Statesmen in King James's Court, we need not wonder that among these the Earl of Nottingham met with some detractors. His actions are sufficient to silence envy, and to destroy the credit of all such malicious censurers. He who beat the Spanish Armada, equipped a fleet, sufficient to assert the sovereignty of the sea, in a fortnight's time, and, by his presence alone, dispirited the Earl of Essex's adherents, must have been a very extraordinary man, though we should grant his enemies, that he was not very learned, expressed himself a little bluntly, and, though a person of so high quality, had little or no tincture of those arts, which, peculiar as they are, do no great honour to a Court [I]. The corpse of this noble lord was interred on the 23d of December, in the year before-mentioned, in the family vault under the chancel in the church of Ryegate in Surry (i), and John Taylor, the famous water poet, celebrated his memory in a long elegy (k). His Lordship, as we have before had occasion to mention, was twice married, first to Catherine, daughter to Henry Cary Lord Hunsdon, by whom he had issue two sons, William, who was summoned by writ to several Parliaments during his father's life-time, and espoused Anne, daughter and sole heir to John Lord St John of Bletso; which Lady Anne died 11 June, 1638, and was buried at Westminster (l). He deceased in his father's life-time, leaving Elizabeth, his sole daughter and heir, married to John Lord Mordaunt (m), afterwards Earl of Peterborough; so that his second son, Charles, was his successor in his honours (n); also three daughters, Elizabeth, married to Sir Robert Southwell of Wood-Rising in Norfolk, Knight, and afterwards to John Stuart Earl of Carrick

(b) Camden's  
Annals of King  
James's Reign.

(c) See the Duke  
of Buckingham's  
Answer to the  
2d article of his  
Impeachment.

(d) Aulicus Co-  
quinarie, p. 170.

(e) Dugdale's Ba-  
ronage, Vol. II.  
p. 279.

(f) Sir Robert  
Naunton's Frag-  
ments Regalia.  
Lord's State  
Worthies, p.  
736.

(g) Worthies of  
England, in Sur-  
ry, p. 84.

(h) Winwood's  
Memorials, Vol.  
II. p. 91.

(i) Aubrey's Na-  
tural History and  
Antiquities of  
Surry, Vol. IV.  
p. 193.

(k) See his  
Works, p. 326,  
327, 328, 329.

(l) Brook's Ca-  
talogue, p. 168.

(m) Vincent's  
Discovery of Er-  
rors in Brook's  
Catalogue, p.  
394.

(n) Brook's Ca-  
talogue, p. 168.

[I] *Do no great honour to a Court.* Though these memoirs have swelled to a greater length than we originally intended, yet we cannot forbear mentioning some particulars in this note, which serve to distinguish this great man, and shew his fortunes in a very singular point of light; he lived under five reigns, that is, from the 28th of Henry the Eighth, to the twenty-second of James the First, in a constant stream of prosperity, and with scarce any eclipse of his sovereign's favour. He was upwards of half a century Privy-Counsellor and Knight of the Garter; he served in great stations from the first to the last year of Elizabeth, which can scarce be said of any nobleman beside. At the demise of that princess, he had the three greatest offices in his hands, that of Earl Marshal of England, Lord High-Steward of the Household, and Lord High-Admiral of England.

In the last Parliament of that Queen, he had eight proxies, and amongst them those of the Earl of Rutland and Lord Sandes, who had been both dipped in the unhappy affair of the Earl of Essex (52). We may from hence pronounce, that few, very few, noblemen have ever stood so high in this kingdom, without meeting either with fall or reproach. His fidelity was never so much as suspected by Queen Elizabeth, who heaped employments upon him, which she gave so sparingly to others. With all his favour he was never envied by the nobility, and through his whole life he was exceedingly popular. The only censure passed upon him was, that he took too much state in Spain, and even this, though it gave offence to some of the flatterers at Court, endeared him to the nation.

(52) Sir Simond  
Dewe's Journal  
of the Parlia-  
ments in the  
reign of Queen  
Elizabeth, p.  
598.



(o) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, p. 71. Brook's Catalogue, p. 163.

(p) Vincent, p. 394.

(q) Brook's Catalogue, p. 168.

(r) Crawford's Peerage of Scotland.

(s) Collins's Peerage, Vol. III. p. 258.

(t) Peerage of Ireland.

(u) Aubrey's Natural History and Antiquities of Surry, Vol. IV. p. 193.

(v) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 238.

(x) See Creations of Peers, in order to judge of the expediency of a Law, &c.

(y) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. III. p. 260.

(z) MS. in the Herald's Office.

(a) See the Writings of the two Doctors, Harding and Stapleton.

(b) Fitzherbert, Sanders, Parsons, &c.

Carrick in Scotland (o); Frances, first to Henry Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare in Ireland, and secondly to Henry Brook Lord Cobham (p); and Margaret, to Sir Richard Leviston of Trentham in the county of Stafford, Knight, Vice-Admiral of England (q). His second countess was Margaret, daughter to James Stuart Earl of Murray in Scotland, in right of his wife Elizabeth, eldest daughter and coheir to James Earl of Murray, natural son to King James the Fifth of Scotland (r). And by her, who was naturalized in Parliament the first of James the First, he had issue two sons, James, who died young, and Sir Charles Howard, Knight, successor to his brother in the title of Earl of Nottingham (s). This lady surviving him, became the consort of Sir William Monson, Knight, Viscount Castlemain in Ireland (t). The last mentioned Sir Charles Howard succeeding to the title, died April 26, 1681, and was also buried at Ryegate (u). In him the earldom extinguished, but the title of Baron of Effingham devolved on Francis Howard, Esq; great-grandson of Sir William Howard of Lingfield in the county of Surry (v), brother to Charles Earl of Nottingham, to whom this article belongs; whose lineal descendant, Francis Baron of Effingham (x), was raised to the rank of Earl, by the same title, by letters patent bearing date December 8, 1731 (y), being at the same time Deputy Earl-Marshal of England (z).

It may not be amiss to add here, in the nature of an appendix to this life, that this noble person's surviving, so long as he did, the reign of his glorious mistress, was of some consequence to the Church of England. The Papists in Queen Elizabeth's time affected to dispute the validity of Dr Matthew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury's consecration, on a supposition, that, because none of the Bishops who adhered to the see of Rome assisted thereat, it could not be valid (a). But in process of time, and when it was apprehended that all who could contradict directly so ill digested a story, it was very boldly asserted, that Archbishop Parker was never consecrated at all; to countenance which, this fable was devised, of which one Neale, Chaplain to Dr Bonner Bishop of London, was alledged to be the author. He pretended, that his master having required the Bishop of Llandaff not to do any thing in his diocese, he refused to obey the Queen's mandate, or to be present at the consecration. Upon this, the Bishops elect met at the Nag's-Head Tavern in Cheapside, and Neale, who had watched them thither, peeping through the hole of the door, saw them in great disorder, on account of the Bishop of Llandaff's being intractable. At length, Bishop Scorey bid them all kneel, and then laid the Bible upon every one of their heads or shoulders, saying, *Take thou authority to preach the Word of God sincerely*; and so, according to Neale's report, they all rose up Bishops (b). In order to refute this tale, the Lambeth registers were cited, by which it clearly appeared, that Dr Matthew Parker was consecrated, with the usual ceremonies, in the chapel at Lambeth-palace, on the 17th of December, 1559 (c). But the Papists having once published such an invention as this, thought themselves obliged to maintain it; and in order to this, they gave out that these records were forged, insinuating, that if they had been authentic, they would have been produced before; whereas the old dispute turned upon quite another point, and therefore it had been to no purpose to produce them [K]. The

Papists

[K] And therefore it had been to no purpose to produce them] The controversy between Papists and Protestants ran so very high within a few years after the consecration of Dr Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, that it is impossible to doubt this tale of the Nag's-head Consecration, if it had been invented, would have been then published; it goes therefore as we have observed in the text, not a little against the credit of this story, that it was never heard of publicly, 'till it appeared difficult, if not impossible to refute it; but when it did appear, Mr Mason, who undertook to refute it, gave a full, clear, and circumstantial narrative of whatever regarded the electing, confirming, and consecration of the Archbishop, and as the most authentic evidence that could be produced in such a cause, cited Archbishop Parker's register (53). The modern Papists, following the examples of their predecessors, have again taken the advantage of the distance of time, and have very warmly inveighed against that learned writer, as if he had either forged those records himself, or had made use of them, though he knew they were forged by others (54). In this, as they tread in the steps, so they are equally unlucky with those who invented the original calumny; for their spirit and conduct being well known, Dr George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent for Alexander Faircloth, Thomas Laithwaite, alias Scot, both Jesuits; John Colleton, who, after the death of Birkhead, had the title of Arch-Priest; and Thomas Leake a Priest, then prisoners in the Clink for religion; and on the 12th of May, 1613, in the presence of the Bishops of Ely, Lincoln, and Rochester, produced to them the very original register of Archbishop Parker, remarkably fair and clean, as having been carefully kept amongst the public records; and after allowing them to turn it over and

examine it at leisure, procured a certificate under their hands, which was sent by Dr Kellison, superior of the English college at Douay, to Father Thomas Fitzherbert, then at Rome; testifying to him, and to all the Catholics in general, that this register was a true genuine record (55). This silenced the dispute at that time, but the famous Mr Thomas Ward, either not knowing this fact, or concealing it, has attempted to revive the old thread bare tale of the Nag's-head Ordination, and to revive the calumny of Mason's forging records to refute it. However, zealous and conscientious Catholics have long ago given up this point (56), as indeed they well might; for considering the register of the Archbishop thus singularly proved, the authentic instrument of his consecration at the chapel of Lambeth, and the then living testimony of the Earl of Nottingham present at the ceremony, and at the feast which followed it in the palace, and not at the tavern, we may safely affirm this is, if any point of such a nature can be, put beyond all doubt. As to the other cavils that have been raised about the venerable prelates who assisted at this consecration, and the reasons why it was so long postponed, the curious reader may find abundant satisfaction in our Ecclesiastical Historians, who by a diligent search into, and collating of our old records, have set every thing in the clearest and most satisfactory light, more especially one of them, who has very plainly opened the political motives which were the great impediments to Archbishop Parker's entering into the full possession of his dignity (57). It is true, that in this he pays no great complement to the spirit that then prevailed in the government, and may in that perhaps have done the Papists a pleasure; but by so doing, he has utterly overturned all their objections, and assigned a probable

(c) Mason de Ministris, Eccles. Anglic. lib. iii. cap. 8, 9.

(55) Godwin de Præfatus, p. 152, 153.

(56) See the learned Dr Courayer's Discourses on this subject.

(57) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 292, 293, 294.

(53) De Ministris, Eccles. Anglic. lib. iii. cap. 8.

(54) Errata in the Protestant Bible, by Thomas Ward, author of England's Reformation, p. 92.



Papists likewise endeavour to avail themselves of the silence of John Stowe, and to help out this lame argument, pretended that historian had privately told some friend of his the tale of the nag's-head ordination (d); but all these dreams were clearly refuted by the declaration of Charles Earl of Nottingham; that being invited by his relation Dr Parker, he was present at his consecration, described all the circumstances of it, and dined afterwards in the palace of Lambeth with those who assisted at it. The Lord Chancellor Egerton likewise told Bishop Williams, that the story of the nag's-head ordination arose from hence, that whenever bishops came to be confirmed at Bow-church, it was usual to cause a dinner to be provided, for the civilians who assisted at that ceremony, at the nag's-head tavern, as being in the neighbourhood (e). The very original instrument of the Archbishop's consecration is at this time preserved in the library of Corpus-Christi college in the university of Cambridge (f), and is the most authentic proof that can be desired of the solemnity of this consecration, and of the falshood of this ridiculous story, upon which the Papists, however, to this hour, insist as if it had never been enquired into and refuted (g).

(d) Champney, p. 501.

(e) Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 293 Fuller's Church History.

(f) Accurately printed by Collier in his Ecclesiastical History.

(g) Thomas Ward's Errata to the Protestant Bible, 4to. 1737. p. 89, 90, 91.

and adequate cause for an event, which for want of knowing that cause, the Papists have represented as full of inconsistencies and absurdities, and from thence deduced an argument in favour of their own inventions, as if the fact as before stated by Protestant writers, was not only improbable, but could not possibly happen. This shews how much better it is to tell the naked

truth on all occasions, than by endeavouring to hide it; furnish pretences at least to those, who, though they endeavour to serve another cause, are very attentive in the perusal of what regards the History of our Church, and have a wonderful faculty of twisting and distorting whatever they find there, to their own advantage.

E

HOWELL [JAMES], son of Thomas Howell, Clerk, Minister of Abernant in Caermarthenshire, was born upon the Brynn of Llangammarch near Brecknock in Wales, about the year 1596 [A]. At a proper age he was sent to the free-school at Hereford, under a learned but lashing master (a); from whose rugged discipline he removed to Oxford, and entered of Jesus-college in the beginning of the year 1610, his elder brother, Thomas Howell, being a Fellow of that society [B]. Our author, though very young, brought with him a singular appetite for learning to the university, and having also a ready wit, he had made a good progress in his academical studies, when he commenced Bachelor of Arts, December 17, 1613 (b). But he left the college without taking any other degree, and removed to London. He was a cadet of a numerous family (c), and obliged to push his fortune; and being not so much inclined to a sedentary as to an active life, this situation placed him more in the eye of such of his friends as could be of service to him in that way. The first employ he got was that of Steward to a glass-house in Broad-street (d); which was procured for him by Sir Robert Mansel (e), who was principally concerned therein [C]. Our young cadet had not been a great while in this station (f), when the proprietors

(a) Mr Howell's friend with Sir Robert was probably his brother Dr Francis Mansel, twice Principal of Jesus-college. Hist. & Ant. Oxon. Univ. lib. ii. p. 102.

(f) He takes notice to Dr Mansel that he had supervised the glass house a small time. Letter 3 in Familiar Letters.

(a) They are his own words in a letter to his father. Famil. Let. Vol. I. sect. i. No. 2. 2d edit. 1750.

(b) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 194.

(c) There was 15 children in it. Fam. Letters, ubi supra.

(d) Ibid.

(1) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 381.

(2) Epist. or Familiar Letters, Vol. I. sect. 6. No. 60.

(3) Ubi supra.

(4) Ibid. col. 1238.

[A] Was born upon the Brynn near Brecknock, about 1596.] Mr Wood declares (1), he could not precisely tell what year he was born in, though he found him entered in the Matriculation book at Oxford in the beginning of 1610, aged sixteen years. He seems therefore to suspect the accuracy of that entrance, especially as he takes notice of an expression in a letter of Mr Howell (2), where he says, *his ascendant was that hot constellation of Cancer about the midst of the Dog-days*; since in the same letter, dated in 1645, it is observed by our author, that *he had then passed nine lustres of years, and some winters more*. Whence allowing these winters to be four (which is the most they could be), it follows, that he was not more than fourteen years of age in 1610, and therefore could not be born before 1596; nor is the authority of the date to this letter infringed by Mr Wood's remark, that no time is kept with the dates of these letters; for that observation (of which more hereafter) is no ways applicable to the letter here mentioned, which is inserted in the first volume of the letters published in 1645. Thus the precise time of our author's birth is matter of conjecture only; neither is the place of it any better ascertained. Mr Wood speaks doubtfully in relation to Abernant (3), and the elder brother Thomas, he says, was born at a place called the Brynn, or (as James Howell informed Dr Fuller) at Llangammarch in Brecknockshire, near Brecknock town (4); that is (the word Brynn in the Welsh language signifying a hill or mountain) at the Brynn of Llangammarch near Brecknock, and as our author in the letter abovementioned testifies that the ground whereon himself was born, was the belly of a huge hill. It seems most probable that the two brothers had the same birth place.

[B] Thomas Howell, a fellow of that society.] This gentleman, to whom several of our author's letters are inscribed, after taking the degrees in Arts, went into orders, and preached about Oxford for some time. Afterwards he became King's chaplain, Rector of

West-Horsley in Surry, and of St Stephen's in Walbrook near London, D. D. (5), and an. 1636 Canon of Windfor. In the beginning of the Civil Wars, being sequestered from his livings by the Parliament, he was nominated to the see of Bristol by the King, in July 1644, and afterwards consecrated by Primate Usher and other Bishops. He died in 1646, and was buried in the cathedral at Bristol, near the entrance out of the south isle into the choir, a plain stone being laid over him with only this word upon it, *Exurgiscar*. Mr Wood (6) tells us he was a good preacher and of a meek disposition, and that his Majesty promoted him to the bishopric, promising himself good effects from his great candour, solid judgment, sweet temper, and good repute, and accordingly it was said of him, that like Gregory Thaumaturgus, who found but fifteen Christians in his diocese, and left but fifteen heathens, he found at Bristol few affected to the Church, and left but few disaffected; upon which account the city in gratitude took care of the education of his children, of whom he had eleven. Mrs Katharine Philips, Orinda, brought up one of his sons, Charles Howell, who was her godson. One of his sons called Griffith, was a great Herald; another, George, was fellow of All-Soul's college, took his master's degree in 1662, and lived near Chichester; where his son Robert Howell was living in 1695.

[C] A glass work, in which he had the principal concern.] Sir Robert had for his partners in the patent, the Earl of Pembroke Lord Chamberlain, and several others of the prime nobility and courtiers (7). Nor is it any wonder to find the chief of our nobility giving a particular attention to the manufacture of glass in those times. Mr Howell informs us, that the art was then in so great esteem at Venice, that all of the profession were gentlemen *ipso facto* (8); and 'tis well known that the French made an arret, whereby it was provided, that the working of glass should not only not derogate from the nobility, but even that

(5) In Letter 16, Vol. I. sect. i. dated 1628, James writes thus. Brother, I have sent you here inclosed warrants for 4 brace of bucks and a stag, the last procured of the King, towards keeping your act. I have sent you also a warrant for a brace of bucks out of Whaddon-chace; besides, you shall receive by this carrier a great wicker-hamper with two geonls of sturgeon, six barrels of pickled oysters, three barrels of Bologna olives, and some other Spanish commodities. Hence it appears how expensive and tumultuous the entertainments were at that time on this occasion.

(6) Ubi supra.

(7) Familiar Letters, No. 2.

(8) Ibid. No. 29.



(g) Ibid. No. 2. Notwithstanding this, we find one of his letters during these travels dated from Rome, viz. No. 39.

(b) See his Letters, in Vol. i. § 1. which contain a particular account of the several steps throughout the whole rout.

\* See Chambers's Dictionary, under the word *Glass*.

(9) Ibid. No. 25.

(10) Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

(11) Iliad Z. v. 289. Ψ. 743. Odyss. O. 115.

(12) Sidon Artifex Vitri. Plin. l. v. c. 19. item l. xxxvi. 26.

(13) Acarn. A. Sc. ii. v. 74.

(14) Καὶ καλεῖται δὴ οὕτως ἡ διαφανὴς ὕλη. Athenæus, l. v. c. 7.

(15) Λέγοντες δὲ οὕτως. Ibid. l. xi. c. 11.

(16) Lib. xvi. p. 758.

(17) Among the commodities brought to Rome from Egypt, Cicerō mentions paper, linnen, and glass. Pro. Rabir. Posthum. c. 24. and this perhaps is the first time glass is taken notice of by any Roman author. Accordingly it hath been remarked, that the great Augustus Cæsar had neither glass in his windows nor a shirt to his back. Arbuthnot's Tables of Coins, &c. Lond. 1727. 4to.

proprietors of the work, to save the expence of wood-fuel, obtained the sole patent of making all sorts of glass with pit-coal; and being intent to improve the manufactory, they came to a resolution to send an agent abroad, who should procure the best materials and workmen that could be got. Their Steward was pitched upon as a fit person for this agency; and a warrant being accordingly procured for him from the Lords of the Council, to travel for three years any where, Rome and St Omers excepted (g), he left England about the end of March in the beginning of the year 1619, and visited several of the principal places in Holland, Flanders, France, Spain, and Italy (b). Mr Howell made all the improvement in his personal qualifications that the opportunity of these travels afforded him, and particularly acquired that masterly knowledge in the modern languages (i) which directed the subsequent course of his fortune. In the mean time he did not neglect the immediate business of his agency, in the execution of which we find him supplying the glass-work with the best Barillia at a cheap rate from Alicant [D], and engaging

(i) Thank God, says he, I have this fruit of my foreign travels, that I can pray unto him every day of the week in a separate language, and upon Sunday in seven. Vol. I. § 6. No. 37. of his Fam. Letters.

none besides noblemen should be allowed to work therein\*.

[D] He sent Barillia from Alicant ] Mr Howell gives the name of Barillia to the plant, and says it grows no where in such perfection as at Alicant. 'The Venetians, continues he, have it hence, and it is a commodity whereby this maritime town (he was then at the place) partly subsists, being an ingredient in the best Castile soap. 'Tis a round thick shrub, that bears berries like barberries betwixt blue and green. It lies close to the ground, and when it is ripe, they dig it up by the roots, and put it together in cocks like hay; then they make a pit of a fathom deep in the earth, and taking the tufts with a prong set them on fire, which dissolves the berries into an azure liquor. This falling into the pit, when that is full, they dam it up; and in the space of four days the juice turns to a blue stone so hard, that it is scarce malleable. It is sold at one hundred crowns a tun, but I had it for less. There is also a spurious flower called *Gazul*, that grows here, but the glass that is made of it, is not so resplendent and clear.' Thus far our traveller (9), but the art is greatly improved since his time. *Barillia*, now usually called *Polverine* or *Rochetta*, is not the name of the plant (for that is called *Kali*) but of the salt, or rather powder obtained by burning the plant upon a hot iron, and is brought at present chiefly from Alexandria and Tripoli; and in these countries the art of glass-making was first invented, at least according to Pliny, who gives this account of it. There is a part of Syria, says he (10), called *Phœnicia*, bordering upon Judea, near the foot of mount Carmel, the shore of which yields very good sand for making glass, and it was for many ages esteemed the only sand in the world for that purpose, concerning the discovery of it the story is, that formerly a trading vessel laden with nitre, touching upon the coast, the sailors went a-shore to regale, where instead of raising their pillows with stones, they made use of lumps of nitre, which mixing with the sand took fire, and produced certain streams of a noble transparent liquor, whence is derived the origin of glass. Hence Sidon, the capital city of that country, celebrated by Homer (11) for many excellent arts, is also said to be famous for it's glass-works, and to be the inventress of glass specula (12). As to the antiquity and esteem of these vessels, it is certain they were used as great delicacies by the Persians before the time of Alexander the Great; this appears from a passage in a play of Aristophanes (13), where some Ambassadors are introduced as lately returned from Persia, who, extolling the luxury and magnificence of that prince, give it for a proof, that *he drank sweet wine out of gold and glass cups*. Moreover two glass cups, or rather two cup-boards of them, are mentioned by Athenæus (14), to be produced to the people out of the royal treasury of Ptolemy Philadelphus by way of pomp at Alexandria; and the same author informs us from an ancient epigram, that there were in the same age glass shops at Lesbos, and that the Grecians in their feasts made use of a glass cup, to which they gave the name of *Lesbium* (15). However this art flourished in later times chiefly in Egypt, where Strabo tells us (16), he had heard the Alexandrian glass-workers say, that a kind of glassy earth was found there, without which it was impossible to make any cups of value, or such as were variously coloured: From Alexandria this luxury was brought to Rome (17), and particularly became more general there after the reduction of Egypt into a Roman Province, but was still in the highest esteem; upon which account we find, that when a servant of Vedius

Pollio happened to break a glass at a supper where Augustus was his guest, Vedius immediately ordered him to be taken and thrown into his fish pond, to be devoured by the murenæ; this was reckoned a vulgar kind of death, and the boy having the good luck to make his escape, threw himself at Cæsar's feet, not begging his life, but only that he might die some other way, and not be made a bait for fish. Cæsar struck with indignation at this new species of cruelty, did not only order the boy to be dismissed, but commanded all the glass vessels to be broken, and the fish-pond to be filled up (18). In the reign of Tiberius the art, we are told, was brought to that perfection, that glass was made flexible and even malleable; concerning which, the following remarkable story is told by Petronius (19). There was an artificer, says he, who made glass vessels of such a tenacity, that there was no breaking of them any more than those made of gold or silver; having finished a phial of this rare metal, he resolved to present it to Cæsar as worthy of the Emperor alone. Accordingly he was admitted with his present to Tiberius; when both the species of the gift and the ingenuity of the artist were highly extolled, and the devout respect of the giver graciously accepted. The man seeing this, in order to raise the admiration of the beholders into amazement, begged the phial again, and taking it from Cæsar's hand, threw it against the pavement with a force capable of bruising the firmest and most solid brass. The Emperor was more than astonished; the thing struck a terror into him of the consequences of such an art. But the artist proceeds, and taking up the phial which was only bruised, he pulls a mallet from his bosom, and beats out all the bruises very exactly, as if it had been made of brass. Plumed with the success, he now concluded himself secure of Cæsar's highest favours, and even began to think of chusing his own seat among the gods, when the event miserably deceived him. For the Emperor enquiring if any one else was possessed of this secret, and being told not, presently condemned our artist to lose his head; alledging this for a reason, that if such an art should once come to be commonly known, gold and silver would be looked on as meer dirt. Whatever reception this story may meet with, which, to speak the truth, is but little credited by Pliny (20), yet it is certain that glass was in the highest esteem after these times. We are told it was commonly said of the Emperor Claudius, that he would reward any person with the privilege of a Roman citizen, who should bring him any glass vessels, even tho' they were broken (21); and Pliny (22) relates, that in the time of Nero an improvement was made in the art, which raised it's value so much, that two moderately sized cups called *pterotæ* (23), were sold for 6000 sesterces, that is about fifty pound sterling. At that time the manufacture appears to be wrought in the same manner as it is at this day. For Seneca (24) contending against Posidonius, who maintains that none of the arts which are useful to life were the produce of philosophy, wishes that he could have shewn Posidonius one of the workers in glass, forming that substance with his breath into various figures so curiously fashioned, that the skilfullest hand might almost despair of equalling them. *Cuperem Posidonio vitriarium aliquem ostendere, qui spiritu vitrum in habitus plurimos format, qui vix diligenti manu effingerentur. Hæc inventa sunt, postquam sapientem invenire desivimus*. These words seem to indicate, that this way of making glass was then recent at Rome, being unknown to Posidonius, who flourished in the time of Pompey. But Pliny

(18) Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 40. Vid. item Dio, lib. liv. p. 537. item Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ix. c. 23.

(19) Sat. p. 189. edit. varior.

(20) Lib. xxxvi. 26. *Famam ejus crebriorem quam certiorum fuisse dicat*. And it is told otherwise by Dio, viz. that the glass was actually broken, but pieced so artfully, as to be restored to it's original perfection. l. lvii. p. 617. E.

(21) Id. l. ix. p. 676. D.

(22) Ubi supra.

(23) That is two-eared cups; the art of making and joining ears to cups being probably then newly discovered.

(24) Epist. 90. Pliny



(k) He had taken care to cultivate his interest there all along, as appears by several letters before this of thanks in Vol. I. § 2. No. 6, to Sir Eubule Theloall, to whom his expression is, that he will reserve it [the fellowship], and lay it by as a good warm garment against rough weather, if any fall on him. And in this he was followed by Mr Prior, who alleged the like reason for keeping his fellowship at Cambridge, see his

ging the best workmen he could pick up every where, especially at Venice [E]. About Christmas 1621 he returned to London, and not long after was welcomed with the good news of being appointed Fellow of Jesus college upon the new foundation by Sir Eubule Theloall (k). But finding his friend and patron Sir Robert Mansel, who was Vice-Admiral of England, abroad with the fleet in the Mediterranean, and seeing no good prospect of doing any thing for himself in the glass business (l), he turned his views a different way, and sought how to make the best advantage of his newly acquired merit [F]. He had tasted the delights of travelling, and resolved if possible to continue them. The first attempt he made of this kind was to go Secretary to Sir John Ayres to Constantinople, but coming too late for that post (m), Sir James Crofts presently after recommended him to travel with two sons of the Lord Savage in quality of governor, and with this view he was taken into that family, and handsomely entertained by his Lordship; but his stay there was short (n), for being young and of a different religion, he declined the charge intended, and closed with an offer that was made him by a young gentleman of his acquaintance, to attend him as a companion in making the tour of France (o) [G]. He passed the year

1622

article. Concerning Sir Eubule's benefaction, see Wood's Antiq. Oxon. I. 2.

(l) Fam. Letters, Vol. II. § 2. No. 5.

m) Ibid.

n) Ibid. No. 7 and 12. He seems to have passed honourably with this family, and he afterwards kept a correspondence from France with his Lordship at his request. He also taught Spanish to one of the young ladies. See No. 19. and several others. Besides No. 14. § 4.

(o) Ibid. No. 16 and 12.

(25) Ubi supra.

Pliny informs us (25); that a few years after this, the use of glass cups drove out those of gold and silver.

[E] Especially at Venice.] He sent one Signior Antonio Miotti from Middleburgh in Zealand; where he had been master of a glass furnace a long time, and was reckoned one of the ablest men in that way in Christendom (26). From Venice, he mentions the sending of two Italians, who by report there, were the best gentlemen workmen that ever blew crystal, one of them allied to Antonio Miotti, the other to Mazalao (27). 'I have met, continues he to Sir Robert Mansel, with Camillo your consaorman, and could he be sure of entertainment, he would return to serve you again, and I believe for less salary.' In the same letter he relates that he had been at Murano, where the Venetians made their glass, a little island from Venice, about the distance of Vaux-hall from London. These people finding they could not hinder their best workmen from going, when sufficiently encouraged, into other countries; in order to prevent the loss of their trade, industriously spread it about, that though you should transplant a glass furnace from Murano to Venice herself, or any of the little islands about her, or to any other parts of the earth, and use all the same materials, the same workmen, the self same ingredients every way, yet you cannot make make crystal glass in that perfection for beauty and lustre as at Murano. This they then took care to impute to some secret quality in the air of that island, and our novice seems to be the dupe of such an idle story, but neither did this nor any other shift prove effectual. The art was first got from them by the French, who afterwards found out the secret of casting large table-glass, which was proposed by the Sieur Theodart in 1688 \*. But this hath been since improved by the English, and is now made at Vaux-hall in greater perfection than any where else in the world.

\* Chambers's Dictionary, ubi supra.

[F] His newly acquired merit.] Viz. His skill in the languages, and his knowledge of the policies and manners of the several states through which he passed. With regard to the first, besides what is already mentioned, it was of service to him afterwards towards his subsistence, qualifying him to write the following books. (1.) *Lexicon Tetraglotton, An English, French, Italian, Spanish Dictionary*, Lond. 1660, fol. To which is added, *A particular Vocabulary, or Nomenclature, in English, Italian, French, and Spanish, of the proper Terms belonging to several Arts and Sciences, to common Professions and Callings, both liberal and mechanic, &c. and likewise Proverbs, or old sayed sawes and adages in English, or the Saxon Tongue, Italian, French and Spanish, whereunto the British for their great Antiquity and Weight are added* (2.) *A French Grammar, and a Dialogue consisting of all Gallicisms, with Additions of the most useful and significant Proverbs, printed at London twice, the last time in 1673, fol.* (3.) *A French and English Dictionary, compiled by Mr Randal Cotgreve: With another in English and French; whereunto are added, Animadversions, with Supplements of many hundreds of Words never before printed, by James Howell, Esq; Lond. 1650, fol.* (4.) *A new English Grammar for Foreigners to learn English, with a Grammar for the Spanish or Castilian Tongue, with special Remarks on the Portuguese Dialect, for the Service of her Majesty, London,*

1662, 8vo. He likewise applied this skill to translate several pieces, as (1.) *St Paul's late Progress upon Earth, about a Divorce 'twixt Christ and the Church of Rome, by Reason of her Differences and Excesses, &c.* London, 1644, 8vo. The author of this book published it about the year 1642, and being obliged to fly from Rome on that account, in the company, and under the conduct, of one who pretended friendship to him, was betrayed at Avignon, and there hanged, and then burnt. (2.) *A Venetian Looking-Glass: Or a Letter written very lately from London to Cardinal Barberini at Rome, by a Venetian Clarissimo, touching the present Distempers in England, 1648, 3 sheets 4to.* (3.) *An Exact History of the late Revolutions in Naples, and of their monstrous Successes, not to be paralleled by any ancient or modern History, Lond. 1650, 8vo* (28). (4.) *A Letter of Advice sent from the Prime Statesmen of Florence, how England may come to herself again, dated at Florence, March 12, 1659.* These were all translated from the Italian: he rendered also from the French into English, *The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis, consisting of a Mask and a Comedy, or the Great Royal Ball, acted lately in Paris six times, &c.* Lond. 1654, 4to: and from Spanish into English, *The Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Ascham, Resident for the Parliament of England, and of John Baptista Riva his Interpreter, &c.* Lond 1651, fol. This Ascham was descended from a genteel family, and bred at Eaton school and King's college in Cambridge, where he took the degree of A. M. and in the Civil Wars siding with the Parliament, he was by their authority made tutor to James Duke of York. In 1648, he published *A Discourse wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government, &c.* (29). He was appointed resident to Spain in the latter end of 1649, and arriving at Madrid in June following, had an apartment in the palace, where he was murdered. Six English gentlemen, viz. John Guillim, William Spark, Valentine Progers, Jo. Halsal, William Arnet, and Henry Progers, went to his chambers, and two of them staying at the bottom of the stairs, and two others at the top, the remaining two entered the room, of whom Spark being the first, drew up to the table where Ascham and his interpreter were sitting, and pulling off his hat, said; Gentlemen, I kiss your hands, pray which is the Resident; upon which the Resident rising, Guillim took him by the hair, and with a dagger gave him a thrust that overthrew him; then came Spark and gave him another, and to make sure work they gave him five stabs, of which he instantly died. Whereupon his interpreter thinking to retire to his own chamber, the other four gave him four wounds, whereof he presently expired. Five of the English took sanctuary, whence they were haled, imprisoned, and condemned, and Spark † suffered. The sixth, Henry Progers, fled to the Venetian ambassador's house, and so escaped (30).

[G] He went to France with a young gentleman.] Viz. Mr Richard Altham, a younger son of Baron Altham. Mr Howell became acquainted with him at Stains while his brother Howell was there. Our author speaks of him as a nonpareil. 'I hold him, says he (31); to be one of the hopefulest young men of this kingdom for parts and person; he is full of excellent solid knowledge, the mathematicks, the law, and other

(28) This book was written in Italian by Alexander Giraffi.

(29) The rest of the title is; or how far a Man may lawfully conform to the Power and Commands of those, who with various Successes hold Kingdoms divided by civil and foreign Wars, &c. Likewise whether the Nature of War be inconsistent with the Precepts of the Christian Religion. Lond. 1648. 8vo. in 3 parts. This book was answered by Bishop Sanderson. See his article.

† He was the only Protestant among them. Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. p. 201. by Lord Clarendon, who was then Ambassador in Spain from King Ch. II. The rest being re-delivered to the same church, had provisions sent to them by persons of quality, 'till they found an opportunity of making their escape. Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. I. p. 189 & alibi.

(30) Wood's A then. Oxon. Vo II. col. 385. According to the account in Thurloe, Ascham was murdered at an inn, before the orders came for his removal into the palace.

(31) Vol. I. § 2. No. 12. ibid. No. 18.



1622 greatly to his satisfaction with this friend abroad, and not many months after his return kissed the King's hand for an agency to the court of Spain, where he went to solicit the recovery of a rich English ship, which had been seized by that King's Viceroy at Sardinia upon a pretence of carrying contraband goods [H]. Three Ambassadors had been already employed in negotiating this affair, yet Mr Howell brought the matter nearer to a successful issue than had been done before [I]; but when he was just upon the point of completing it to the satisfaction of both parties, the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Charles I.) coming to Madrid on account of the Infanta, first put a stop to Mr Howell's proceeding; and the breaking of the Spanish match afterwards broke the neck of the whole business, and of all our agent's prospects of advantage thereby [K]; and he returned

other material studies; in short, he was evidently Howell's white boy, molded exactly to his heart's wish. In his company he was completely blest, and says, he envied no man's happiness (32). He seems to have had the same warmth in his temper with our cadet, which not long after their return drew them into a rencounter (33) with the Sergeants in Lombard street. But in this tour Mr Howell was in great danger of losing his life by too close an application to his studies. For having retired with his comrade to Poissy for privacy, and sole converse with the nation; he there tasked himself to read so many books in such a compass of time, and to perform it, he frequently watched many nights together in the depth of winter. Whereupon returning to Paris he was seized with an imposthume in his head, whereof he lay sick above forty days, being eighteen of them without any sleep, except such short imperfect slumbers as were procured by potions; at last a tumour settled in his throat, so that he could hardly fetch his breath; but after cauterizing it, an issue was made in his cheek, which, he says, saved his life. It is observable that he was much subject to this distemper, a defluxion fell into his throat while he was at Oxford, which distilling upon the uvula impeached his utterance a long time after; he found the same disorder again at Venice in his first travels, where he had an issue made in his left arm for it: on his return homewards, he fell sick again at Rouen of a pain in the head, which, with the issue he brought to England. Here Dr Harvey, whom he consulted, apprehending it might turn to a consumption, stopped his issue, telling him *There was no danger, in regard he had not worn it a full twelve months.* After which he quickly recovered by the assistance of that celebrated Physician (34).

[H] Seized for carrying contraband goods.] Mr Howell gives the following account of this affair. There was a large Turkey ship called the *Vineyard*, which sailing through the Straights for Constantinople, was forced by stress of weather into a little port called Milo in Sardinia; here the searchers came on board, and finding her richly laden (her cargo of broad-cloth at prime cost being worth 30000l. sterling), they cavilled at some small quantity of lead and tin, which though only for the ship's use, they alledged to be *Ropa de contrabando*, prohibited goods (35); and the Vice roy of Sardinia accordingly seized the ship and cargo, and landed the master and men in Spain (36).

[I] Three Ambassadors had been employed, but Mr Howell did more than all.] The Ambassadors were Sir Ch. Cornwallis once, and Lord Digby twice, in that character. The first of these being Ambassador in Spain when the master and men were put ashore there as abovementioned, they immediately addressed themselves to him, but finding him able to do them little good, they came to England and complained to the King and Council. Whereupon his Majesty sent a particular commission in his own name to demand restitution and justice upon the Vice-roy. Sir Ch. Cornwallis (together with Sir Paul Pindar a while) laboured the business and commenced a suit in law, but was called home, before he could do any thing to purpose. To him succeeded Sir John (afterwards Lord) Digby, in the same character, and being invested with the same commission, dispatched Mr Walsingham Greshley to Sardinia, who happened to be taken prisoner by some Turkish men of war, and carried into Algiers. Lord Digby being remanded home, left the business in the hands of Mr Cottington, then an agent at Madrid, but resumed it at his return; yet it proved such a tedious intricate suit, that his Lordship went back to England again without finishing the work; and going now Ambassador extraordinary upon the business of the Spanish match and the restitution of the Palatinate, de-

fired this particular commission might be given to another, whom he promised to assist to the utmost of his power, having himself also a good round share in the business (37). His Lordship's declining it was the step which helped Mr Howell to the employ; who, meeting with the like delays his predecessors had done in the law-courts, presented a memorial, that a particular junta of some of the Council of State and War might be appointed to determine the business. Upon this reference were accordingly nominated, who passed sentence in favour of the complainants, by virtue of which he got an execution against the goods of the Vice-roy, and afterwards obtained a royal cedula with a power to arrest his person, such as he was told by his lawyers, had never been granted in Spain before (38).

[K] Broke the neck of the whole business, and of all his prospects therein.] He had been in Sardinia, and brought the Vice-roy to offer a composition, and finding him unable to satisfy the debt, he had framed another memorial and presented it to the King, desiring that, as the said Vice-roy was insolvent, his Majesty would be pleased to grant a warrant (for the relief of both parties) to lade so many thousand sterills or measures of corn out of Sardinia and Sicily custom free, as should be equivalent to the debt. He had gone far towards obtaining such a warrant, when Sir Francis Cottington, Secretary to the Prince of Wales, sent for him, and required him in the Prince's name to proceed no further herein 'till his Royal Highness was departed from Spain (39). After the breach, Mr Howell had access to Olivarez the Prime-Minister, once or twice, and likewise to the King, to whom he now presented a memorial, that intimated letters of mart, unless satisfaction was had in his affair. The King gave him a gracious answer, but Olivarez, says he, told me, that when the Spaniards had justice in England, we should have justice here (40). This was plain dealing, and put a compleat end to our agent's negotiation. He had undertaken this affair upon what he calls very good terms. For besides all his expences borne, he was to have 3000l. sterling reward, if he succeeded. And that, which no doubt, sweetened the employ more, was the company of his dear friend Mr Richard Altham (41), who went with him to Madrid, and probably had a great hand in procuring it for him, being a near relation to Captain Leat, a principal person concerned. Mr Howell having liquidated the whole sum, principal and interest upon interest (the usage in those times) with all sorts of damages and processual charges, found it to amount to upwards of 250,000 crowns, of these Captain Leat's share came to above 40,000, a sum, which the commissioner observes, might serve him for a good Alderman's estate (42).

Our author as servant of the Crown, had his passage home in company of Mr (afterwards Sir) Peter Wych, in the convoy of the Prince of Wales's jewels, which, he says, were valued at above 100,000l. and among others there was a great table diamond for Olivarez of eighteen carats weight, but the richest present was to the Infanta, being a chain of great orient pearl to the number of 276, weighing 9 oz (43). Our author also relates several curious particulars in the Prince's courtship, hardly elsewhere to be met with. As first, that in a poem of Lope de Vegas upon this occasion, there was this excellent stanza).

Carlos Esuardo Soy

Que siendo Amor mi guia,

Al cielo d'España voy

Por ver mi Estrella Maria (44).

2. That the comedians came once a week to the palace, where under a great canopy the Queen and the Infanta sat

(32) See his Letter to him, Vol. I § 1. No. 2 and 18. and § 2. No. 30, 32.

(33) Ibid. § 3. No. 8 and 10. Our author had such another scuffle as that mentioned here, at Paris, of which he gave this friend an account in a letter from that city. Ib. No. 17. § 1.

(34) Ibid. No. 1 and 22. § 2.

(35) By an article of peace with Spain, nothing was to be carried to Turkey that might arm and victual.

(36) Fam. Lett. Vol. I. § 3. No. 6.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Id. § 3. No. 10 and 14.

(39) Ib. No. 17.

(40) Ibid. No. 33. Mr Howell afterwards applied to Lord Cottington, on his going Ambassador Extraordinary to Spain in 1629, who did something in it, but with what success does not appear. § 5. No. 28 and 35.

(41) He returned home a year before Mr Howell, on account of his brother's death, whom he did not survive a great many years. Ib. No. 23 and 45. § 6.

(42) Ibid. No. 8 and 10.

(43) Ibid. § 4. No. 1.

(44) It is no wonder to find our author approving this strain of the Spaniard, when we read the following lines of his own. Could I those whitely stars go nigh, Which make the milky way in sky, I'd peach them, and at moon-shine dress, To make my Delia a curious melf. Ibid. Vol. II. § 1. No. 22.



(p) See Ibid. § 4. No. 1. dated Dec. 10. 1624. when newly returned from Spain.

† He was recommended by some noblemen his friends, that had intimacy with the Duke, 'About whom, says he, though he hath 3 Secretaries already, I hope to have some employment.' Ibid. and No. 10.

(q) No. 24.

(r) Id. ibid. and No. 25, 26.

(s) Ibid. § 5. No. 3, 4.

(t) Id. ibid. No. 20 and 34.

returned to England toward the latter end of the year 1624 (p). This unexpected disappointment put him again to his shifts for a support. In this exigence he made his court to the Duke of Buckingham as the sole disposer of all preferments †, and he received many noble respects from his Grace; but finding after two years attendance that he was thought to be too much Digbyfied to have any place of trust under that minion, who was then at high enmity with the Earl of Bristol, he listened to a proposal that was made to him in 1626 by Lord Conway then Secretary of State; which was to go into Italy in quality of a moving agent for the King (q). But the demand of 100 l. a quarter, which he thought that service deserved, not being complied with, he missed likewise of this employ. However, the loss was in a short time abundantly made up to him; for the same year he was appointed Secretary to Emmanuel Lord Scrope (afterwards Earl of Sunderland), who was made Lord-President of the North (r). This post brought Mr Howell to York; and while he resided there, the corporation of Richmond, without any application from himself, and against several competitors, chose him one of their representatives to sit in the Parliament which began in 1627 (s). The following year Lord Scrope fell into a languishing disorder (t), and resigning his post the year after, was succeeded therein by the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford (u), who at his entrance into that office, out of regard to Mr Howell, and in consideration of his loss, gave him the disposal of the next Attorney's place that became vacant at York \*. This grant was of some advantage to him [L], and he continued in the service of his old master 'till his Lordship's death [M]. In 1632, he went Secretary to Robert Earl of Leicester, appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the court of Denmark, on occasion of the death of the Queen

(u) See his article.

\* Howell's Letters, § 6. No. 18.

fat in the middle, the Prince of Wales and Don Carlos on the Queen's right hand; the King and the little Cardinal on the Infanta's left hand. 'I have seen, says he, the Prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the Infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful speculative posture;' upon which part of his behaviour, Olivarez made the unhandsome comparison, that he watched her as a cat does a mouse. 3. That the Prince being informed the Infanta used to go some mornings to the *Casa de campo*, a summer-house of the King's on the other side of the river of Madrid to gather May-dew, he rose early and went thither, taking Mr Endymion Porter with him. They were let into the house and into the garden, but the Infanta was in the orchard, and there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the Prince got on the top of the wall and sprung down a great height and so made towards her, but she, spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek, and ran back; the old Marquis that was then her guardian, came towards the Prince, and fell on his knees, conjuring his Highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head, if he admitted any to her company; so the door was opened, and the Prince came out under that wall over which he had got in. I have seen him, continues our author, watch a long hour together in a close coach in the open street to see her as she went abroad (45).

[L] *This grant was some advantage* One of these places became vacant the same year, and he was offered 300 l. for it: but herein, it seems, he met with a considerable disappointment, for 'some, says he, got betwixt me and home, so that I was forced to go away contented with one hundred pieces Mr Ratcliffe delivered me in his chamber at Gray's-Inn, and so to part with the legal instrument I had, which I did rather than contest (46).' This grant is an instance of his Lordship's noble disposition, since he had never liked his predecessor Lord Scrope (47) [afterwards Earl of Sunderland]; and besides, Mr Howell had been chosen Member of Parliament for Richmond, against his Lordship's cousin and particular favourite Mr Christopher Wandesford (48). The instrument for the attorney's place, was returned to his Lordship with the following letter.

To the Lord Viscount Wentworth, Lord President of the North.

'My ever honoured good Lord,

'Herewith I send your Lordship the instrument you pleased to pass unto me for the reversion of the next Attorney's place in York, for which, by your Lordship's appointment, Mr Ratcliffe hath given me satisfaction. I was always, and shall ever continue so sensible of so free and noble a favour, that in the whole course of my life, I shall endeavour to make

'expressions of my thankfulness, and how much I am,

My Lord,

your Lordship's

St Martin's-lane,  
May, 5, 1629.

most true and humble servant;

J. A. HOWELL.

This letter has been lately printed among the State Papers and Letters of the Earl of Strafford (49); where there are twelve more from Mr Howell to his Lordship, wrote monthly, during the course of the year 1635\*, all upon the same subject of public news and occurrences with those three to his Lordship, printed by Mr Howell himself in his familiar letters (50), and written antecedently to that year, if we may rely upon their dates, which are partly confirmed by the beginning of his first monthly letter in 1634, printed in the State Papers, &c. where he intimates, that he had paid this tribute of his observance, though not regularly before. This circumstance is mentioned in the view of vindicating the authenticity of Mr Howell's Familiar Letters from the aspersions thrown upon them by Mr Wood, who tells us, 'that many of the said letters were never written before the author of them was in the Fleet as he pretends, only feigned, no time being kept with their dates (51).' But some inaccuracy in the dates, is no good argument against their genuineness, since in such letters, as many or most of these are, 'tis not unusual in the copy (there being no necessity for it) to omit the dates, which therefore (as the originals were then out of his hands) must be often supplied by memory alone †; and hence probably it is, that we find the year frequently omitted.

[M] *He continued in the service of his old master 'till his Lordship's death.* The profits of his Secretary's office had been very considerable; not long after his settlement in it, he writes to a friend from York thus. 'For this present condition of life, I thank God I live well contented, I have a fee from the King, diet for myself and two servants, livery for a horse, and a part of the King's house for my lodging, and other privileges which I am told no Secretary before me had.' He also mentions his having built himself a new study (52). My Lord gave him next year, 1628, the patronage of the living of Hambledon near Henley upon Thames, a rectory worth 500 l. a year (53). However, after his Lordship's resignation, he complains, that the perquisites of his place, taking the King's fee away, came very short of what his Lordship promised him at his first coming to him, in regard of his non-residence at York; he therefore hoped his Lordship would consider it some other way, in which view he still continued in his service (54). But we find at last, he had met with some difficulty

(49) In two vols fol. 1739. Vol. 1. p. 50.

\* The first is dated Feb. 1, 1634-5. and the last March 15, 1635-6.

(50) Sect. 5. No. 31. and § 6. No. 12 and 25.

(51) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 382. N. B. In the first edition the letters had no dates, and that want was supplied in the second. See the title-page to that edition in 1650.

† For instance, the letter in Vol. 1. § 6. No. 31. containing our author's decaſtic on the death of Ben. Johnson, is dated May 1, 1636. whereas that Poet did not die 'till Aug. 16, 1637. Yet that the letter with the decaſtic was actually sent, appears from it's being in the collection entituled *Johnsonus Viribus*, printed in 1638. 4to.

(52) Fam. Lett. Vol. 1. § 5. No. 1.

(53) Ibid. No. 16.

(54) Ibid. No. 34.

(45) Ibid. § 3. No. 18.

(46) Ibid. § 5. No. 24. The truth is, this was not a season fit for contesting it, that court itself being then become one of the grievances universally complained of, and two years afterwards, it was abolished as illegal. See the Earl of Clarendon's article.

(47) See the Earl of Strafford's article.

(48) Ibid. and Howell's Letters Vol. 1. § 5. No. 4.



(w) His speech to the Dukes of Holstein drew tears from her. Fam. Lett. Vol. 1. § 6. No. 2.

(x) Ibid. No. 19.

(y) It is very probable that he laid the plan at this time of his *Dodona's Grove*, that poem being finished in 1639. See his Letters, No. 39.

(z) No. 34.

(aa) No. 36, 38.

Queen-dowager, who was grandmother to King Charles I. [N]. Our author gave some proofs of his oratorical talents in several Latin speeches before the King of Denmark and other princes of Germany (w). He also was very serviceable in procuring a grant of some privileges to our Eastland company, which never could be obtained before [O]. Soon after his return to England, he received the unwelcome news of his father's death [P], a loss which must needs be more sensibly felt by him, as his fortune proved afterwards more unstable than ever. For except an inconsiderable affair, upon which he was dispatched to Orleans in France by Secretary Windebank in 1635 (x), he was destitute of any employment for some years, meeting with the not uncommon lot of those who are thrown into a life of dependency (y). Under these difficulties he set his face at last towards Ireland, where Lord Wentworth being Deputy was then resident. He had received many warm professions of kindness from his Lordship, and was now determined to put his sincerity to the trial (z). With this resolution he went in 1639 to Dublin, where he was well received; and finding one of the Clerks of the Council most opportunely very aged and bed-ridden, he applied for the reversion of the place, and obtained a grant thereof. In the interim, the Lord-Deputy employed him as an Assistant-Clerk upon some business to Edinburgh, and afterwards to London (aa); but all his rising hopes were ruined in the unhappy fate which the Earl of Strafford met with soon after. However, in 1640 he was dispatched upon some business to France (bb), whither he carried a French translation of his poem called *Dodona's Grove*, or the *Vocal Forest*, which was published that year [Q]; and upon New-Year's-day following, he presented to his Majesty a poem entitled *THE VOTE* [R]; and the same year, Sir Edward Nicholas being promoted to be

(bb) What this was is not known, but he was introduced to Cardinal Richelieu, who made him such propositions, as, he says, it were a vanity in him to mention. Ibid. No. 44. In this letter he gives some remarkable instances of the gross flatteries addressed by the French to that Minister in verse. One of these is the following distich, Richelieu intrant Rupellæ [Rusle] porta patet Christo infernales ut patere fores.

Secretary

(cc) Ibid. § 6. No. 18.

in settling his accounts with Lady Sunderland, as appears from the letter cited in the margin (55), addressed to her Ladyship, which begins thus:

Madam,

Here inclosed, I send your Ladyship a letter from the Lord-Deputy of Ireland, wherein he declares, that the disposal of the Attorneyship in York, which he passed over to me, had no relation to my Lord at all, but it was merely done out of a particular respect to me: your Ladyship may please to think of it accordingly touching the accounts.

From this passage her Ladyship seems to have made the value of that attorneyship an article in her favour, grounding it probably upon the answer sent by Lord Wentworth to the following letter from the Earl of Sunderland on that occasion.

My very good Lord,

I understand your Lordship hath bestowed the next Attorney's place in reversion at York, upon James Howell my Secretary. I must thank you for it, and the rather, because he hath deservedly and faithfully served me in that place, wherein I hear your Lordship hath succeeded me. I wish you much happiness in it, and rest very faithfully,

St Martyn's lane,  
Dec. 15, 1628.

Your humble servant,

E. SUNDERLAND †.

† Strafford's State Papers and Letters, &c. Vol. I.

[N] Grandmother to King Charles I.] She was the Duke of Mecklenburgh's daughter, her husband Christian III. dying young, her portion, which was 40,000l. was restored to her, and living a widow forty-four years after, she grew to be so great a house-wife (setting three or four hundred people at work) that she died worth near two millions of dollars, so that she was reputed the richest Queen in Christendom. By the constitution of Denmark, this estate was divisible amongst her children, whereof she had five, the King of Denmark, the Dukes of Saxony, the Dukes of Brunswick, Queen Anne, consort to King James I. and the Dukes of Holstein. The King being male was to have two shares, and King Charles I. then our King and his sister the Princess Palatine were to have their mother's share divided between them (56), which amounted to 160,000l. sterling. This the Ambassador asked for, but the King not complying, by reason of some demands he had upon the Crown of England; my Lord Leicester then desired, in regard he was to pass through the Hague, that part which belonged to my Lady Elizabeth, because his Majesty knew well what crosses and afflictions she had suffered, and what a numerous issue she had to maintain; and his Lordship said, he would engage his honour and all the estate he had in the world, that this should no way prejudice the accompts. The King of Denmark highly extolled the nobleness of this motion, but protested his coffers were

empty: hereupon my Lord was feasted, and that was all he could get (57).

[O] He procured some privileges for the Eastland Company.] The ships of that company in passing through the Sound, had been forced to stay there several days on account of taking up money at high interest to pay diverse tolls for the merchandizes, before they could expose them to vent; but it was now granted, that it should be sufficient for the merchant to register an invoice of his cargo in the Custom-house book, and give his bond to pay all duties at his return after he had made his market, which no Ambassador had been able to obtain before. There had been likewise a new toll demanded of late from the Hamburg merchants at Luckstadt, a fort commanding the entrance into the Elbe, which at the Ambassador's suit was now taken off (58).

[P] He received the news of his father's death.] This was sent to him by Dr Field, Bishop of St Davids, and he observes, that it was the heaviest news that ever was sent him. But, continues he, when I recollect myself, and consider the fairness and maturity of his age, and that it was rather a gentle dissolution than death. When I contemplate the infinite advantage he hath got by this change and transmigration, it much lightens the weight of my grief. For if ever human soul entered Heaven, surely his is there; such was his constant piety to God, his rare indulgence to his children, his charity to his neighbours, and his candour in reconciling differences; such was the gentleness of his disposition; his unwearied course in actions of virtue, that I wish my soul no other felicity, when she has shaken off these rags of flesh, than to ascend to his, and co-enjoy the same bliss (59). Such an amiable instance of filial piety was thought worthy of a place in these memoirs.

[Q] *Dodona's Grove, or the Vocal Forest*, published in 1640, in 4to.] The English poem was published in reality at the latter end of 1639 (60), and the author having translated it into French, carried it to be revised at Paris; after which he sent a copy from that city to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, with this recommendation, that it was done in the newest French; for though the version was his own, yet he had got one of the *Académie des beaux Esprits* there to run it over, to correct and refine the language, and reduce it to the most modern dialect. It took so here, continues he, that the Academy of Wits have given a far higher eulogium of it than it deserves (61).

[R] *The Vote*.] The whole title is, *The Vote; or a Poem presented to his Majesty for a New-Year's-Gift by Way of Discourse betwixt the Poet and his Muse*. Kal. January 1641, 4to. The method he took of prefixing it to the second volume of his familiar letters has preserved it, otherwise it must have perished long ago, being indeed a very indifferent performance. Our author exercised his poetical talent in verse on other occasions. As in a piece intitled, *Ab, Ha, Tumulus, Thalamus; Two Counter Poems, The first an Elegy upon*

(57) Ibid. § 6. No. 5.

(58) The old toll was a rose noble for every ship, which had been of late interpreted to be for every sail. Ibid. No. 4 and 5.

(59) Ibid. No. 7.

(60) Ibid. No. 39.

(61) No. 44. It went through several editions; and being so well received, he made use of it to carry off other pieces, as *His Parables*, &c. in the 2d edit. in 1644, 4to. and in the 3d, at Cambridge, in 1655, 12mo. were added *England's Tears*, &c. and *The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliaments*, &c. together with his *Vindication against Mr Prynn*.

(56) Fam. Lett. § 5. No. 40.



Secretary of State, Mr Howell succeeded him in the Clerkship of the Council (cc). This post was the most fixed in point of residence, and the most permanent in it's nature, of any he had ever enjoyed. But the residence of these Clerks was now rendered very unsettled upon the King's departure from his palace at Whitehall, and the permanency in their office became thereby so precarious, that it was not in the power of his royal master to secure his continuance long in it. For in 1643, being come to London upon some business of his own, all his papers were seized by a committee of the Parliament, his person secured, and in a few days after committed close prisoner to the Fleet [S]. He had before this time, partly through want of employment, and partly by bad œconomy, run himself considerably in debt (ff), so that he had now nothing to trust to but his pen (gg). He applied himself therefore wholly to write and translate books, which business he managed so well, that it brought him in a comfortable subsistence during his long stay in that prison, where he was confined 'till some time after the King's death; and as he got nothing by his discharge thence besides his liberty, he was obliged to continue the same employ afterwards. His numerous productions are an undeniable proof of the readiness of his wit, and in the light of criticism they ought to be looked on as works of necessity more than of choice. Presently after his imprisonment, Mr Prynne, in a piece entitled *The Popish Royal Favourite*, charging him with *being no friend to Parliaments, and a malignant*, our author published a vindication of himself in 1644 [T]; and the same year, being informed that the King was displeased at some things published in his name since his confinement, as shewing an indifference to his Majesty's service, he took the liberty of addressing a letter (hb) to his Majesty then at Oxford, wherein he makes use of the strongest terms to purge himself from that imputation; and expresses a warm zeal for the royal cause; yet at the same time he makes free to beseech the King to return to his parliament

(cc) Ibid. No. 46. and Wood, ubi supra.

(ff) Wood, lb.

(gg) Before this he published, *Instructions for Travel, shewing by what Courts, and in what Compass of time, one may take an exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and arrive to the practical Knowledge of the Languages to good purpose.* Lond. 1642. 12mo. dedicated to Prince Charles

(hb) Vol. 2. No. 65.

upon Edward late Earl of Dorset; the second, an Epithalamium to the L. Marquis of Dorchester; with an Hymenæum, or bridal Sonnet of four Stanzas, according to a choice Air set thereunto, by Mr William Webb, Lond. 1653, two sheets quarto. Also another poetical piece called, *The Parley of Beasts, or Morphandia Queen of the enchanted Island, &c.* Tom. I. Lond. 1660. And in 1663, there came out in octavo, written by him, *Poems on several choice and various Subjects, occasionally composed by an eminent Author, collected and published by Serjeant-Major, P. F.* [Payne Fisher, sometime Poet-Lauret to Oliver Cromwell] who observes in the preface, that Mr Howell may 'be called 'the prodigy of the age for the variety of his volumes; 'for from his Δενδρολογία, or parley of trees, to his 'Θηρολογία, his parley of beasts, not inferior to the 'other, there has passed the press above forty of his 'works on various subjects, useful not only to the present times, but to all posterity. And it is to be observed, that in all his writings there is something still 'new either in the matter, method, or fancy, and in 'an untrodden track.' Of the poetical kind, may be reckoned also, (1.) His *Winter Dream*, though written in prose, Lond. 1649, in three sheets, 4to. (2.) *A Trance; or News from Hell, brought first to Town, by Merc. Acheronticus*, Lond. 1649, two sheets and a half. (3.) *A Vision, or Dialogue between the Soul and Body*, Lond. 1651, 8vo. (4.) *A Nocturnal Progress; or a Perambulation of most Countries in Christendom, performed in one Night by strength of Imagination*, Lond. 1645.

[S] *Committed close prisoner to the Fleet.* The circumstances of it were, that one morning there rushed into his chamber five armed men with swords, pistols, and bills, and told him they had a warrant from the Parliament for him, which though they refused to shew for a while, yet at last one of them pulled a greasy paper out of his pocket and shewed him only three names subscribed and no more. So they rushed into his closet, and seizing all his papers, letters, and manuscripts, besides several printed books, they carried them away. Having taken physic that morning, they suffered him (yet not without much ado) to stay in his chamber with two guards upon him 'till the evening, when he was carried before the committee for examination, where he was well used, and being brought up to the close committee, was ordered to be forth-coming, 'till his papers were perused by Mr Corbet, who was appointed to do it. Some days after he came to Mr Corbet, who told him he had perused them accordingly, and could find nothing that might give offence. 'Hereupon, continues our author, I desired him to make his report to the House, which (as I was told) he did very fairly; yet such was my hard hap, that I was committed to the Fleet, where I am now under close confinement.' This account Mr Howell gives (62)

of the cause of his imprisonment. But Mr Wood insinuates that he was thrown into prison for debts contracted through his own extravagancy (63). And indeed some of our author's letters give room enough to suspect it (64). And in one he seems to impute the apprehending of him to the indiscretion of one of his acquaintance, who discovered his abode (65). But whatever was either the first occasion of his imprisonment, or of his detention so long there, he was certainly very cheerful under it; of which, among others, the following epitaph upon himself is an instance.

Heer lies entomb'd a walking thing,  
Whom Fortune (with the States) did fling  
Between these walls. Why? Ask not that,  
That blind whore doth she knows not what (66).

(63) Ubi supra, col. 381.

(64) Ibid. Vol. 1. § 6. No. 55 and 60.

In the first he says, he has good hopes he shall at last overcome all his pressures, survive his debts, and surmount his enemies.

(65) Vol. 2. No. 77.

(66) Ibid. No. 40.

[T] *A vindication of himself in 1644.* This defence likewise contained a *Clearing of some Occurrences in Spain at his Majesty's being there*, cited by the said Mr Prynne out of the *Vocal Forest*; by J. H. Esq; one of the Clerks of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council. Published by special order, Lond. 1644. In it he declares (67), that Mr Prynne had traduced him in the charge abovementioned, and is confident it never could be proved against him from any action, words, or letters (though several of his had been intercepted), or any other misdemeanour, though some things had been fathered upon him which never dropped from his quill. 'Alas, continues he, how unworthy and incapable am I to censure the proceedings of that great Senate, that high Synedrion where 'in the wisdom of the whole Senate is epitomized.' Before this, our author had published several pieces upon the times; the first of which was written presently after the battle of Edge-hill, and was the first book that came out on the King's side, entitled, *Casual Discourses and Interlocutions between Patricius and Peregrin, touching the Distractions of the times.* (2.) *Mercurius Hibernicus, or a Discourse of that horrid Insurrection and Massacre which happened lately in Ireland*, written in the Fleet, 1643. Bristol, 1644. in two sheets and a half, 4to. (3.) *Parables reflecting upon the Times*, Lond. 1644. in two sheets, 4to. subjoined to the second edition of *Dodona's Grove*. (4.) *England's Tears for the present Wars* (68), which for the Nature of the Quarrel, the Quality of the Strength, the Diversity of Battles, Skirmishes, Encounters, and Sieges, happened in so short a compass of time, cannot be paralleled in any preceding Age, Lond. 1644. in two sheets and a half, 4to. (5.) *Prebeminence and Pedigree of Parliaments*, in two sections, Lond. 1644. 12mo. To this was subjoined his *Vindication*, &c. mentioned in the beginning of this remark.

(67) P. 16.

(68) This was translated into Latin, and published under the title of *Anglicæ Suspiria & Lachrymæ*, &c. Lond. 1646. 4to.

[U] He



(i) Ibid. No. 28. and Vol. 1. § 4. No. 18. also § 6. No. 16.

\* The salary of this place is 200 l. per annum.

ment and palace at Whitehall [U]. It is true, he appears to be no friend to the measures pursued by Buckingham, Laud, and Strafford, and was far from approving the imposition of ship-money, and the policy of creating and multiplying monopolies (ii). Yet the sense of his own sufferings, and the misery brought upon the nation during the civil wars, by the unbridled insolence and outrage of the commonalty, gave him an utter dislike to any kind of popular sway in England; in which view he was not displeased, when Oliver assumed the sovereign power in the specious title of Protector, and in this light it was that he addressed the Usurper in a fair speech on that occasion [W]. If his circumstances requiring it, he (as well as many others of unquestionable loyalty) yielded prudentially to the necessity of the times under Cromwell's tyranny, yet at the Restoration this conduct was judged not inexcusable. King Charles II. thought him worthy of his notice and favour, and his former post under the Council being otherwise disposed of, a new place was created, by the grant of which he became the first Historiographer Royal \* in England [X].

In

[U] *He beseeches the King to return to his Parliament.* In this letter he confesses that some of his things were more moderate than others, yet alleges (under favour) that there were none of them but displayed the heart of a constant, true, loyal subject; and takes notice that he had been informed by some of the most zealous in his Majesty's service, that they had the good success to rectify multitudes of people in their opinion of some things. Mr Howell always thought it most advisable for his Majesty to be reconciled to his Parliament. In his vindication against Mr Prynne, mentioned already, he observes that 'the principal fountain whence the King derives his happiness and safety is his Parliament (69).' And in another place he enforces his opinion as follows, having lamented the strange spirit of the people. 'I remember, says he, to have read a tale of the ape in Paris, who having got a child out of the cradle, and carried him up to the top of the tiles, and there sat with him upon the ridge, the parents beholding this ruthless spectacle, gave the ape fair and smooth language, so he gently brought the child down again, and replaced him in the cradle (70). Our country is in the same case this child was in, and I hope there will be sweet and gentle means used to preserve it from precipitation.' Our author seems to have formed himself, with regard to this part of his conduct, upon the example of the Earl of Dorset (71) his master, to whom he afterwards dedicated the 3d volume of his Letters in 1650, and also wrote an elegy upon his Lordship's death in 1653, as abovementioned.

[W] *He addressed the Protector in a fair speech.* This was in the following piece, *Some sober Inspections made into the Carriage and Consults of the late Long-Parliament, whereby occasion is taken to speak of Parliaments in former times, and of Magna Charta, with some Reflections upon Government in general.* Lond. 1653. 12mo. It is dedicated to his Highness the Lord Protector, whom he compliments upon his dissolving the Long-Parliament. 'Thereby, says he, your Highness, Hercules like, may be said to have quelled a monster with many heads, such a monster, that was like to gormandize and devour the whole nation.' So far is consistent enough with the Royalist; but in comparing the Protector to Charles Martel, the flattery is manifestly cooked to his patron's palate. 'There is a remarkable saying, continues he, of Charles Martel, in that mighty revolution in France, when he introduced the second race of Kings, that in the pursuit of all his actions he used to say, that he followed not the ambition of his heart so much as the inspiration of his soul, and the designs of Providence. This may be applied to your Highness in the conduct of your great affairs and admirable successes.' In the same strain of flattery in the work itself (72), having condemned Aristocracy and Democracy as unconstitutional, and even not so agreeable to the mind of the Bible, he goes on to shew the necessity of having but one pilot to sit at the helm of the State, and 'It is requisite also, adds he, that this single person should be attended with a visible standing veteran army, to be paid well, and punished well if there be cause, to awe as well as to secure the people; for there is not such a wavering windy thing, nor such an humerfome and cross-grained animal in the world, as the common-people.' The fourth edition of this piece was published with several additions in 1660.

[X] *Historiographer's place created for him.* Notwithstanding Mr Howell's sacrifice of adulation offered to the omnipotent (73) power of Oliver, one reason

for which, besides the abovementioned, doubtless was the same with that given by the Indians for worshipping the Devil. He seems to be very far from siding with the Commonwealth's men (as Mr Wood intimates (74)) to the prejudice or disparagement of the royal cause, as far as can be judged by his writings. Which before the Restoration, besides those already mentioned, are, (1.) *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ, or Familiar Letters, &c.* so often quoted in these memoirs by reason they contain (as he expresses it) a legend of his life \*; and the method of casting it into the form of letters is no mean instance of his ingenuity. For by that means he has introduced likewise the history of his own times, and the whole is interspersed with so many pleasant stories, adagies, &c. appositely applied, as to be very entertaining. Accordingly, the work has passed through several editions since it's first appearance in 1645. Another collection being published in 1647, both these with the addition of a third came out in 1650. A few additional letters appeared in some subsequent editions, of which the 11th was printed in 1754 †. It cannot be denied he has given way frequently to very low witticisms (75); but this may be said in his excuse, that he was led into it by the humour of the times. He endeavours to introduce a new orthography by cutting off (what he calls) the superfluous vowels, so as to make the English write as they speak: and in leaving out the Dutch *k* in the words *Physic, Logic, &c.* he has been followed; but to retrench all, was a reformation that exceeded the reach of his authority to compass; at which we cannot be surprized, since Dr Sprat (76), in a more polite age, attempted the like in some instances only with no better success. (2.) *Lustra Ludovici, or the Life of Lewis XIII. King of France, and of his Cardinal de Richelieu.* Lond. 1646. fol. divided into 7 lustres, and dedicated to Prince Charles at his court in the isle of Jersey. (3.) *An Account of the deplorable and desperate Condition that England stands in anno 1647, in a Letter to Francis Cardinal Barberini,* written from the Fleet in 1647. (4.) *A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke concerning the Times and the sad Condition both of Prince and People.* Printed 1647. in 2 sheets, 4to. (5.) *Bella Scpt Anglica. A Brief of all the Battles and martial encounters which have happened 'twixt England and Scotland, from all times to this present,* printed in 1648. as also a Corollary, declaring the Causes whereby the Scot is come of late Years to be so heightened in his Spirits. These two are in three sheets, 4to. (6.) *The Instruments of a King; or a Short Discourse of the Sword, Scepter, and Crown,* Lond. 1648. in two sheets, 4to. (7.) *Inquisition after Blood to the Parliament in statu quo nunc, and the Army Regnant,* printed in 1649. in two sheets, 4to (77) (8.) *A Survey of the Signory of Venice, of her admired Polity, and Method of government,* Lond. 1651. in a thin folio. To this is added, *A Discourse of the Interests of the Republic of Venice, with the rest of the States of Italy,* printed with the Survey. (9.) *History of the Wars of Jerusalem epitomized,* 8vo. (10.) *The German Diet: or the Ballance of Europe, wherein the Power and Weakness, Glory and Reproach, Virtues and Vices, &c. of all the Kingdoms and States, &c. of Christendom, are impartially poised,* Lond. 1653. folio. The author's picture at full length is prefixed to the title. (11.) *Parthenopæia, or the History of the most renowned Kingdom of Naples, with a List of her Kings, &c.* Lond. 1654. folio. The second part only was compiled by our author, the first part of it being written by Scipio Mazzella, and translated into English from the Italian by Sampson Lennard, Herald of Arms. (12.) *Loadinopolis: An Historical Discourse*

(74) Ubi supra, col. 381.

\* Vol. 2. No. 43.

† An imperfect edition was printed at Aberdeen in 1753.

(75) The most unpardonable instance of this is his remark upon King Charles I's death, where he says, I will attend with patience how England will thrive, now that she is let blood in the basilical vein, and cured, as they say, of the King's-evil. Vol. 3. No. 24. And the most pardonable is his motto, *Senectus non senescit*.

(76) In his History of the R. S. published in 1667. 4to.

(77) The same year he also published the late King's Declaration in Latin, French, and English; as he did likewise Cottoni Postuma, Divers choice Pieces of that renowned Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton, Knt. and Bart. in 1651. 8vo.

(69) P. 13.

(70) Fam. Lett. Vol. 1. § 6. No. 50. it is dated in 1643. N. B. This story of the ape is borrowed and altered for his purpose by Dean Swift in Gulliver's Travels to Brobdingnag.

(71) See his article.

(72) P. 182.

(73) So 'tis filled by Mr Cowley in his Vision. See his Works, Vol. III.



(kk) Sir Roger's answer is intitled *A Caveat for the Cavaliers*; to which our author replied in *Some Sober Inspections made into these Irregularities that went into the composition of a late Cordial for the Cavaliers*. Upon this Sir Roger animadverted at the close of *A Modest Plea both for the Cavalier and Author of it*.

In 1661 he published a piece, intituled, *A Cordial for the Cavaliers*, which being attacked by Mr (afterwards Sir) Roger L'Estrange, occasioned a controversy between them (kk); but that being presently concluded, our author printed the same year *The second part of Casual Discourses and Interlocutions between Patricius and Peregrin, &c.* (ll); besides *Twelve Treatises of the late Revolutions*, 8vo. and in 1663 he published a *Treatise concerning the Precedency of Kings*, folio. As also the following year, *A Treatise concerning Ambassadors* [Y], and another concerning the surrender of Dunkirk, that it was done upon good grounds; both in 8vo. He died in the beginning of November 1666, and was interred in the north side of the Temple church London, where a monument was erected to his memory with the following inscription upon it, *Jacobus Howell Cambro-Britannus Regius Historiographus (in Anglia Primus) qui post varias peregrinationes tandem naturæ cursum peregit satur annorum & famæ, domi forisque, huc usque erraticus, hic fixus* [Z] 1666 (mm).

*Discourse or Perustration of the City of London and Westminster, with the Courts of Justice, Antiquities, and new Buildings*, Lond. 1657. folio. (13.) *A Discourse of the Empire, and of the Election of the King of the Romans, &c.* Lond. 1658. 8vo. Mr Howell also wrote a recommendatory letter to William Sanderfon, Esq; which is prefixed by that author to his History of King Charles I. Lond. 1658. folio. It was wrote at the author's request to stamp a credit upon his book, and is therefore here mentioned as being an undeniable proof of Mr Howell's reputation and merit as an Historian, before he was appointed King's Historiographer.

[Y] *A Treatise concerning Ambassadors*.] This was translated into Latin by John Harman of Magdalen-college in Oxford. Our author had before published, with a dedication by himself to Lord Lisle, a piece upon the same subject, entitled, 'Fineti Philoxenis: Some choice Observations touching the Reception and Precedency, the Treatment and Audience, the Puntilios and Contests, of Foreign Ambassadors in England.' Lond. 1656. 8vo. This treatise was written by Sir John Finet, Knight, who was the son of Robert Finet of Souton near Dover in Kent, and great grandson to John Finet of Siena, of an antient family in Italy; who coming to England in the train of Cardinal Campegus, Legate a latere from the Pope, married one Martell's daughter, Maid of Honour to Queen Katharine, King Henry VIIIth's consort. Sir John was always bred in the Court, where by his wit, innocent mirth, and great skill in composing songs, he was much in the favour of King James I. who sent him into France upon some affair of public concern in 1614, and knighted him the year after; about which time he was made assistant to the Master of the Ceremonies, with a

grant of the reversion of that post; and upon the death of Sir Lewis Lewknore, Master, had the office conferred upon him March 12, 1626, being then in good esteem with King Charles I. Besides the piece already mentioned, he translated from French into English, *The Beginning, Continuance, and Decay, of Estates, &c.* Lond. 1606. 4to (78). He died July 12, 1641, and was buried in the north side of St Martin's-church in the Fields, Westminster, by the body of Jane, sometime his wife, daughter of Henry Lord Wentworth of Nettlestead in Suffolk, and sister to the Earl of Cleaveland (79).

[Z] *An inscription, &c.*] It seems to have been drawn up, or at least intimated, by himself. In one of his letters from the Fleet, speaking of a sickness he had lately lain under in that prison, he writes (80), That having a laud interval therein, he fell a thinking how to make his last Will; and running over the several particulars thereof, he concludes with the following directions concerning his burial. 'This little sack-full of bones, says he, I thought to bequeath to Westminster-abbey, to be interred in the cloyster within the south side of the garden, close to the wall, where I would have desired Sir H. F. (my dear friend) to have inlayed a small piece of black marble, and caufed this motto to have been insculped upon it, *Huc usque peregrinus, hic domi*; or this, which I would have left to his choice, *Huc usque erraticus, hic fixus*.' That ingenious author was in the like humour, when he started the following epitaph on the death of the celebrated Dr Byfield, who invented the *sal volatile oleosum*, and was not less distinguished in his time by a kind of rambling volatility of wit. *Hic jacet Dr Byfield, diu volatilis, tandem fixus.* P

(ll) It was printed in a book intituled, *Discourses of the late popular Injuries in Great-Britain and Ireland*. To which is added, *An Apology of Fables mythologized*.

(mm) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 385. This monument was taken down when the church was repaired in 1683, and has not been since replaced.

(78) The original was written by R. de Lusing.

(79) Wood's Fasti, Vol. I. col. 270.

(80) Vol. 2. No. 29.

HUDSON [HENRY], a skilful English navigator in the beginning of the last century, who gave name to a bay in the northern parts of America, from whence one of our mercantile companies receive their denomination. It is but just and decent, that those brave and industrious adventurers, who brought so much honour and advantage to this nation, should have their memories preserved, and transmitted to posterity: therefore, we shall endeavour here, as far as we can, to do that justice to Captain Hudson. Where he was born and educated, we have no certain account: but, by his name, it seems to have been in the north parts of England. The laudable custom of discovering foreign countries for the benefit of trade, which had been so zealously pursued during Queen Elizabeth's reign not dying with that glorious princess; Mr Hudson, among others, attempted to find out a passage by the north to Japan and China. His first voyage was in the year 1607, at the charge of some London Merchants: and his first attempt was for the north-east passage. He departed therefore from Gravesend May 1, 1607, with a small company, his ship's crew consisting only of ten men and a boy, besides himself: on the 26th of that month, they were six leagues to the eastward of Shetland, in 60 deg. 12 min. north latitude. The 11th of June steering north-north-west, they discovered (two days after) a promontory before them, which they named *Young's Cape*, and a very high mountain near it, the *Mount of God's Mercy*. Their sails and shrouds were then frozen: and, from the second to the twentieth of June they did not see the sun. The 21st they saw part of the coast of Groenland, which they named *Hold with hope*. They kept a north-easterly course, meeting with many fogs and calms, and much ice driving in the sea, and on the 27th discovered Greenland. The ice lay very thick along the shore, which they coasted, having no ground at 100 fathoms, four leagues from the coast. They found themselves, the next day, between the land and the ice, *Vogel hook* bearing east. On the first of July, by their own observation, they were in 78 deg. 42 min. latitude, whereby they imagined that they were over against the great *Indraught*: but it clearing up in the evening, they found themselves a good way into the inlet, being almost a bay encompassed with very high mountains, and had no ground at 100 fathoms. To the southward they found an open sea, and proceeded as far as 78 deg. 56 min. of latitude: but, instead of



(a) Purchas, his  
Pilgrimes, Part.  
iii. ed. 1625. p.  
567, &c. and  
Harris's Collect.  
of Voyages, Vol.  
I. ed. 1705. p.  
564, &c.

(b) Purchas and  
Harris, as above.

(c) Purchas, as  
above, p. 575.

advancing further north, were, on the sixth, in 77 deg. 30 min. when they entered first into a green, and then into a black sea [A], which last proved to be an open passage (a). On the 11th they were advanced to 79 deg. 17 min. latitude; and, the two next days, proceeded as far as 80 deg. and 80 deg. 23 min. But the ice stopping them, they were forced to alter their course, and steer south-east and by east. The 14th of July, they had land on the east, and discovered a bay open to the west [B]. At the mouth of it, they called a high but small island *Collins's Cape*, from their boatwain's name, who first saw it. They had then thirty fathoms water, afterwards 26, and, further in, had no ground at 100 fathoms; therefore judged it rather a sound than a bay. The next day, clear weather, and the sun shining warm, they could see the high land of Greenland, 20 leagues from them to the north-east, stretching, by their account, into 81 degrees of latitude. The day following, being July the 16th, they were encompassed with ice; and having now run toward the furthest part of the land discovered by them, which for the most part lay north-east and south-west, they could discern more land joining the same, stretching far north into 82 degrees of latitude, and by the bowing and appearance of the sky, or horizon, much further. When they first saw it, they hoped to find an open sea between the land and the ice, and intended to have returned by the north of Greenland to Davis's streights, and thence into England. But finding it impossible so to do, by reason of the great quantity of ice that lay to the north of them; and plainly perceiving, that there is no passage that way, between the 78th deg. 30 min. and the 82d degree of latitude, they shaped their course for England, and arrived in the Thames the 15th of September (b).—The year following, 1608, Mr Hudson undertook a second voyage for discovering a passage to the East-Indies by the north-east. Accordingly he set sail from St Catherine's, with fifteen persons only, on the 22d of April; and by the 20th of May they were in 64 deg. 52 min. northern latitude. The 3d of June they had sight of the north cape, on the coast of Finmark, bearing south-west, eight leagues from them. And, on the 7th, being in 75 deg. 29 min. latitude, came to the first ice they had seen this voyage. They entered into it, with hopes of getting through, keeping on their course to the north-east: but when they were got four or five leagues in, they found the ice before them so thick, that they were forced to return (c) [C]. On the 18th and 21st of June, they perceived there was a current setting to the north, which gave them some encouragement. But when they came into 72 deg. 52 min. latitude, they lost all hopes of a passage that way, by reason of their nearness to Nova Zembla, and the great quantities of ice. However, some of the company went on shore, and viewed the country [D]. And the ship anchoring near a bay, the Captain dispatched five of his men to search a sound or river in the bottom of the bay, that sent out a great stream to the northward, against the tide which came from thence. This stream was so strong, that it carried away the ice or any thing else against the flood: and flows from the north three hours, and ebbs nine. At their return, they informed him, that the great river or sound was two or three leagues broad; had no ground at twenty fathom; that the stream did strongly set out of it; was of the colour of the sea, and very salt. But, upon further examination, and after having gone six or seven leagues up the stream, they found that it ended in a shallow of four feet. Had it continued as it first appeared, it might have yielded an excellent passage to a more easterly sea. Full of grief and disappointment, and being now void of all hopes of a north-east passage, they resolved to sail to the north-west, and to make trial of the place called *Lumley's-Inlet*, and the furious over-fall mentioned by Captain Davis. But meeting with contrary winds, and having spent more than half the time before they had gone the shortest part of the way, they returned homewards, and arrived at Gravesend August 26, 1608.—Not disheartened by his two former unsuccessful voyages, Captain Hudson undertook again, in 1609, a third voyage to the same parts, for further discoveries. But, whether his former patrons and supporters were dead or discouraged, or for what other reasons,

is

[A] *Into a green, and then into a black sea.* Capt. Hudson observes, that where the sea looked green, it was freeest from ice: but when it appeared with a deep azure or blue, next to black, it was very icy (1).

(1) Purchas, as  
above, p. 571.

[B] *And discovered a bay open to the west.* Mr Lediard is very much out, when he supposes this bay to be the same as is now called Hudson's Bay. His words are these, 'The fourteenth of July they came

(2) Naval Hist.  
of Eng. ed. 1735,  
fol. p. 419.

'into the bay, which has since bore his name.'—(2) For this bay was many degrees, both of longitude and latitude, distant from that which was afterwards called Hudson's Bay; and this latter was not discovered by Mr Hudson, till his fourth and last voyage in 1610.

[C] *That they were forced to return.* The next occurrence after that, mentioned in Captain Hudson's journal, was the sight of a Mermaid; of which take the account in his own words. 'The 15th [of June] one of our company looking over-board saw a Mermaid, and calling up some of the company to see her, one more came up, and she was then come close to the ship's side, looking earnestly on the men: soon

'after a sea came and overturned her. From the navel upwards her back and breasts were like a woman's, her body as big as one of us, her skin very white, and long black hair hanging down behind. In her going down they saw her tail, like the tail of a porpus, and speckled like a mackarel (3).'

(3) Purchas, p.  
575. and Harris,  
as above, p. 566.

[D] *And viewed the country.* They found grass on the shore of the last year's growth, and young grass come up amongst it. It was very hot; the ground boggy; and they saw the footing of many bears, deers, and foxes. There was a cross standing on the shore, much drift wood, and signs of fire that had been made there.—Generally, all the country of Nova Zembla they saw, was pleasant to the eye: much high land, with no snow on it, looking in some places green, and deer feeding thereon. 'Tis no wonder there is so much ice in the sea towards the pole, there being so many sounds and rivers in Nova Zembla, Greenland, Groenland, Tartary, Russia, and Lapland, to produce it: from whence he concluded there could be no navigable passage that way (4).

(4) Purchas, as  
above, p. 579.

[E] *The*



is unknown; he was this time fitted out by the Dutch East-India Company. They furnished him with a fly-boat, equipped with all necessaries and provisions, and with twenty men English and Dutch. He sailed from Amsterdam March 25, O. S. and on the 25th of April doubled the north cape of Finmark in Norway (d). He kept going along the coasts of Lapland towards Nova Zembla, but found the sea so full of ice, that he had no hopes of going through it that year. Some of his sailors who had been in the East-Indies could not endure the cold, and therefore quarrelled with the rest. Captain Hudson proposed two things to them: first, to go towards the coasts of America, in 40 deg. latitude; trusting to some maps sent him from Virginia by one Captain Smith, in which was marked down a sea, affording a passage round about the English plantations, and from thence into the South-Sea; though it was a mistake. The other thing he proposed to his men, was to find a passage through the streight of Davis; which was generally approved. So, the 14th of May, they sailed that way, and the 29th of the same month arrived at the islands of Ferro [E], where they stayed about a day and a half to take in fresh water. Afterwards, they kept on their course west-north-west, 'till the 18th of July, and came upon the coast of New-France, where they landed to get a new mast, having lost their fore-mast ever since the 15th of June (e). The place was very proper to catch cods and lobsters in, and to traffick skins and furs with good advantage [F]: but the sailors treated the people of that country very ill, and took away their goods by force [G], which caused many quarrels. The English, who were not the stoutest, had a mind to go further: accordingly, July the 26th, coming out again to sea, they proceeded forward 'till the third of August, when they landed near Cape-Cod in New-England, in 41 deg. 45 min. latitude, and found good grapes and rose-trees (f). The natives seemed glad of their arrival; and one came on board, and ate and drank with them. They went over the bar of Virginia, the 18th of August, being the entrance into the river of Virginia; now better known by the name of the bay of Chesapeake. Getting into that bay, on the 28th, they kept sailing up into it, and some of the rivers that discharge themselves into the same, for about five weeks: during which time, they had frequent communication with the savage natives that dwelt on or near the banks; some of which they seem to have well used, and some otherwise (g). They came out again the fourth of October, and stood to sea; but would have done their business better, if the sailors had been well affected to it, and had not wanted necessaries. When they were at sea, they consulted what to do, but were of different opinions. The Master's mate, a Dutchman, was for wintering in Newfoundland, and seeking out Davis's passage to the north-west. Captain Hudson opposed it, fearing that his ship's company, which had threatned him before, would take an opportunity to mutiny again, and that the cold weather would consume their provisions, and put them into an impossibility of returning into Holland, many of the seamen being then sick. Pursuing therefore their voyage homewards, they arrived, the 7th of November, N. S. at Dartmouth in Devonshire; and gave advice of it to the Directors in Holland, sending them also a journal of their voyage. Captain Hudson offered to go again to discover the passage through the north-west, provided they would give him 500 livres in money, more provisions than he had before, and the same wages. And he proposed to sail from Dartmouth the first of March, spend the month of April, and half of May, in killing whales and other creatures near the island of Panar; after that sail to the north-west; stay there 'till the middle of September, and then return to Holland by the north of Scotland (h): but, it seems, his proposal was not accepted.—For, in his fourth and last voyage, in 1610, he was fitted out by Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr John Wostenholme, and some of their friends, in a bark named the Discovery. His commission was, to try if through any of those inlets which Captain Davis saw but durst not enter, on the western side of Davis's streights, any passage might be found to the South-Sea (i). They sailed from St Catherine's April 17, and fell in with the eastern part of Iceland on the 11th of May. Endeavouring to sail round the north of that island, and being stopped by the ice, they plyed round the south of the same, and came into a good harbour, which they named *Loufy Bay*; where they found a Bath, of which the water was so hot that it would scald a fowl. The fourth of June, they came within sight of Groenland: that night the sun, according to their observation, went down due north, and rose the next morning north-north-east. The ninth they were off Forbisher's streights, and keeping on south-westward, came on the fifteenth in sight of Cape Desolation (k). Thence

(d) Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East-India Company, translated into English, edit. Lond. 1703. 8vo. p. 62.—and Purchas, as above, p. 581, &c.

(e) See Purchas, p. 583.

(f) Purchas, as above, p. 587. and Voyages of the Dutch East-India Company: p. 69.

(g) See Purchas; as above, p. 588 —594.

(h) Voyages undertaken by the Dutch East-India Company, as above, p. 70.

(i) Purchas, Vol. V. ed. 1626. p. 817, &c. The ship's company consisted this time of 23 men. See Purchas, Vol. III. p. 609.

(k) See the articles FORBISHER, and Capt. JOHN DAVIS, in Vol. III. of this work.

[E] *The islands of Ferro.* The islands of Ferro, or Farro, are seventeen in number, and lye between the north of Scotland and the isle of Iceland, from 61 to near 63 degrees of northern latitude. They are subjected to the King of Denmark.

[F] *And to traffick skins and furs with good advantage.* The natives brought to them many bever-skis, and other fine furs, which they would have changed for red gowns. For the French did even then trade with them for red cassocks, knives, hatchets, copper, kettles, trivets, beads, and other trifles (5).

[G] *And took away their goods by force.* They often mention, in their journal, that they stood upon

their guard; which may be a necessary caution amongst those savage and barbarous people. But, no real cause is assigned, for our sailors treating those poor people so ill. These are the words of the journal, upon that occasion. 'The 25th [of July]—wee manned our scute with foure muskets, and fixe men, and tooke one of their shallops and brought it aboard. Then we manned our boat and scute with twelve men and muskets, and two stone pieces or murderers, and drave the salvages from their houses, and tooke the spoyle of them, as they would have done of us (6). But it is not said that they actually attempted so to do.

(6) Purchas, *ibid.*

[H] *Among*

(5) Purchas, as above, p. 586.



Thence they proceeded north-westward, among great quantities of ice [H], until they came to 60 deg. latitude, being the mouth of the *streights* that bear *Hudson's* name. The land that he first discovered there, he named *Desire provoketh*. They advanced in those *streights* westerly, as the land and ice would permit; till the 11th of July; when fearing a storm, they anchored on the north side of the *streights*, by three rocky islands, which he named the *Isles of God's Mercies*. As they went on, a point of land, on the opposite southern side of the same *streights*, he called *Hope advanced*: and an island, a little west of the same, *Hold with hope*. Keeping west, on the south side of the *streights*, along the western point of North America, that shoots into those *streights* and the adjoining bay, he named three promontories there, *Prince Henry's Cape*, *King James's*, and *Queen Anne's Capes*: and to the country itself he gave the name of *Magna Britannia* (l). After having thus sailed *three hundred* leagues west, in the *streights* now called *Hudson's Streights*; he came August 2 to a narrower passage, about two leagues over, and very deep (m), having two head-lands; of which he called that on the south, *Cape Wostenholme*, the opposite one on the north-west, *Digges's Island*; another promontory in a neighbouring isle, *Cape Salisbury*; and a high hill to the south-west upon the main land, *Mount Charles*. This narrow passage brought them into the bay, which has ever since been honoured with the brave but unfortunate discoverer's name, and is to this day called *HUDSON'S-BAY*. He sailed above 100 leagues south into this bay, being confident that he had found the desired passage. But finding at length that it was only a bay, he imprudently resolved to winter in the most southern point of it, with an intention of pursuing his discoveries the following spring; little considering how unprovided he was with all manner of necessaries to support himself during a severe winter in that desolate place. However, they drew their ship, on the third of November, in a small creek; where they would all infallibly have perished, if they had not met with unexpected and providential supplies of provisions (n) [I]. In the spring, when the ice began to waste, one of the savages came to visit them; and, for a knife, looking-glass, buttons, and a hatchet, gave them in exchange three deer-skins and three beaver-skins. After making several signs that there were many people to the north and south, and that after so many *sheeps* he would come again, he went his way, but never returned (o). Captain Hudson, being bent upon completing his discovery; as soon as the season would permit, he furnished his shallop with eight or nine days provisions, and sailed about to the south and south-west of the bay. But, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could meet with none of the natives, nor induce them to come to him, though they were very near him, and frequently set the woods on fire in his sight. Finding himself now absolutely necessitated to abandon his enterprize, and to make the best of his way home, he distributed to his men, with tears in his eyes, all the bread he had left, which was only a pound to each [K]: and very little fish they could catch. In his despair and utmost uneasiness, having let fall some threatening words, of setting some of his men on shore; a few of the sturdiest of them (who before had been very mutinous) entered his cabin in the night, tied his arms behind him, and exposed him in his own shallop, at the west end of his *streights*; with eight of the most sick and infirm of his men [L]. There they turned them adrift, and 'tis thought

(l) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 596, 597. 598, 599.

(m) It had no ground at 100 fathoms. Ibid. p. 597.

(n) Purchas, p. 600, 602.

(o) Ibid, p. 602.

[H] *Among great quantities of ice.* In time they became so well acquainted with the ice, that when night, or foggy, or foul weather took them, they would seek out the broadest island of ice, and there come to anchor, and run, and sport, and fill water that stood on the ice in ponds, both sweet and good (7).

(7) Purchas, as above, p. 598.

[I] *If they had not met with unexpected and providential supplies of provisions.* The account of it is given by Abacuc Pricket, one of the ship's crew, in the following words. 'I must not forget to shew, how mercifully God dealt with us in this time; for the space of three months we had such store of fowle of one kinde (which were partridges as white as milke) that we killed above an hundred dozen; besides others of sundry sorts. The spring coming, this fowle left us, yet they were with us all the extreme cold. Then in their places came divers sort of other fowle, as swanne, geese, duck, and teale, but hard to come by. Our master hoped they would have bred in those broken grounds, but they doe not: but came from the south, and flew to the north, further than we were this voyage: if they be taken short with the wind at north, or north-west or north-east, then they fall and stay till the winde serve them, and then flye to the north. Now in time these fowles are gone, and few or none to be seene. Then we went into the woods, hilles, and valleyes, for all things that had any shew of substance in them, how vile soever: the mosse of the ground, than the which I take the powder of a post to be much better, and the frogge (in his ingendring time as loathsome as a toade) was not spared. But amongst the divers sorts of buds, it pleased God that

' Thomas Woodhouse brought home a budde of a tree, full of a turpentine substance. [It blossomed in December, and had leaves green and yellow, of an aromatic savour, and being boyled, yielded an oily substance, which proved an excellent salve; the decoction being drunk, was an effectual cure for the scurvy, sciatica, cramp, convulsions, and other diseases occasioned by the coldness of the climate.] Of this our Surgeon made a decoction to drinke, and applied the budde hot to them that were troubled with ach in any part of their bodies; and for my part, I confesse, I received great and present ease of my paine. — The ice being out of the sounds, so that our boat might go from one place unto another, a company of men were appointed by the Master to go a fishing with our net. These men, the first day they went, caught five-hundred fish, as big as good herrings, and some troutes: which put us all in some hope to have our wants supplied, and our comons amended: but these were the most that they ever got in one day, for many dayes they got not a quarter so many (8).

[K] *Which was only a pound to each.* But the men that afterwards ran away with the ship, upon ransacking it, found, one vessel of meal whole, and the other half-spent; for they had but two. They found also two firkins of butter, 27 pieces of pork, half a bushel of pease: and, in the cabin, 200 of bisket cakes, a peck of meal, and of beer to the quantity of a butt (9).

[L] *With eight of the most sick and infirm of his men.* The persons thus cruelly exposed, were, Captain Henry Hudson, his son John Hudson, Thomas Widowes or Woodhouse, Arnold Ludlo, Sidrack Faner,

(8) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 602. See also Vol. V. p. 817, &c.

(9) See Purchas, Vol. III. p. 605.



thought they all miserably perished, being never heard of more. Such was the unhappy end of the brave Captain Hudson. As for the rest of his rebellious crew, they proceeded with the ship for England. But going on shore, July 29, near the Straights mouth, four of the strongest of them were set upon and cut off by the savages. The rest, after enduring the greatest hardships [M], arrived at Plymouth in September 1611 (p).

(p) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 602—603.

Faner, Adam Moore, Henry King, Michael Bute, and the carpenter Philip Staße of Ipswich, who voluntarily chose to undergo the same fate with his worthy master Captain Hudson, rather than consort with barbarous rebels (10).

[M] *The rest enduring the greatest hardships.* They killed some quantities of wild fowl in Hudson's Straights, which supported them a while. At length, they were reduced to hard allowance; as half a fowl a day, with the pottage, or liquor, they were boiled in. Being further pressed with hunger, they tried every thing; and having flea'd their fowls, (for they would not pull,) they made use of their skins by burning off the feathers; so they became a great dish.

And as for the garbage it was not thrown away. In process of time, their cook made a mess of the bones of the fowls, frying them with candle-grease till they were crisp, and with vinegar put to them, made what they thought a good dish of meat. Their vinegar was shared, and to every man a pound of candles delivered for a week, as a great dainty. The men became so weak, that they could not stand at the helm, but were forced to sit or lye. One died for mere want. In that distressed condition they continued above a month or six weeks: and of the twenty-three men that went out, not above six or seven at most reached England again (11).

(11) Purchas, Vol. III. p. 606, 608.

HUDSON [JOHN], a very learned critic, and editor of many valuable books, was born at Widehope near Cockermouth in Cumberland, in the year 1662 [A]. After having been educated in grammar-learning by Mr Jerom Hechstetter who lived in the neighbourhood, he was admitted, in the year 1676, and at the age of fourteen, into Queen's-college in Oxford; where he made a very great progress in Philosophy, and more especially in polite literature, under the tuition of Mr Thomas Crosthwaite (a). He took the degree of Bachelor of Arts July 4, 1681 (b), and that of Master Feb. 12, 1684 (c). Soon after having taken the last degree, he removed to University-college, of which he was chosen Fellow March 29, 1686 (d) [B], and became a most considerable and esteemed tutor. On the 5th of June 1701, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (e): having been, the April before, elected Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library [C], in the room of the learned Dr Thomas Hyde, who had resigned (f). With it he kept his fellowship, till June 14, 1711, when, according to the statutes of the college, he was obliged to resign it; having just before married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Harrison, Knight, an Alderman of the city of Oxford, and a Mercer (g). In 1712, he was appointed Principal of St Mary-hall by the Chancellor of the university, through the interest and solicitations of the famous Dr John Ratcliffe (b). And to Dr Hudson is the university of Oxford obliged for the most ample benefactions she received from Dr Ratcliffe; who was always expressing his designs of doing something very great, but undetermined in what way, till his resolutions were fixed at length by Dr Hudson's advice and persuasion (i). In the mean time, our learned author obliged the world with curious editions of many of the best ancient writers, of which an account is given in the note below [D]. The last he employed his learned pains about, WAS

(a) A. Hall Præfat. ad Josephum, edit. J. Hudson.

(b) Wood Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 217.

(c) Ibid. col. 225.

(d) From the College-Register.

(e) From the University-Register.

(f) A. Hall, ubi supra. See his preface to Edm. Bolton's Hypercritica.

(g) From Memoirs communicated to us.

(b) A. Hall, ubi supra.

(i) From the forefaid Memoirs,

WAS

[A] *In the year 1662.* Mr A. Hall says only, in general, that he was born soon after the Restoration, paulo post instauratam apud Britannos Monarchiam. But, from A. Wood, who affirms, that he was aged fourteen years, in 1676, at his admission in the University (1); and from his age at the time of his death, as mentioned below, it plainly appears that he was born in the year 1662.

[B] *Of which he was chosen Fellow, March 29, 1686.* That he was chosen unanimously, is attested, in their Election-book, by the famous Obadiah Walker, then Master.

[C] *Having been, the April before, elected Head-keeper of the Bodleian Library.* Mr Hudson met with a more strenuous opposition than he at first expected. His competitor was Mr Wallis of Magdalen-college, afterwards Professor of Arabic, a man well known at that time for his great parts and ingenuity, though he never published any thing.

[D] *In the mean time, our learned author obliged the world with curious editions of many of the best ancient writers.* They are as follows, according to the order of time in which he published them. I. M. Velleii Patriculi quæ supersunt: Cum variis Lectionibus optimarum Editionum; doctorum Virorum conjecturis & castigationibus; et indice locupletissimo, Oxon, 1693, 8vo. It was printed through the encouragement, and at the charge of Arthur Charlet, D. D. Master of University-college, to be given to his scholars and friends at New-year's-day 1692-3. And, besides the expence of the impression, he gave Mr Hudson ten pounds (2). A second edition was published in 1711, wherein the notes are enlarged. II. Thucydidis de Bello Peloponnesiaco Libri VIII. Oxon. 1696, fol. This is a neat and beautiful edition, and well disposed: the years of

the Peloponnesian war, of the Olympiads, and of the foundation of Rome, as calculated by the learned Mr H. Dodwell, are placed at the top of every page. But this edition has been somewhat eclipsed by the subsequent one of Messieurs Duker and Wasse. III. Geographiæ Veteris Scriptores Græci minores, Græce & Latine, cum dissertationibus & annotationibus Henrici Dodwelli: accedunt Geographica Arabica cum notis, Oxon. in four volumes, 8vo. published at different times; the first in 1698, the second in 1703, and the third and fourth in 1712. The several pieces which those volumes contain, will appear by this list of them. The contents therefore of the first volume, are, 1. Hannonis Carthaginensis Periplus. It is allowed not to have been written by the famous Carthaginian General of that name. 2. Scylacis Periplus Maris habitabilis Europæ, Asiæ, Lybiæque. 3. Agatharcidis de Mari Rubro. 4. Arriani Periplus Ponti Euxini. 5. Periplus Maris Erythræi. 6. Nearchi Periplus, ex Arriani Indicis. 7. Marciani Heracleotæ Periplus, cum fragmentis Artemidori & Menippi. 8. Anonymi Periplus Maris Euxini. The second volume contains. 1. Dicæarchus de Statu Græciæ. 2. Ejsdem fragmentum de Monte Pelio. 3. Isidorus Characenus de Mansionibus Parthicis. 4. Scymni Cbii Periegesis. 5. Ejsdem fragmenta a Luca Holstenio collecta. 6. Plutarchus de Fluminibus. 7. Agathemeris Compendiarium Geographiæ expositionum Libri duo. 8. Strabonis epitome. The contents of the third volume, are, 1. Dionysius Byzantinus de Bosphoro Thracio. 2. Descriptio Ponti Euxini. 3. Excerpta ex Chrysococca. 4. Ptolemæi Tabula Urbium insignium. 5. Anonymi à Gothofredo editi Expositio totius Mundi. 6. Variæ Lectiones Geographiæ Ravennatis. 7. Ptolemæi Arabia. 8. Abulfedæ Arabis Descriptio Chorasmia. 9. Abulfedæ Arabia.

(10) Purchas, as above, Vol. III. p. 604, 605.

(1) Wood Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 940.

(2) From a note prefixed to the title-page of one of those books, in Dr Charlet's own hand-writing.



was Josephus, whom he just finished, but did not live to publish [E]. His studious and sedentary way of life, and too great abstemiousness withal, brought him into an ill habit of body; which turning to a dropfy, kept him about a year in a very languishing condition. At last he died, November 27, 1719, at St Mary-hall, and was buried in the chancel of St Mary's-church: where there is no monument erected, nor so much as any particular stone laid over him; only upon one of the little squares of the pavement there is an inscription, given in the note below [F]. He left one daughter [G]; and his widow was married again afterwards to the learned Dr Antony Hall (k). Such, to the great loss of learning, was the too early end of this truly learned man. If he had lived to dispose of Josephus, he would have gone on to publish the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library; in order to which he had caused it to be fairly transcribed in six large volumes in folio. He was likewise a great assistant to several editors in Oxford; particularly to Dr Gregory in his edition of Euclid's Works; and to the industrious Thomas Hearne [H], in his new editions of Pliny's Epistles, Eutropius, Justin, and Livy: the latter especially owes its correctness to the Doctor's care and inspection (l). He assisted also, and corresponded with, many of the most eminent men in foreign parts [I]; namely, Lud. Antonio Muratori, Joh. Maria Salvini, and Francisco Bianchini, in Italy; John Boivin, Lewis Kuster, and Michael Lequien, in France; Godefrid Olearius, Joh. Burchard Menckenius, Joh. Christopher Wolfius, Henry Lewis Schurtzfleisch, Joh. George Eccard

(k) From Memoirs, as above, &c.

(l) From the said Memoirs. See also A. Hall's Preface to Edm. Bolton's Hypercritica.

10. *Tabulæ Geographicæ Nasser Edini, & Ulug Beigi.*  
11. *Catalogus Stellarum fixarum Ptolemaicus.* And the fourth volume contains, 1. *Dionysii Descriptio Mundi.* 2. *Rufi Festi Avieni Descriptio Orbis terræ.* 3. *Prisciani Periegesis.* 4. *Rufi Festi Avieni Ora maritima.* 5. *Anonymi Paraphrasis in Descriptionem Dionysii.* IV. *Dionysii Halicarnassensis Opera omnia, Græce & Latine cum Annotationibus,* Oxon. 1704, 2 tomes in folio, a beautiful and valuable edition; enriched with the various readings of an ancient copy in the Vatican Library, and of several MSS. in France. The learned editor has interspersed among the various readings, several notes of Sylburgius, Portus, Stephens, Casaubon, Valesius, and some of his own. V. *Dionysii Longini de Sublimitate Libellus, cum Præfatione de Vita & Scriptis Longini, notis, indicibus, & variis lectionibus,* Oxon. 1710, 4to. and 1718, 8vo. a very beautiful edition. VI. *Moeris Atticista de Vocibus Atticis & Hellenicis.* Gregorius Martinus de Græcarum Literarum pronuntiatione, Oxon. 1712, 8vo. VII. *Fabularum Æsopicarum Collectio quotquot Græce reperiuntur. Accedit Interpretatio Latina,* Oxon. 1718, 8vo. —He published also, *Introductio ad Chronographiam: sive ars Chronologica in epitome redacta,* Oxon. 1691, 8vo. 'An Introduction to Chronology,' extracted from Dr Beveridge's Treatise on that subject, for the use of his pupils. And had the oversight of a new edition of *Erasmi Dialogus Ciceronianus*; adding some Letters of Erasmus, and other things relating to the same subject (3).

[E] *The last he employed his learned pains about, was Josephus, whom he just finished, but did not live to publish.* He had proceeded as far as the third index, when finding himself unable to go quite through, he recommended the work to his intimate friend Mr Antony Hall, who published it in 1720, in two vols. fol. 'Tis a neat and beautiful edition, and superior, both with respect to the paper and the largeness and elegance of the types, to the subsequent one of Mr Havercamp. But the latter surpasses it with regard to the number and value of the notes; for Dr Hudson's notes, in his editions of books, are all very short. The learned editor did not meet with suitable encouragement in this work, and therefore was ready to faint under the burden both of the labour and expence of it; when he received a seasonable and unexpected cordial from the munificence of that truly generous 'encourager of liberal arts,' the Earl of Caernarvon afterwards Duke of Chandos, 'the greatness of whose soul was always superior to his great fortune (4).' And the occasion of it was thus. His Lordship enquiring of some Oxford gentlemen, at his table, what learned performances were then on foot, and who were the persons of most distinguished abilities in the University, Dr Hudson was mentioned to him, together with the great and expensive work which he was then engaged in (5): and it was not many days after, that the Doctor received a letter from his Lordship, with a note inclosed in it of two hundred guineas, which he desired he might have leave to present him with, as a token of the regard he had to his merit, and for the furtherance of his most useful undertaking (6). This generous bene-

faction the Doctor thankfully acknowledges, in the dedication to Æsop's Fables, which he published soon after, and inscribed to the Earl's eldest son, the Lord Viscount Wilton: but he more thankfully and particularly acknowledges it, in the dedication of his Josephus to that noble Earl, then newly created a Duke. His words are these. *Cum post multorum annorum laborem improbum, & magnos sumptus Josepho impensor, pene languerem, Tu solus, Vir illustrissime, benignitate Tua me labantem excitasti, & munificentia Tua effecisti, ut Operi tam difficili & laborioso par essem perficiendo.* —After Dr Hudson's decease, several sets of his Josephus were disposed of by his widow at twelve shillings a set, the booksellers refusing to give more; but when they had got them into their own hands, they immediately raised the price to 25 s. Our learned author had been long conversant with Josephus; for he revised Sir Roger L'Estrange's translation of that author with the original Greek, and added critical remarks here and there at the bottom of the page: and also digested and finished Dr Willes's two discourses prefixed to the same (7).

[F] *There is an inscription.* Which is in these words.

M. S.  
Viri Doctissimi  
Johannis Hudsoni S. T. P.  
Aulæ B. M. V. Principalis,  
Et  
Protobibliothecarii Bodleiani.  
Obiit Nov. 26. A. D. 1719.  
Ætatis 57.

[G] *He left one daughter.* Named Margaret, after her mother's name. One John Goole Vicar of Eynsham, and school-master at Whitney, both in Oxfordshire, an old fellow of fifty and upwards, drew her, or pretended to have drawn her, into a contract of marriage, and sued for half her fortune; publishing some letters that had passed between them: wherein he made it appear, that he had no more wit, and less discretion, than the young lady. She was married July 29, 1731, to the Reverend Mr John Boyce, Rector of Saintbury in Gloucestershire, son of Sir John Boyce, Alderman of Oxford, and Mayor of that city at the time of his present Majesty's coronation.

[H] *And to the industrious Tho. Hearne.* Mr Hearne was, from his youth, intimate with the Doctor, and in effect his pupil. He it was, that first put Mr Hearne upon critical studies, and was his constant guide and assistant in the prosecution of them (8).

[I] *And corresponded with many of the most eminent men in foreign parts.* Several letters from his correspondents abroad, with copies of his answers to them, were lately in the possession of his son-in-law Mr Boyce, who hath transmitted them to Dr Rawlinson, in order to enrich his additions to Wood's *Athenæ.*

(3) See Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 940, 941.

(4) As is justly observed in the patent for creating him a Duke.

(5) Viz. his Josephus.

(6) From the Memoirs, as above.

(7) See the Preface.

(8) From the above-said Memoirs.



card, and, whom he chiefly esteemed, Joh. Albert Fabricius, in Germany; Eric Benzel in Sweden; Frederic Rostgard in Denmark; James Pezron, Hadrian Reland, and John Le Clerc, in Holland, &c (m). In a word, he was in so great repute abroad, that he used frequently to complain of the expence of foreign letters, and seemed to look upon this as too severe a tax for being eminent. If not less known at home, he appears at least to have been less regarded, having never been possessed of any ecclesiastical preferment: and he used to make frequent and heavy complaints upon that subject (n). He was a man of great probity, of a sanguine complexion, a handsome and agreeable countenance, a moderate stature, and a very good constitution, 'till he impaired it by incessant study and application (o).

(m) A. Hall  
Præfat. ad Josephum, ut supra.

(n) From the  
forefaid Memoirs

(o) A. Hall Præ-  
fat. ad Josephum

C

HUGHES [JOHN], an excellent poet, a candid critic, and a very agreeable writer in prose, whose memory will do honour to the present century, in the beginning of which he flourished. He was the son of a very worthy citizen of London, by Anne, the daughter of Isaac Burges, Esq; of an antient family and a competent fortune in Wiltshire, where, in the town of Marlborough, our author was born January 29, 1677 (a). He was early brought to London, received the first rudiments of letters in some of the lesser schools of this metropolis, and, by the extraordinary care of his master, invited by his own diligence, his various acquisitions, and the manner in which they were applied, did no small honour to a private education (b). He became early and thoroughly acquainted with the Antients, which gave him a true taste and a correct judgment, at an age when, by many who yet are intended for scholars, those terms are scarce understood. He had a weak or at least a delicate constitution, which perhaps diverted him from severer studies, and inclined him to seek in the company of the sister arts, of Designing, Poetry, and Music, that amusement, which his valetudinary state of health rendered one of the greatest blessings of life (c). At nineteen he drew the outlines of a tragedy, and about the same time turned into English one of the most celebrated, but at the same time one of the most difficult, odes in Horace, in a manner and with a facility that indicated true genius [A]. His acquaintance with the Muses did not render him averse to business; he

(a) An Account  
of the Life and  
Writings of John  
Hughes, Esq; by  
William Dun-  
combe, Esq; pre-  
fixed to his  
Works, p. 1.

(b) Jacob's Lives  
of the Poets,  
Vol. I. p. 81.

(c) MS. Me-  
moirs, commu-  
nicated by Mr  
Duncombe.

[A] *That indicated true genius.* The first strokes of genius, like the first blossoms of a tree, instruct us what kind of fruit we are to expect. It is true, that subsequent culture, may alter both; but it is also true, of some genii, as of some trees, that from a natural excellence, they produce a very high flavoured fruit at first, very little inferior, to what all the art and care possible, can afterwards bring them to yield. The following translation is a proof of this (1). In it our young writer proposes not barely to render, but to expand and amplify the thoughts of his author, without extenuating, or varying his sense (2). It is a singular method of putting an ancient poet into English, and together with the version of his language, comprehends a commentary upon his sentiments; at least, such are our notions (3). The reader, upon a serious perusal, will decide how far we have done Horace, or Mr Hughes justice.

Horace, Book I. Ode XXII.

Imitated in Paraphrase.

I.

Hence slavish fear! thy Stygian wings display!  
Thou ugly fiend of Hell away!  
Wrapp'd in thick clouds, and shades of night,  
To conscious souls direct thy flight!  
There brood on guilt, fix there a loath'd embrace,  
And propagate vain terrors, frights,  
Dreams, goblins, and imagin'd sprights,  
Thy visionary tribe, thy black and monstrous race.  
Go haunt the slave that stains his hands in gore!  
Possess the perjurd mind, and rack the usurer more,  
Than his oppression did the poor before.

II.

Vainly, you feeble wretches, you prepare  
The glitt'ring forgery of war;  
The poison'd shaft, the Parthian bow and spear  
Like that the warlike Moor is wont to wield,  
Which pois'd and guided from his ear  
He hurls impetuous thro' the field:  
In vain you lace the helm, and heave in vain the  
shield;

He's only safe, whose armour of defence  
Is adamantine innocence.

III.

If o'er the steepy Alps he go,  
Vast mountains of eternal snow,  
Or where fam'd Ganges and Hydaspes flow,  
If o'er parch'd Libya's desert land  
Where, threatening from afar,  
Th' affrighted traveller  
Encounters moving hills of sand;  
No sense of danger can disturb his rest,  
He fears no human force, nor savage beast;  
Impenetrable courage steels his manly breast.

IV.

Thus late within the Sabine grove,  
While free from care and full of love  
I raise my tuneful voice, and stray  
Regardless of myself and way,  
A grizly wolf, with equal eye  
View'd me unarm'd, yet pass'd unhurtful by:  
A fiercer monster ne'er in quest of food  
Apulian forests did molest;  
Numidia never saw a more prodigious beast;  
Numidia mother of the yellow brood  
Where the stern Lion shakes his knotted mane,  
And roars aloud for prey, and scours the spacious  
plain.

V.

Place me where no soft breeze of summer wind  
Did e'er the stiffen'd soil unbind,  
Where no refreshing warmth e'er durst invade,  
But winter holds his unmolested seat,  
In all his hoary robes array'd,  
And rattling storms of hail, and noisy tempests beat,  
Place me beneath the scorching blaze  
Of the fierce sun's immediate rays,  
Where house or cottage ne'er were seen,

Nor

(1) Originally  
published in the  
translation into  
English of the  
Odes, &c. of  
Horace, by several  
hands.

(2) Hughes's  
Works, Vol. I.  
p. 113.

(3) See our au-  
thor's own sense  
in note [C].



(d) Jacob's Lives  
of the Poets,  
Vol. I. p. 81.

(e) Duncombe's  
Account of the  
Life and Writings  
of J. Hughes,  
Esq; p. 6.

(f) Jacob's Lives  
of the Poets,  
Vol. I. p. 82.

(g) Poems on se-  
veral Occasions,  
with some select  
Essays in prose,  
by J. Hughes,  
Esq; 2 vols,  
Lond. 1735.  
12mo. Vol. I.  
P. 93.

(h) Ibid. p. 256.

(i) Jacob's Lives  
of the Poets,  
Vol. I. p. 82.

(k) Duncombe's  
Account of the  
Life and Writ-  
ings of J.  
Hughes, Esq;  
p. 9.

he had a place in the Office of Ordnance, and was Secretary to several Commissions under the Great Seal for purchasing lands, in order to the better securing the royal docks and yards, at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich (d). He continued, however, to pursue his natural inclination to letters, and added to his thorough knowledge of the learned as intimate an acquaintance with the modern languages. The first public testimony he gave of his poetic vein, was in a poem on the treaty of Ryfwick, which appeared in 1697, and was received with an approbation rarely bestowed, and indeed very rarely deserved by a young poet of twenty (e). It is barely rendering justice to his character, to say that it was at once an elegant and a sprightly performance, exhibiting those qualities that are but seldom united, and in which, however, consist the great merit of his writings, ease and exactness [B]. The success that attended this poem encouraged him to write again, and in 1699 he published his Court of Neptune, on the return of King William from Holland, which he addressed to Charles Montague, Esq; afterwards Earl of Halifax, the then distinguished patron of the Muses. By this poem he not only maintained, but added to the reputation he had acquired. Strength of sentiment, and an easy versification, added lustre and sweetness to the charms of a poetic fancy, that might alone have secured the success of his poem (f). He wrote the same year a song upon the Duke of Gloucester's birth-day (g). It sometimes happens, that those who excel in verse are not equally happy in prose compositions; but this was not the case of our author, he had a great turn to contemplation, studied the faculties of the human mind, and made such deep and curious reflections on the disorders to which it is liable, as give him a title to be considered as one of the ablest, as well as one of the most entertaining, essay writers in our language. This which probably was the first, or at least one of the first, of his performances in this kind, considering he was but twenty-four when he wrote it, is really surprising, and is entitled, 'Of the Pleasure of being deceived (h)'. In 1702 he published, on the death of King William, a Pindaric ode, entitled, 'Of the House of Nassau,' which he dedicated to Charles Duke of Somerset. At the close of this truly poetic performance, there is a very fine and a very prophetic complement to Queen Anne (i). He continued to employ his leisure hours in translations and imitations of the Antients, and particularly of Horace, whose genius he justly admired, and whose writings he perfectly understood (k). His sentiments, as to the properest manner of translating him, are so judicious, and, withal, so modestly expressed in a letter to a friend, that we could not avoid giving them a place in the notes [C]. In 1703, his 'Ode in praise of Music' was performed at Stationers-Hall, with

Nor rooted plant or tree, nor springing green;  
Yet, lovely Lalage, my generous flame  
Shall ne'er expire; I'll boldly sing of thee,  
Charm'd with the music of thy name,  
And guarded by the gods of love and poetry.

[B] *Ease and exactness.* This poem opens with an invocation to the muse, who, at the author's earnest request, having wrapped him high above the world, he first discerns in looking down an obscure disturbed and troubled scene, which being dispersed by the bright effulgence of an eastern light, discovers clearly Europe to his view (4). He then proceeds thus,

Of various states, the various bounds appear;  
There wide Hispania, fruitful Gallia here;  
Belgia's moist soil, conspicuous from afar,  
And Flandria, long the field of a destructive war.  
Germania too with cluster'd vines o'erspread  
And lovely Albion from her wat'ry bed,  
Beauteous above the rest, rears her auspicious  
head.

Beneath her chalky cliffs, sea nymphs resort,  
And awful Neptune keeps his reedy court;  
His darling Thames rich presents in his hand  
Of bounteous Ceres traverses the land;  
And seems a mighty snake whose shining pride  
Does thro' the meads in sinuous volumes glide.

Ah charming isle! fairest of all the main!  
Too long thou dost my willing eye detain.  
For see a hero on the adverse strand,  
And lo! a blooming virgin in his hand!  
All hail, celestial pair!—a goddess she,  
Of heav'nly birth confess, a more than mortal he  
Victorious laurels on his brows he wears;  
Th' attending fair a branching olive bears;  
Slender her shape, in silver bands confin'd;  
Her snowy garments loosely flow behind,  
Rich with embroider'd stars, and ruffle in the  
wind.

But once such diff'ring beauty met before,  
When warrior Mars did Love's bright Queen adore;  
E'en Love's bright Queen might seem less winning  
fair,

And Mars submit to his heroic air.  
Not Jove himself, imperial Jove, can show  
A nobler mien, or more undaunted brow,  
When his strong arm, thro' Heav'n's ætherial  
plains

Compels the kindled bolt, and awful rule maintains.

And now embark'd they seek the British isles,  
Pleas'd with the charge, propitious ocean smiles.  
Before, old Neptune smooths the liquid way;  
Obsequious tritons on the surface play;  
And sportful dolphins, with a nimble glance,  
To the bright Sun their glitt'ring scales advance.  
In oozy beds profound, the billows sleep,  
No clamorous winds awake the silent deep;  
Rebuk'd, they whisper in a gentle breeze,  
And all around is universal peace.

Proceed my muse! the following pomp declare;  
Say who, and what the bright attendants were!  
First Ceres, in her chariot seated high,  
By harness'd dragons drawn along the sky;  
A cornucopia fill'd her weaker hand,  
Charg'd with the various off-spring of the land,  
Fruit, flowers, and corn; her right a sickle bore;  
A yellow wreath of twisted wheat she wore.  
Next father Bacchus with his tigers grac'd  
The show, and, squeezing clusters as he pass'd,  
Quaff'd flowing goblets of rich flavour'd wine  
In order, last succeed the tuneful Nine;  
Apollo too was there; behind him hung  
His useless quiver, and his bow unstrung;  
He touch'd his golden lyre, and thus he sung.

[C] *In the notes.* In a former note, we have taken some pains to explain our author's manner of translating Horace, one of the most agreeable, and for that

(4) Hughes's  
Works, Vol. I.  
p. 12, 13.



with great applause (l). He was allowed by the best judges to have been wonderfully happy in this, which is one of the most difficult kinds of composition; and as his merit in this way was great, so he may be justly esteemed fortunate, in having his pieces set by the greatest masters this country has produced, such as the famous Daniel Purcell, the celebrated Dr Pepusch, Mr Galliard, Mr Handel, and others (m). We shall the less wonder at his success in this kind of poetry, if we consider the rational and judicious theory which he has laid down in the preface to those six cantata's, set to music by Dr Pepusch, and published, but without our author's name; in which he gives so conspicuous, and at the same time so succinct, an account of the true grounds of this kind of poetry, that we cannot have a better specimen of his abilities as a critic, or a stronger instance of that candour with which he communicated to the public, what a poet of a more contracted mind would have reserved to himself as the great mystery of his art (n) [D]. His great delight

(l) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 163.

(m) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82. Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 125. 144, 146, 148, 149, 151, 155, 161, 162, 176. Vol. II. p. 7, 64, 66, 69, 93, 107, 121.

(n) Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 22.

that reason, one of the Latin Poets, most difficult to render into any other language than that in which he wrote. In this, our author shall give the reasons which induced him to adopt this loose open manner of translating; from which it will appear, that he did not therein consult so much his own ease, as the satisfaction of his reader, by making, not the sense only, but the manner of his author perfectly understood. To the friend to whom he addresses the ode in verse; he writes thus in prose (5).

S I R,

26 Dec. 1702.

I am sorry I could not wait on you yesterday as I intended; when I see you next, you shall know the reason, in the mean time I send this to beg your pardon, and have inclosed what I spoke to you of. That incomparable Ode which Horace has addressed to his friend Grosphus (6), I have chosen to present to one of the best of my friends in as good an English dress as I am capable of giving it. The original is one of those pieces in which Horace has shewn himself so great a master of human life, and given us at once, a view of his good sense and good humour. And this address is usual to him, for in the gravest of his odes, he does not seem to make his remarks on life like a pedant, to make you out of love with it, or to fright you from pleasure, but to invite you to the true enjoyment of it, and thus far he was certainly in the right, though in the choice of his pleasures he was often irregular (7). In this, as well as in all other respects, his moral odes infinitely exceed the chorus's in Seneca's tragedies; for in the first, you have the free and unaffected morality of a Gentleman, but in the latter, the splenetic air of a severe Stoic. This ode has been in English before, more than once, but whether well or ill translated; I leave others to judge; I shall only say, that I have seen very few translations of Horace that I can be pleased with, for most have copied only his thoughts, without any thing of his diction, which is his principal beauty: 'tis that vivacity in his stile, and particularly in his epithets, which Petronius Arbiter calls a curiosa felicitas, and in which no man ever (in my opinion) resembled him so much as Petronius himself, whose prose is as inimitable as Horace's poetry. Indeed in the time of Pope Urban VIII. (who was a poet himself) Casimire, a Polander and a jesuit, writ several odes in imitation of Horace, in which there appears a good genius; but his Latin is not pure, and, besides the disadvantage of writing in a dead language, he is defective in judgment, and his fancy is not always well governed. Those who have succeeded best in their attempts on Horace in English, have chosen the way of paraphrase as the most proper; for his sense is close wrought, and would appear stiff and obscure in a literal translation (if such a one could be made) and there are many good hints in him worth pursuing. None have pretended to copy his numbers for the Pindaric, which seems the fittest for us, and gives us a greater liberty, and variety does not answer the Latin measures. Yet I remember, I once saw an attempt to write English sapphicks (but it never was printed), and Sir Philip Sidney has composed hexameters and other verses after the Latin measure, but they are unnatural to our language for this reason, chiefly, because we abound so much in monosyllables. The sapphic measure is indeed very musical, and what Horace seems best to have practised, but methinks it is too soft, and fit only to be employed on love and pleasant easy subjects; it seems too much confined, like the usual measure of our songs, and the lofty sense of some of his odes is above it. Our English Pindaric is undoubtedly more majestic.

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stical if it be well contrived; and the various length and shortness of the lines, as well as the mixture and returns of the rhyme well chosen; and therefore, as I said before, it is the most proper for such odes as have any thing of the sublime in them: I wonder Horace did not introduce something like it into his language, being so great an admirer of Pindar, and having in other respects imitated him so finely, notwithstanding his declaration Pindarum quisquis, &c. that Pindar was inimitable, in which ode he commends him in these words.

Laureâ donandus Apollinari,  
Seu per audaces nova dithyrambos  
Verba devolvit, numerisque fertur  
Lege solutis.

Lib. IV. Ode II.

This translated by Mr Cowley,

So Pindar does new words and figures roll  
Down his impetuous dithyrambick tide,  
Which in no channel deigns t' abide,  
Which neither banks nor dikes controul.

But this does not answer to the numeris lege-solutis, by which Horace means only that Pindar's numbers were unlimited, and not confined to any set measure in those odes that were called dithyrambick, which had the most heat and fury, being first invented in honour of Bacchus. And methinks Horace might sometimes have attempted this dithyrambick measure, especially in that ode, Quo me, Bacche, rapis, &c.

But to return to the ode which I have here endeavoured to imitate; I have taken a liberty in the paraphrase, the first stanza is added, and a simile or two, but nothing more than what is agreeable to his sense, and what I thought would make him appear to the best advantage. Such as it is, Sir, I submit it entirely to your judgment, since it was first attempted for your pleasure. 'Tis upon an agreeable subject, viz. Tranquillity, and if it fails giving you any entertainment, I will readily acknowledge it to be my own fault, for I know you to be master of so much sense, so good a taste, and such just notions of human life, that I am sure Horace must please you, if he be not murdered in an ill translation. You may perceive, Sir, that as I cannot think the time long which I spend in your company, so neither can I think a letter long which I am writing to you; but I may be tempted to trespass upon you in one as well as the other, therefore I would do as persons should, after a tedious visit, use a short ceremony and withdraw.

I am, &c.

[D] As the great mystery of his art.] The following extract, from our author's preface, contains abundance of curious and sensible reflections, which are not to be met with any where else, and for this reason chiefly, have had a place assigned them here. His criticism is clear and candid; he was at great pains to acquire knowledge before he ventured to write, and yet parts with that knowledge, though so hardly attained, with that ease and freedom, which is natural to a great and good mind, delighting no less in the propagation of science, than in the possession of it (8).

It may be proper to acquaint the public, says he, that these are the first Essays of this kind, and were written as an experiment of introducing a sort of Com-

30 H

position

(8) Ibid. p. 127.

(5) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of Mr Hughes, p. 10—15.

(6) Horat. lib. ii. carm. 16.

(7) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 116.



(o) Duncombe's  
Account of the  
Life and Writings  
of J. Hughes,  
Esq; p. 29, 30.

(p) Prefixed to  
the two editions  
in folio, 1706,  
1719.

in music led him to a close acquaintance with the Italian writers, which induced the proprietors of a new translation of the celebrated work of Boccalini, to apply themselves to him to review that translation, and to give them his passport to the public; which he was prevailed upon to do; and the reader will see, within the compass of a short preface, as true and judicious a representation of that very singular, and in many respects valuable; performance, and as just and impartial an account of the author, as can be desired (o). Pieces of this kind are, generally speaking, of little importance; but, to the honour of our author, it must be observed, that, whatever he condescended to do, bore the genuine and indisputable marks of genius and science; so that this character of Boccalini, and his book, may be considered as a detached piece, expressive of our author's skill, in a very peculiar kind of critical learning (p) [E]. This excellent disposition being generally known

*position* which had never been naturalized in our language. Those who are affectedly partial to the *Italian* tongue, will scarce allow music to speak any other. But if reason may be admitted to have any share in these entertainments, nothing is more necessary than that the *words* should be understood; without which, the end of *vocal* music is lost. The want of this, occasions a common complaint, and is the chief if not the only reason that the best works of SCARLATI, and other *Italians*, except those performed in *Opera's*, are generally but little known or regarded here. Besides it may be observed, without any dishonour to a language which has been adorned by some writers of excellent genius, and was the first among the moderns, in which the art of poetry was revived and brought to any perfection, that in the great number of their *Operas*, *Serenatas*, and *Cantatas*, the words are often much inferior to the *composition*; and though by their abounding in vowels, they have an inimitable aptness and facility for notes, the writers for music have not always made the best use of this advantage, or seem to have relied on it so much as to have regarded little else; so that Mr Waller's remark on another occasion may be frequently applied to them,

Soft words with nothing in them make a song.

Yet so great is the force of *sounds* well chosen and skilfully executed, that as they can hide indifferent *sense*, and a kind of associated pleasure arises from the words, though they are but mean; so the impression cannot fail of being in proportion much greater when the thoughts are natural and proper, and the expressions unaffected and agreeable.

Since therefore the *English* language, though inferior in *smoothness*, has been found not incapable of *harmony*, nothing would perhaps be wanting towards introducing the most elegant *STYLE* of *music* in a nation which has given such generous encouragements to it; if our best poets would sometimes assist this design, and make it their diversion to improve a sort of verse in regular measures purposely fitted for music, and which of all the modern kinds, seems to be the only one that can now properly be called *LYRICK*.

It cannot but be observed on this occasion, that since *POETRY* and *MUSIC* are so nearly allied, it is a misfortune that those who excel in one, are often perfect strangers to the other. If therefore a better correspondence were settled between the two *Sister ARTS*, they would probably contribute to each other's improvement. The expressions of harmony, *cadence*, and a *good ear*, which are said to be so necessary in *poetry*, being all borrowed from *music*, shew at least, if they signify any thing, that it would be no improper help for a poet to understand more than the *metaphorical* sense of them. And on the other hand, a *composer* can never judge where to lay the *accent* of his *music*, who does not know, or is not made sensible, where the words have the greatest *beauty* and *force*.

There is one thing in compositions of this sort, which seems a little to want explaining, and that is the *RECITATIVE* music, which many people hear without pleasure, the reason of which is, perhaps, that they have a mistaken notion of it. They are accustomed to think that all music should be *AIR*, and being disappointed of what they expect, they lose the beauty that is in it of a different kind. It may be proper to observe therefore, that the *recitative* stile in composition, is founded on that variety of *accent* which pleases in the pronunciation of a *good Orator*, with as little deviation from it as possible. The different *tones* of the *voice* in astonishment, joy, sorrow, rage, tenderness in affirmations, apostrophes, interrogations, and all the

other varieties of speech make a sort of natural music, which is very agreeable, and this is what is intended to be imitated with some helps by the *composer*, but without approaching to what we call a *TUNE* or *AIR*; so that it is but a kind of *improved elocution*, or pronouncing of the words in *musical cadences*, and is indeed wholly at the *mercy* of the *performer* to make it agreeable or not, according to his skill or ignorance; like the *reading of verse*, which is not every one's *talent*. This short account may possibly suffice to shew how properly the *RECITATIVE* has a place in compositions of any length to relieve the *ear* with a variety, and to introduce the *AIRS* with the greater advantage.

[E] *Of critical learning.*] The light in which our author has been hitherto considered in the world, is almost solely as a poet, whereas he ought to be looked upon in the light of a general scholar, an able critic, and an excellent writer in prose as well as verse. To justify this character in it's full extent, and in some measure to revive that of Boccalini, far less known and regarded than it deserves, or than it was at the beginning of this century, we have made an extract from Mr Hughes's preface, which will effectually answer both the points we had in view.

The design of this book, as the author declares in his own preface, was to make a happy mixture of the pleasant and the profitable, and in this 'twill be allowed by all good judges, that he has succeeded to admiration. Whatever can be expected from a most fruitful and facetious wit; from a great variety of solid and polite learning, an improved conversation; and an accurate discernment in human affairs, is to be found assembled in this diverting and useful miscellany, which has long had the reputation of a master-piece in Italian, and is so well known by the many translations of it into the best languages of Europe, that few who are conversant with books and learning, can be wholly unacquainted with it's merit.

It is a new invented kind of fable, very different from any thing which had ever been written before, and therefore it may justly be esteemed an original, a character which Boccalini boldly assumes to himself in his preface, and in the twenty-eighth of his advices, though a concealed witling would lately have robbed him of that honour. It is very plain that this happy Italian genius is no copier, but that his project is his own, for he is the first that erected a Secretary's office in Parnassus, and gave advices from thence of what passed among the Virtuosi of that place; and therefore, for the novelty of his invention, he compares himself to Christopher Columbus, the discoverer of a new world.

But this simile being liable to some exception, may perhaps with more advantage to him be changed. Parnassus was not indeed first discovered by Boccalini, for the Antients touched upon the coast long before, and placed there Apollo, the nine Muses, and Pegasus. But our author adventured further into the country, and was the first that planted, peopled, improved it with laws, and gave us that entertaining description of it, and those excellent lessons of instruction from thence, which are contained in the following sheets.

There is no need to insist upon the usefulness of this way of conveying truth by allegory, which employs at once the utmost judgment and fancy of the writer, and is observed to make more lively impressions on the reader, than reason in it's undress can do, though it have ever so many native charms.

But there is one thing which should particularly recommend our author to Englishmen, and that is his zeal for liberty, and his generous abhorrence of those wicked politics which have so much disturbed the peace of the world, and the happiness of nations. It is no wonder



known in the literary world, our author was frequently applied to (though he seldom listened to such applications) upon like occasions. Amongst the few that merited his attention, one was, the composing a most admirable preface to the great collection of the History of England; by various hands, called the Complete History of England, and because the third volume was written by Dr Kennet, more frequently stiled Kennet's History. This preface was, on it's publication, very much esteemed, and certainly gives as clear, as satisfactory, and as impartial an account of the Historians there collected, as can be desired, and that in a stile and manner very pleasing and natural; but at the same time so particular to Mr Hughes, that it would be difficult to name any introduction of this sort that could be put in competition with it. The succeeding year, on the demise of William Duke of Devonshire, August 18, 1707, our author composed an ode set to music in honour of his memory, in the manner of a dialogue between Britannia and Augusta; the part of the former performed by Signiora Margarita, and the latter by the famous Mrs Tofts (q). It is easy to apprehend how difficult it must have been to succeed in a composition almost without a precedent, and of which, no question, there was the highest expectations; and yet, whoever reads our author's performance, will have little doubt of it's giving full satisfaction. The success which had attended the translation of Boccalini, brought a new application, in favour of one of the best received pieces of the celebrated Mr Fontenelle, which our author had translated for his amusement, and which, after it had lain by him six years, he permitted to see the light (r). In this translation, the sense of the author is clearly and happily expressed, and with such a degree of freedom and spirit, that if the fame of Mr Fontenelle had been less extensive, it might have passed for an original [F]. His numerous performances in verse and prose, his unblemished reputation, and

(q) Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 178.

(r) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 19. Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 79.

wonder if this afforded him a large subject for that matchless vein of just and well directed satire, which at last proved as fatal to this modern Roman, as the gift of eloquence did to that famous antient one Cicero; so dangerous it is to possess any extraordinary talent which keeps the vices of men in awe, and will not suffer them to do mischief securely.

And this brings us to give some account of Boccalini's life, all that is left us remarkable of him, may be dispatched in a few lines, which let the reader take as follows.

He was born at Rome about the latter end of the sixteenth century: his father was an architect, and probably not very illustrious in his profession, for it seems he wanted wherewithal to encourage his son in his studies; but Boccalini's way was to be made purely by his own merit, and though he set out into the world under great disadvantages, he soon met with considerable friends, who were charmed with his ingenious and entertaining qualities. The Italian academies received him with the greatest pleasure imaginable, and honoured him with marks of their esteem. He had a large share of wit and humour, which early took an unlucky turn towards satire, and the applause he met with for some curious pieces of that kind, which he communicated in manuscript to his familiars, drew him on to further attempts; so that thinking himself secure under the protection of his illustrious patrons, and particularly the Cardinals Borghese and Cajetan, he published his Advices from Parnassus, and afterwards his Political Touchstone. Both these pieces met with extraordinary applause, but the latter was very bold and severe, and as our ingenious Lord Bacon expresses it, He that follows truth too close at the heels, may have his brains kickt out; so it fared with Boccalini, for the Spaniards who were chiefly lashed in that satire, complained against him and pursued their revenge. This drove him in a fright to Venice, where he found new patrons, and there he employed his hours of study in writing political discourses upon Tacitus, which how well he could have performed, the reader may judge by several passages in the following advices. But this work was cut short by a bad accident, for while his friend with whom he lodged was gone out early one morning, and left Boccalini in bed, four bravo's rushed into his chamber and beat him to death with sand bags: diligent enquiry was made after the contrivers of this villainy, but they were never discovered. Thus died Trajano Boccalini, much regretted among men of the best learning and principles.

We have mentioned in the text, that the proprietors of this new translation, relied very much upon the credit which the revision of it by Mr Hughes would give it in the learned world. This shocked the natural modesty of our author to such a degree, that he excused it in the following manner, which will certainly endear him to every candid reader.

'The persons concerned in this translation, having thought that my reviewing the stile might be useful to them, I was prevailed with to do something in this kind, of which I have given some account in the preface. I with the advantage the book may have received by this small assistance, were at all proportionable to the pleasure with which it entertained my leisure hours. I cannot think the prefixing my name any recommendation of it; but since they desired it, I thought it not worth while to refuse so slight a gratification.'

J. HUGHES.

[F] It might have passed for an original.] The title of our author's translation runs at large thus:

Fontenelle's *Dialogues of the Dead*, in three Parts. I. *Dialogues of the Antients*. II. *The Antients with the Moderns*. III. *The Moderns; translated from the French, with a Reply to some Remarks in a Critique called, The Judgment of Pluto, &c. and two Original Dialogues*. London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Gray's-Inn-Gate, next Gray's-Inn-Lane, 1708.

This work is dedicated to Thomas Earl of Wharton, and in that dedication he has in a single paragraph done justice to his patron, his author, and himself. It runs thus, 'I appeal to all the World who knows my author's character, whether I could have made a more proper application. His wit, his learning, his knowledge of mankind, his exquisite taste in all that is polite; the fire of his imagination; the uncommon felicity of his eloquence, and the ready turn of his expression, are reasons which the public will think very natural to direct me in this address to your Lordship. And since my particular obligations have made it a duty, I could not omit any opportunity of acknowledging your Lordship's favours; which are attended with all the circumstances proper to leave the most grateful impressions.'

The discourse prefixed to the dialogues in defence of his author, is equally shining and solid, but in a manner so very different from the rest of Mr Hughes's works, that it gives one a very high idea of his capacity of suiting his thoughts and his language, exactly to what ever subject employed his care. The translation is at once both lively and correct, and therefore we need not wonder, that it met with a very unusual honour abroad (g), being mentioned in the French Literary Journal, as extremely well wrote, and very exact. Indeed he entered so thoroughly into the spirit of his author, that we find at the close of his performance, two dialogues entirely in his manner; and it is very much to be regretted, that he did not give us at least a volume. The first of these dialogues is between *Lucius Junius Brutus*, and *Augustus Caesar*; to shew that the greatest characters may be criticized. The other between *Empedocles*, and *Lucilio Vanini*, to prove that multitudes have been martyrs to folly.

(g) Journal des Savans, Tom. XLI. p. 214.

Some



(s) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 5.

(t) From the information of a friend of Mr Hughes's.

(u) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 16. Hughes's Works, Vol. I. p. 221.

and his exemplary candour and modesty, had by this time introduced him; not only to the most considerable members of the Republic of Letters, such as Mr Addison, Mr Congreve, Mr Pope, Mr Southerne, Mr Rowe, and many others (s); but also to some of the greatest men in the kingdom, and amongst these, to Thomas, Earl, and afterwards Marquis, of Wharton, who, to express his regard for Mr Hughes, offered to carry him over, and provide for him, when appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. But depending on the promises of another great man, who had undertaken to dispose of him more agreeably at home, he declined that obliging offer, which brought upon him a disappointment that gave him some uneasiness, though he had nothing in him of a narrow or selfish spirit (t). He amused himself about this time with the translation of one of Moliere's plays, which he performed with equal judgment and spirit, and entertained so great a liking for that excellent comic writer, that at his leisure hours he turned several scenes of his into English; one of which, that deserves the public notice, the reader will meet with in the notes (u) [G]. His friend Mr, afterwards Sir Richard, Steele, having set up that agreeable paper

Some years after he translated Mr Fontenelle's discourse concerning the *Antients* and *Moderns*, with which Sir William Temple was so highly offended, which was printed with Mr Glanville's translation of the same author's *Conversations* with the *Lady* on the *Plurality of Words*, which Sir William has as highly applauded. The publick is also indebted to Mr Hughes for another translation, which from the nature of it's subject, as well as the beauties bestowed upon it by his pen, has been better received than the rest, and ran through many editions. The title at large runs thus.

*Letters of Abelard and Heloise, to which is prefixed, a particular Account of their Lives, Amours, and Misfortunes, extracted chiefly from Monsieur Bayle.*

[G] In the notes.] The *Misanthrope*, or *Man Hater*, which is by many of the best critics esteemed the most perfect of Moliere's performances, was translated and published by Mr Hughes in the month of May 1709, with an excellent preface. This play has been since reprinted in the compleat collection of Moliere's plays in English, but without any notice of the translator, and the preface omitted, which is the reason that we have preserved it here, scarce any copies of the original edition being to be met with, and this piece become as rare as if it was a MS.

Though that variety of thought and humour, which is usual in free governments, has been generally observed to furnish the English writers of comedy, with advantages above those of any other nation; yet since the chief of them have not scrupled to borrow sometimes from Moliere, they have by thus acknowledging his merit, made it unnecessary to offer any thing in excuse of the following translation. In which the original is followed as strictly as possible, which perhaps it must not have been, if intended for the stage.

The French Drama is indeed very different from ours. Our writers choosing to neglect the mechanic beauties, have commonly introduced more persons than were necessary; divided the action by under-plots; multiplied the incidents, lengthened the time beyond a due proportion, and shifted the scene frequently in the same act and to very distant places: yet they shine wonderfully in the dialogue and raillery, and depending wholly on the force and spirit of their writing, have thought it no defect not to be esteemed the most regular builders.

The French on the other hand chiefly valuing themselves upon criticism, in which they are allowed to excel, have been very regular in the structure of their plots: that of the following comedy is formed with an open plainness and simplicity, which when there is no genius wanting in the execution, has certainly a proper grace. There are but three persons introduced in the first act; two of them continue the whole time. The place is not changed throughout the whole play; and what they call the *Liaison des Scenes*, is observed so strictly, that the stage is not once left by all the persons together, except at the end of an act.

But these it must be owned are beauties of an inferior rank. What makes this piece much more considerable, is the remarkable vein of good sense and genteel conversation that runs through it, without any mixture of low humour, and especially the part of Alceste, which one may almost venture to say, would have been spoiled in any hand but Moliere's. It required a judgment of the finest distinction, to represent in such lively colours, the infirmity of a man of the justest sense, who is always angry without brutality,

and a bold speaker without malice or ill manners. There is besides in this and the part of Celimene, if I may be allowed to borrow a word from painting, the finest contrast or opposition of character that could possibly have been invented. Her wit, which is her only good quality, needs a pardon, while his faults are beautiful; and that too great severity of taste which unfits him for the world, qualifies him to make the truest reflections upon it imaginable: for which too the poet has judiciously prepared him by a law-suit, to keep him constantly out of humour, and shew him in the strongest lights.

It is certain that the author designed this for the entertainment of the better sort of judges, and he succeeded in it accordingly: for Rapsin, the exactest critic of his nation, and who frequently treats his countrymen with the utmost severity, declares, that in his opinion, the *Misanthrope* is the most finished, and yet the most singular character that was ever brought upon the stage. And the best of their poets, Boileau, even when he censures Moliere for too much humouring the people in some of his farces, marks out this comedy as a model of the best kind.

Dans ce sac ridicule au Scapin s'enveloppe  
Je ne reconnois plus l'auteur du *Misanthrope*.

When in his sack I see poor Scapin toft,  
The author of the *Misanthrope* is lost.

On the other hand, the crowd of the audience were very little entertained at the first three representations of it. They looked for no pleasure, but the gross diversion of laughing, and were disappointed in meeting with something too refined for their taste; so that at the fourth time of it's acting, the author was forced to give them what they liked better, one of his worst farces at the end of it. By that means however they were brought to be acquainted with it by degrees, and had learned to like it so well, that the next time there was no need of the farce, but the *Misanthrope* was received with the general applause of the town, as it had before gained that of the Court and the best judges.

And this may serve to excuse the author's trifling a little in that short scene at the end of the fourth act, where Alceste's footman delivers a message to his master. The saucy pertness of a French valet de chambre, may make it seem not unnatural; and the lightness of the humour, was probably intended to relieve the gravity of the scene immediately preceding it.

When I mentioned the difference between the French stage and ours, I ought to have taken notice that this comedy is entirely written in rhyme. But though custom may have established that effeminate practice among them, and Moliere has shewn a facility in it, which is indeed wonderful, there was no reason why it should be followed in a translation. It was therefore thought a more likely way of doing justice to his thoughts, to turn them into prose, with such an air as should appear more natural for dialogue and conversation.

There is one thing, which I hope every reader will observe, that notwithstanding the just censure dramatic poetry has frequently incurred by the looseness of some writers, who in their plays have transcribed their own manners; there is nothing in this comedy but what is decent, moral, and instructive. I wish we had no occasion to be taught by our neighbours in this.

But



paper the *Tatler*, Mr Hughes contributed his assistance, as he likewise did in the *Spectator* (w). If the reader has a mind to be acquainted with the particular papers he wrote, which were as well received as any, in either of those celebrated collections, he will meet with the necessary informations at the bottom of the page [H]. In 1712, he translated

(w) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 24, 25.

But since we have often appeared so fond of learning their follies, why may we not without offence, recommend the imitation of their virtues? and as our best writers excel most of theirs in wit, they may at a very cheap rate, if they please, equal them in regularity and decorum.

Our author afterwards translated the first Act of the *Miser*, but how he came not to finish that play, is not come to our knowledge. The following scene may be considered as a detached piece, admirable in it's kind, and elegantly translated; from whence the English reader may be convinced, that if there be any thing flat, dry, or unpleasant, in any of the comedies of this author, they are not to be placed to the account of *Moliere*, but to his who attempted to put them into English, which certainly is no easy task, and therefore the greater praise is due to him whose version has the air of an original.

*Buffle and Frankly meeting* (10).

*Buff.* Dear Mr Frankly, you are well met. was going to look for you.

*Frank.* Upon what occasion pray?

*Buff.* You must know I have an affair upon my hands, a matter, I assure you, of consequence; and it is always prudent upon such occasions, to take the advice of some solid and judicious friend.

*Frank.* I'm obliged to you. Pray what is it?

*Buff.* I'll tell you. But first you shall swear not to flatter me. Don't imagine I am to be put off with a complement: I must have your real opinion,

*Frank.* You shall.

*Buff.* I know the way of the world; sincerity is scarce. But I despise the man who calls himself my friend and will not speak freely.

*Frank.* Well, you are in the right. But to the affair.

*Buff.* You promise me then, upon the faith of a friend, that you'll be very sincere with me.

*Frank.* I do. But your affair?

*Buff.* Why, what do you think if I should marry.

*Frank.* Who! You marry! What my friend Mr Buffle marry!

*Buff.* Yes, I; I myself, in my own proper person; your friend and servant Jeffrey Buffle.

*Frank.* I can't tell. You must answer me a question or two before I can advise you—In the first place how old are you?

*Buff.* How old am I?—I don't know—How old?—Why what signifies age? I am sound, as you see, and hearty,—troth, I can't very well tell how old?

*Frank.* No! That's strange. Pray how old were you when we first became acquainted?

*Buff.* I don't know—twenty, I believe; it could not be more.

*Frank.* I think we were eight years together at Rome.

*Buff.* Well.

*Frank.* Seven years I have heard you say you were in France.

*Buff.* Well.

*Frank.* How long did you stay afterwards in Holland?

*Buff.* Five years and a half.

*Frank.* Do you remember in what year you came home to England?

*Buff.* In the year 1695.

*Frank.* From 1695, to 1713, is eighteen years I take it; and five years in Holland, is three and twenty. Seven in France, makes thirty. Eight at Rome, is thirty-eight, and twenty is fifty-eight, so that by your own account, Mr Buffle, you must be now about your fifty-eighth or fifty-ninth year. Is not this true?

*Buff.* True! No. 'Tis impossible. You are mistaken, Mr Frankly; you are out in your reckoning.

*Frank.* Pardon me, I'm not out in my reckoning. Look you, Mr Buffle, you have made me promise to

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be sincere with you; and therefore in plain terms, marriage, in my opinion is not your business. It is a matter on which young people should think deliberately before they enter upon it, and old ones not at all; and if it sometimes happens to be a folly, how inexcusable would that folly be, at an age in which we are expected to be wise? I speak my naked thoughts. Marriage is honourable, but for a man of your years to think of marrying! Come, come, you are well as you are at present, and why will you venture a change which may prove for the worse?

*Buff.* Hark you, Frankly, I am resolved to marry d'ye see? I have not told you yet who the dear creature is: look you, Sir, I shall not be so ridiculous as you imagine.

*Frank.* O that alters the case, you did not tell me that.

*Buff.* Such a woman, Mr Frankly, so fine a woman! In short I am in love with her.

*Frank.* You are in love you say?

*Buff.* Positively, and I have settled matters with her father.

*Frank.* With her father!

*Buff.* Most certainly. You must know we are to be marry'd to-morrow morning.

*Frank.* O your humble servant, marry by all means. *Buff.* Why aye—I can't do better, I think my age quoth'a? Why what signifies my age? I am no cripple, you see I can walk; I don't want either a coach or a chair. I have a stomach like a ploughman—I despise your young dogs of thirty. Look in my face, I am hale, fresh, and strong, and have all my teeth in my head as sound as a Blackamoor's—My age quoth'a?—Ha, Mr Frankly, what d'ye say to me now.

*Frank.* Marry.

*Buff.* I will. You must know I had once a great aversion to matrimony; but I have altered my opinion, I would be loth the race of the Buffles should be lost.

*Frank.* O by no means.

*Buff.* Then you advise me to marry?

*Frank.* Advise you! you must, you shall marry, I'll never forgive you if you don't; you lose time, dispatch your affair as soon as possible.

*Buff.* Is that your opinion?

*Frank.* Certainly.

*Buff.* Dear Mr Frankly, let me embrace you. Well a faithful friend is a jewel.

*Frank.* One word more. Pray who is to be the happy Lady?

*Buff.* Arietta.

*Frank.* Arietta! What, the young, the bright, the gay Arietta?

*Buff.* The same.

*Frank.* Bless me! What Trapwell's fine daughter?

*Buff.* Aye.—What, you know her? Ha, what do you say to it Mr Frankly?

*Frank.* O marry, marry her by all means. You'll be finely marry'd.

*Buff.* D'ye think so? Well, you've charmed me: I am infinitely obliged to you for your advice. Pray come to my wedding.

*Frank.* I will.—The young, the gay, the beautiful Arietta! to Mr Jeffrey Buffle, who is but fifty-eight!—A most agreeable match! A delicious match! Mr Buffle, I kiss your hands.

*Buff.* Honest Frankly, fare thee well—Hark ye, before you don't fail to come—I don't know how it happens, but all the world is merry that hears of this match; I shall be prodigiously happy. Well, I am now the most satisfied of mortals.

[H] At the bottom of the page.] These admirable papers, which, in point of invention, do honour not barely to this age, but to this nation, afforded every genius an opportunity of exerting itself, and of taking the sense of the public on the performance, without appearing in person at the bar of that tribunal, before which the ablest writers do not come without concern. Mr Hughes, as we have already observed, had an early turn to essay writing; could vary his stile according to his



(\*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 31. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 81.

(z) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. P. 34.

(a) Spectator, No. 339.

(b) See the author's Dedication to the Dukes of Hamilton.

(c) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 18. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. I. p. 82.

(d) Spectator, No. 405.

'the Abbé Vertot's Revolutions in Portugal,' and thereby gratified the English reader with a very curious piece of history, written in a very peculiar manner, and with equal vivacity of stile and sentiment; to which he did so much justice, that the translation was as well received in England as the work itself had been in France (\*). The celebrated Mr Addison, whose character was equally respected as an excellent poet and a judicious critic, had a sincere regard for, and a high opinion of, our author's merit; and being sensible of his too great diffidence, pressed him extremely to publish an Ode to the Creator of the world, composed from the fragments of Orpheus, and which he thought very capable of inspiring the minds of his readers with a rational and elevated piety (z). In deference to that great man's opinion, Mr Hughes accordingly gratified the public with that admirable performance, and his friend joined his public applause, which had a just weight with the world in favour of a piece which he had privately approved (a) [I]. The same year he brought upon the stage his Opera of Calypso and Telemachus; in favour of which, under the patronage of Duke Hamilton, for Mr Hughes's merit and modesty procured him friends with all parties, he raised a considerable subscription. The Italians were alarmed at this; and when it was on the point of being acted at the theatre in the Haymarket, they obtained from the then Lord-Chamberlain, the Duke of Shrewsbury, an order either to act at common prices, or not to act at all (b). Under this discouragement, however, it was performed, and performed with applause; justifying fully the sense of it's author, that the English language, though not so soft, is nevertheless as capable of harmony as the Italian (c). He had the honour to find, besides the approbation of the public, the judgment of the most able critics on his side, and, which must have given him singular satisfaction, the open testimony of Mr Addison in his favour (d) [K]. We learn from

his subject, and a very general fund of knowledge, as well in men as books, so that there is nothing strange in his succeeding so well in these small pieces.

In the TATLER, he wrote:

No. 64. A Letter signed *Josiah Couplet*.

No. 73. A Letter against *Gamsters*, signed WILLIAM TRUSTY.

Mr Tickell alludes to this letter, in a copy of verses addressed to the Spectator. No. 532.

*From Felon Gamesters the raw 'Squire is free,  
And Britain owes her rescu'd Oaks to Thee.*

No. 113. The Inventory of a Beau.

In the SPECTATOR, the following papers were his.

- No. 33. A Letter on the Art of improving Beauty.
- 53. A Second Letter on the same Subject.
- 66. Two Letters concerning fine Breeding.
- 91. The History of *Honorio*: Or the *Rival Mother*.
- 104. A Letter on Riding Habits for Ladies.
- 141. Remarks on a Comedy entitled, *The Lancashire Witches*.
- 210. On the Immortality of the Soul.
- 220. A Letter concerning Expedients for Wit.
- 230. All, except the last Letter.
- 231. A Letter on the Awe of appearing before Public Assemblies.
- 237. On Divine Providence.
- 252. A Letter on the Eloquence of Tears and fainting fits.
- 302. The Character of *Emilia*.
- 311. A Letter from the Father of a great Fortune.
- 375. A Picture of Virtue in Distress.
- 525. On Conjugal Love.
- 537. On the Dignity of Human Nature.
- 541. Rules for Pronunciation and Action, chiefly collected from *Cicero*.
- 554. On the Improvement of *Genius*, illustrated in the Characters of the Lord *Bacon*, Mr *Boyle*, Sir *Isaac Newton*, and *Leonardo da Vinci*.

[I] Which he had privately approved.] In a very short introduction prefixed to this ode, our author observes, that whether those fragments from which it was composed, were indeed written by that celebrated father of poetry and music, who preceded Homer, or by Onomacritus, who lived about the time of Pisistratus, and only contain some of the doctrines of Orpheus, is a question of little use or importance. This ode consists of ten stanza's, and Mr Addison at the close of one

of his criticisms upon Milton, gives it the following character (11). 'I cannot conclude this book upon the Creation, without mentioning a poem which has lately appeared under that title. The work was undertaken with so good an intention, and is executed with so great a mastery, that it deserves to be looked upon as one of the most useful and noble productions in our English verse. The reader cannot but be pleased to find the depths of philosophy enlivened with all the charms of poetry; and to see so great a strength of reason, amidst so beautiful a redundancy of the imagination. The author has shewn us that design in all the works of nature, which necessarily leads us to the knowledge of it's first cause. In short, he has illustrated by numberless and incontestable instances, that divine wisdom which the son of Sirach has so nobly ascribed to the Supreme Being in his formation of the world, when he tells us, that he created her, and saw her, and numbered her, and poured her out upon all his works.'

[K] Of Mr Addison in his favour.] The provocation which our author had received from the measures taken to embarrass, or even to defeat, the performance of his opera, might have excused at least, his revenging himself from the press for the injury he had sustained in the theatre. But such was the habitual calmness of Mr Hughes, such the natural candour of his temper, that without taking notice how ill he had been used, the point he principally labours in his preface, is to shew that he was in the right; that it was not the affectation merely of introducing foreign diversions, that brought the Italian opera here into such credit; that this rather arose from the refined taste, and correct judgment of the English nation, always desirous of having the most perfect models before them, not barely to gaze at, but to work from; that therefore the encouraging English opera's, was the natural and proper consequence of bringing Italian performances into fashion; and that it was false and pedantic, to believe the Italian tongue had an exclusive privilege of being aptly and successfully set to music. He owns, that from the frequency of vowels, it is smooth and melodious; but he likewise observes, that the redundancy of them makes it so open and loose, as to border on effeminacy. He insists, that consonants are sometimes necessary to bind the language; and that English words, artfully disposed, are capable in every respect, of conveying the most delightful harmony. Having established these principles, he proceeds thus (12).

But what is certainly of much more consequence in 'dramatical entertainments, is, that they should be performed in a language understood by the audience. One would think there should be no need to prove this. The great pleasure in hearing vocal music, arises from the association of the ideas raised at the same time by the expressions and the sounds. Where these ideas are separated, half the impression is wanting; and where they are improperly joined, it is imperfect.

(11) Spectator, No. 339.

(12) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. P. 13.



from the preface prefixed to the *Guardian*, that Mr Hughes, amongst the other great wits and able writers of those times, contributed not a little to the support of that agreeable as well as useful work; but we have no account of the particular papers that he wrote, except one, which contains very judicious remarks upon the tragedy of *Othello*, in which the beauties and the blemishes of that affecting play are critically and candidly represented. Amongst the other projects formed by Mr Tonson, in consequence of his acquaintance with the most considerable wits of the age, was an English translation of the works of Lucan, and, as was very natural, he applied himself to Mr Hughes, who at his request translated the tenth book with great elegance; but by some means or other this design was then laid aside, and Mr Rowe afterwards undertook and accomplished the translation of the whole, though he died before it was published. It is the more necessary to set this little transaction in a true light, to prevent an apprehension that either of these gentlemen had ever an intention to interfere with the other in a matter of this nature, which had been inconsistent with that friendship which they professed for each other, and which, as we have shewn in the text, subsisted till the death of Mr Rowe without interruption or coolness. As the world was obliged to Mr Addison for the sublime ode beforementioned, we are assured, that it owed to Mr Hughes the prevailing upon his friend, contrary to the judgment of others, and amongst them one of the most able and esteemed critics of that time, the bringing his tragedy of *Cato* upon the stage (e). The history of this transaction is curious, and the conduct of Mr Hughes throughout, so perfectly consistent with the character he had established in point of probity and candour, that we have given it a place in the notes, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive reader (f) [L]. His next performance

(e) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 20, 21.

(f) See the note.

imperfect. It is probable too, that the pleasure we receive from the most pathetical strains of instrumental music, is in part assisted by some ideas, which we affix to them of passions, which seem to be expressed by those strains. If the airs in opera's may be heard with delight; for the same reason, even when the words are not understood, yet it is impossible the recitative should give pleasure which can raise no such ideas, this being not so properly singing, as speaking in musical cadences. And the use of it seems to be introduced, for the very same reason which is given by Aristotle for the establishing the use of the iambick verse in the Greek tragedy, which is that, though it has not the charms of some other kinds of verse, yet it is more proper for action and dialogue, as it approaches nearer to common speech.

(13) *Spectator*, No. 405.

Mr Addison opens one of his *Spectators* thus (13). 'I am very sorry to find by the Opera bills for this day, that we are likely to lose the greatest performer in dramatic musick that is now living, or that perhaps ever appeared upon a stage. I need not acquaint my reader, that I am speaking of Signior Nicolini. The town is highly obliged to that excellent artist, for having shewn us the Italian music in it's perfection, as well as for that generous approbation he lately gave to an opera of our own country, in which the composer endeavoured to do justice to the beauty of the words, by following that noble example which has been set him by the greatest foreign masters in that art.'

This opera was that of *Calypso* and *Telemachus*, and the composer Mr Galliard, to whom also our author in his preface makes the highest acknowledgments, and is even so modest to say, that he had offered a much more prevailing argument than any himself could urge, to shew, that the English language is capable of the most agreeable graces of harmony.

[L] *Of the inquisitive reader.* We shall give this singular piece of poetical history in the very words of the author, who from his own knowledge relates it (14). 'It has been often said, by very good judges, that *Cato* was no proper subject for a dramatic poem: that the character of a Stoic philosopher is inconsistent with the hurry and tumult of action and passion, which are the soul of tragedy. That the ingenious author miscarried in the plan of his work, but supported it by the dignity, the purity, the beauty, and the justness of the sentiments.'

This was so much the opinion of Mr Maynwaring, who was generally allowed to be the best critic of our time, that he was against bringing the play upon the stage, and it lay by unfinished many years. That it was played at last was owing to Mr Hughes. He had read the four acts which were finished, and rightly thought it would be of service to the public to have it represented at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, when the old English spirit of liberty was as likely to be lost, as it had ever been since the Conquest. He

endeavoured to bring Mr Addison into his opinion, which he did so far, as to procure his consent that it should be acted, if Mr Hughes would write the last act, and he offered him the scenery for his assistance, excusing his not finishing it himself, on account of some other avocations. He pressed Mr Hughes to do it so earnestly, that he was prevailed on and set about it. But a week after seeing Mr Addison again, with an intention to communicate to him what he had thought of it, he was agreeably surprized at his producing some papers, where near half of the act was written by the author himself, who took fire at the hint, that it would be serviceable; and upon a second reflexion, went through with the fifth act. Not that he was diffident of Mr Hughes's ability, but knowing that no man could have so perfect a notion of his design as himself, who had been so long and so carefully thinking of it. I was told this by Mr Hughes; and I tell it to shew, that it was not for the love-scenes that Mr Addison consented to have his tragedy acted, but to support the old Roman and English public spirit, which was then so near being suppressed by faction and bigotry.'

Soon after the Tragedy of *Cato* was acted, Mr Hughes sent the author a copy of verses in praise of it, which were afterwards printed before it, with several other copies. On this occasion, and a resolution taken not to publish it immediately, Mr Addison wrote the following letter (15).

(15) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Esq; p. 22, 23.

Dear Sir,

24 April, 1713.

'This is to acquaint you, that I am forced to practise a great piece of self-denial. In short, I must deprive my play of the noble ornament you designed for it. My friends, who all of them concur with me in admiring your beautiful copy of verses, are however of opinion, that it will draw upon me an imputation of vanity; and as my play has met with an unexpected reception, I must take particular care not to aggravate the envy and ill-nature that will rise on course upon me. Besides, to tell you truly, I have received other poems upon the same occasion, and one or two from persons of quality, who will never pardon me, if I do not give them a place at the same time that I print any other.'

'I know your good sense and friendship towards me, will not let you put a wrong interpretation on this matter; and I am sure I need not tell you, with how much sincerity and esteem, I am,

S I R,

Your most obliged, and most

faithful humble servant,

To Mr HUGHES.

J. ADDISON.

To this Mr Hughes returned the following modest reply.

Dear

(14) Essay on Criticism; Lond. 1728. p. 6.



(g) Jacob's Lives  
of the Poets,  
Vol. I. p. 203.

(b) See Spenser's  
Life, by Mr  
Hughes.

(i) Duncombe's  
Account of the  
Life and Writings  
of J. Hughes,  
Esq; p. 36.

(k) Hughes's  
Works, Vol. II.  
p. 109.

(l) Communica-  
ted by Mr Dun-  
combe.

performance which attracted the attention of the public, was his edition of Spenser's Works, which the lovers of English history, as well as poetry, had long wished, and which, as our author carefully and judiciously performed, so it was perfectly well received (g). There was, indeed, no man of his time more equal to the task; and, on the other hand, there was probably no task that could have proved more acceptable to him. Spenser and Hughes seem to be allied by genius. Both great poets, both remarkable for their strict morals, both public spirited men, both well received by the great, and yet neither of them much indebted to fortune (b). It was happy for the memory of Spenser, that the revival and illustration of his writings were committed to a person of such candour and capacity. It must have been a very pleasing labour to Mr Hughes, to restore the sense, to revive the honour, to repair and deck with fresh garlands, the monument of so worthy a man. The spirit and elegance with which he discharged his trust as an editor, are incontestable proofs of all that we have advanced (i) [M]. The same year his Apollo and Daphne appeared upon the stage, in the fate of which his friend Sir Richard Steele interested himself very much (k). Their acquaintance had been of a long standing; and we may remark, to the honour of our author, that, though he very easily made, he very rarely lost, a friend [N]. He was no less in the good graces of Mr Pope, of whom he had a very high opinion, and a generous and kind concern for the success of his Homer; which, as it was very natural for him to do, Mr Pope received with a proper degree of gratitude and respect, as his own letters very clearly express, which for that reason have a place given them in the notes (l) [O]. Our author lived also in a constant course of intimacy

Dear Sir,

25 April, 1713.

'I am extremely obliged to you for your kind letter. The warm expressions of friendship in it, give me a much more sensible pleasure than any I could receive from the approbation of my verses. I own, when they were writ, I had no thoughts of your printing them; and though nothing would flatter me so much in the making them public, as the satisfaction of seeing my name with your's: yet I am one of those friends, who think your present resolution perfectly right, and entirely acquiesce in your reasons. I cannot but applaud, at the same time, your chaste enjoyment of fame, which I think equally above envy, and incapable of receiving any addition.

I am with all possible esteem,

S I R,

Your most affectionate, and most

obedient humble servant,

To Mr ADDISON.

J. HUGHES.

[M] *Of all that we have advanced.* This work was printed by subscription, and his reputation being now thoroughly established, was of greater consequence to Mr Hughes, than any thing he had hitherto published. It is dedicated to John Lord Somers, whom he complements upon his having brought Milton into reputation, by patronizing a magnificent edition of his *Paradise Lost*, which induced him to put Spenser, who was in some sort Milton's master, under his Lordship's protection likewise. His life of Spenser is succinct, but written with great solidity, affords a fair and true picture of the author, without the least mixture of fustian panegyric. The discourse on allegoric poetry, is a clear, learned, and comprehensive system of the rules, requisite to be understood, in order to writing or judging properly of that kind of poetry; and is not only instructive and entertaining, but very curious likewise, as it was a subject untouched by any of the critics who went before him. The remarks on the *Fairy Queen*, are very judicious and impartial, give the reader a true idea of the nature, design, and disposition of that work, which was extremely necessary towards its being generally and thoroughly understood. In this short piece, Mr Hughes has pointed out the principal beauties of that singular poem, some of which are perhaps superior to those of any other, in any age or language. He has likewise shewn the blemishes in a manner becoming a candid critic, and one who thought himself obliged to furnish his reader with all the information that lay in his power. His discourse on the *Shepherd's Kalendar*, and the smaller pieces of Spenser, is likewise very sensibly and correctly written, and contains some new and very useful reflections on pastoral and elegiac poetry. There is likewise a short, perhaps too short, glossary, for the explanation of the

antique words, which Spenser had adopted from his great veneration of Chaucer. On the whole, he may be truly said, to have given an elegant and pleasing edition of all the works extant of that admired writer, in a manner that did great credit to himself, at the same time, that it revived and restored the writings of one of our greatest poets, which had suffered exceedingly from the incorrectness and want of critical judgment in former editors. The prose works, and the letters of Spenser and his friend Mr Gabriel Harvey, with the admirable Latin translation of the *Shepherd's Kalendar*, by Bathurst, are also contained in this edition, which was as kindly received by the public as it deserved.

[N] *He very rarely lost a friend.* It may not be amiss to observe here, that our author had formerly exercised his genius upon the same subject; and we find a cantata with this very title, set by Mr Galliard, from which however, he borrowed only the last air, which is the same both in the cantata and in the masque. The letter from Sir Richard Steele, was this (16).

(16) Communicated by William Duncombe, Esq;

St James's-street,

Jan. 8, 1715.

Dear Sir,

A paper called the Town-Talk is particularly designed to be helpful to the stage. If you have not sent the Masque which is to come out on Thursday to press, if you please to send me the copy, it shall be recommended to the Town, and published on Thursday night with that paper.

Your affectionate friend,

and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

[O] *In the notes.* Our author had some years before, interposed his advice in respect to Mr Pope's translation of Homer, and like a poet and a friend, proposed it in verse (17). If the reader will consider the occasion, the nature of the counsel given, and the delicacy of the complement, he cannot but conceive highly of our author's capacity as well as candour.

(17) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 90.

O thou, who with a happy genius born,  
Can't tuneful verse in flowing numbers turn,  
Crown'd on thy Windfor's plains with early bays,  
Be early wise, nor trust to barren praise.  
Blind was the bard that sung Achilles' rage,  
He sung and begg'd, and curs'd th' ungiving age;  
If Britain his translated song wou'd hear,  
First take the gold——then charm the list'ning  
ear,  
So shall thy father Homer smile to see  
His pension paid,——tho' late, and paid to  
thee.

The



intimacy and friendship with Mr Nicholas Rowe (*m*), and there is some reason to believe, composed, at his request, the New-Year's Ode for the year 1717, as the reader may collect from a paper which is preserved at the bottom of the page [*P*]. It was in this year that Earl Cowper, to whom he had been but lately made known, appointed him Secretary to the Commissions of the Peace, an honourable employment, and of considerable value, and conferred upon him many other marks of friendship and favour (*n*). These were returned by Mr Hughes with all possible testimonies of the most respectful gratitude, as appears by several poems addressed to that noble Lord (*o*), whose concern for Mr Hughes was so great, that, when he resigned his own employment, he by a letter, of which Mr Hughes himself was the bearer, made it his request to Lord Parker, afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, to continue him in the office which he had bestowed upon him (*p*); which his Lordship, who was also a true lover of learning, and a kind patron to learned men, very willingly did; and to him also our author paid his tributary verse, in a manner suitable to the favour bestowed (*q*). About this time he published, in a little pamphlet, a very singular piece, entitled 'CHARON: or, the Ferry-Boat, a Vision.' This, with Mr Walsh's ESCULAPIUS, or the Hospital of Fools, has always been esteemed, not inferior to any thing preserved to us from the Antients. It stands now very justly placed amongst his works; but we regret the dedication to the Swiss Count, which, out of prudential reasons, is omitted, though it contained a satirical vision, no less entertaining and instructive than the little performance to which it is an introduction (*r*). But the manager of the masquerades was thought too great a character to be so slightly treated. Yet, as he was himself a man of true humour, with a great fund of good sense, it might possibly have kept it's post undisturbed, had he been consulted. It was highly admired by the judicious Earl Cowper. His circumstances were now easy, but his health, which was never good, grew daily worse and worse, from the nature of his distemper, a lingering incurable consumption. Yet happily the decay of his body did not affect either his temper or his mind. The same serenity, the same gentleness of spirit, the same goodness of heart, as well as the same warmth of friendship, and the same solidity of understanding, appeared to the very last (*s*). Sir Godfrey Kneller, with whom he had long lived in great intimacy, painted his picture, which, a few weeks before he died, Mr Hughes presented to Earl Cowper, who wrote him a very affectionate letter in return (*t*). This was not the ultimate act of his zealous gratitude to that noble peer; for, but ten days preceding his death, he composed the dedication of his last work, written with as much spirit, ease, and accuracy, as any thing that ever fell from his pen, as the final acknowledgment of his patron's goodness (*u*). This last work, was his tragedy, entitled the SIEGE of DAMASCUS; in which the sublimity of the sentiment, the correctness of the language, the propriety of the characters, the pathetic pictures of passion, and the judicious disposition of the whole piece, render it worthy of the latest cares of so eminent a poet and so good a man (*w*). It was brought upon the stage February 17, 1719-20, the very day it's author died, and met

(*m*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 15, 16. Jacob's Lives of the Poets, Vol. II. p. 212.

(*n*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 2, 4.

(*o*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 131, 133, 141.

(*p*) See our author's dedication of the Siege of Damascus.

(*q*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 152.

(*r*) Printed for W. Lewis near Covent-Garden, 1719. 8vo.

(*s*) MS. Memoirs, communicated by Mr Duncombe.

(*t*) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of J. Hughes, Esq; p. 4.

(*u*) Hughes's Works, Vol. II. p. 167.

(*w*) See the note [R].

The same friendly disposition which induced Mr Hughes to interpose originally, inclined him to enquire also after the progress of the undertaking, with a friendly zeal that deserved and received the approbation of Mr Pope, as the following letter will shew (18).

Dear Sir,

Ever since I had the pleasure to know you, I have believed you one of that uncommon rank of authors who are undesigning men, and sincere friends; and who, when they commend another, have not any view of being praised themselves. I should be therefore ashamed to offer, at saying any of those civil things in return to your obliging complements in regard to my translation of Homer, only I have too great a value for you, not to be pleased with them; and yet I assure you, I receive praises from you with less pleasure than I have often paid them to your merit before, and shall, I doubt not, have frequent occasions of doing again, from those useful pieces you are still obliging us with.

If you was pleased with my preface, you have paid me for that pleasure in the same kind, by your entertaining and judicious essays on Spenser. The present you make me, is of the most agreeable nature imaginable, for Spenser has been ever a favourite poet to me. He is like a mistress, whose faults we see, but love her with them all.

What has deferred my thanks 'till now, was a ramble I have been taking about the country, from which I returned home, and found your kind letter, but yesterday. A testimony of that kind, from a man of your turn, is to be valued at a better rate than the ordinary estimate of letters will amount to.

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I shall rejoice in all opportunities of cultivating a friendship I so truly esteem, and hope very shortly to tell you in town, how much I am,

S I R,

Your obliged and faithful

humble servant,

7 Oct. 1715.

A. POPE.

Since you desire to hear of my progress in the translation, I must tell you, that I have gone through four more books, which with the remarks, will make the second volume.

[*P*] At the bottom of the page ] There is something in the following letter (19), which does great honour to Mr Hughes; it shews that his parts were confessed, and at the same time his capacity esteemed, not only by those who were the best judges, but by those, who if his candour and friendly turn had not been to the full as conspicuous as his abilities, would very probably have considered him as their rival.

(19) Communicated by the same hand.

Covent-Garden,  
Oct. 22, 1716.

Dear Sir,

As you were so good formerly to promise me a little of your poetical assistance, you can never give it me at a time when it will be more useful than now. I beg you will be so good to think of some words for Mr Eccles on the New Year. The entertainment is not to consist of above half an hour in time at most; three or four airs, with some little recitative between, is what the composer will be glad of. I need not tell you,

30 K



(x) Jacob's Lives  
of the Poets,  
Vol. I. p. 327.

(y) Hughes's  
Works, Vol. II.  
p. 299.

met with the highest applause (\*) [2]. After his decease was published a philosophical ode of his, called the *ECSTACY*, in which there is a very fine complement to Sir Isaac Newton; and the whole, which contains eleven stanzas, is not inferior to any in our language (y). The only sister of this gentleman, a most ingenious and amiable woman, married, in the year 1726, William Duncombe, Esq; younger brother of John Duncombe, of Stocks in the county of Hertford, Esq; who is the editor of Mr Hughes's Works, which he dedicated to the present Earl Cowper; adding, to those that had been before made public, some poems that were in the hands of the author's dear friend, Alexander Strahan, Esq; to whom the world is indebted for the six first books of Virgil's *Æneid* in Miltonic verse. Mrs Duncombe died in 1735, leaving an only son, the Reverend John Duncombe, M. A. Fellow of Corpus-Christi-college in the university of Cambridge. This young gentleman, treading in the steps of his worthy uncle, has published some poetical pieces which have been well received, and is the only near relation of Mr Hughes that still survives. We will conclude this article with a short character of our author, from Remarks upon the Writings of our modern English Poets, not yet published. This gentleman, Mr John Hughes, was more solicitous to deserve fame than ambitious of possessing it. He was by nature addicted to study, and, with a great genius, had a vast fund of diligence, an exquisite taste, a correct judgment; but, with all these qualities, was modest, and even diffident to a surprising degree; which hindered him from collecting or publishing many valuable pieces of poetry, and some of prose likewise. How well he was acquainted with the Antients, and how proper a use he made of that acquaintance, appears from his translations and imitations of Orpheus, Tyrtæus, Pindar, Anacreon, and Euripides, amongst the Greeks; as well as from Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Claudian, amongst the Romans. This did not, however, prejudice him against the Moderns; he translated also from the French; and his *Birth of the Rose*, from a writer of that country, is not the least beautiful piece amongst his works. His skill in music, which was exquisite, gave him such an advantage over other poets, as might with proper encouragement have carried the English opera as high as the Italian. His talent for lyric poetry was justly admired, and his tragedy of the siege of Damascus was an instance that pain and sickness could not abate the fire of his genius, or hinder him from giving marks of it as long as he lived. He did not write, at least he did not publish, much; but if we consider him as invalid almost through his whole life, his avocations on account of business, and that he was but forty-two when he ceased to live, and also call to mind how correct every thing was that came from him, we must retract our assertion, and allow he published a great deal. His character as a critic was at least equal to his character as a poet, but were both exceeded by his character as a man and a christian. His religion was sincere without severity, his morals strict but not austere, his conversation equally instructive and pleasant. To say all of him he deserved would be a hard task. Let it suffice then—the man whom the Bishop of Winchester esteemed as a friend, the man whom Mr Addison admired as a poet, the man whose goodness and integrity Mr Pope had in veneration [R]—could be no ordinary man.

you, that you are the fittest man in the world for this occasion, by your equal knowledge of music and poetry. I will only beg you now, for friendship's sake, to have compassion on,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate, and

faithful humble servant,

N. ROWE.

[2] *And met with the highest applause.* There have been very few plays which have succeeded so well as this, more especially when it is remembered, that the author could not attend the performance of his own play, or give those directions before it was brought on, which none but he could give; it was well received however then, and has maintained its credit ever since. It pleases the many and the few, and is equally acceptable on the stage and in the closet; at the first representation, there was much notice taken of a scene in the third act (20), where the reflections upon death are equally solemn and pathetic. Caled, who commands the Saracen army, thus speaks to Phocyas, who is the Hero of the drama.

— Thou hast an hour to live

If thou art wise, thou may'st prolong that term;  
If not—why—fare thee well, and think of death.

Phocyas alone.

Farewel, and think of death!—was it not so?  
Do murderers then preach morality?—

But how to think of what the living know not,  
And the dead cannot, or else may not tell?—  
What art thou, O thou great mysterious terror!  
The way to thee we know; diseases, famine,  
Sword, fire, and all thy ever-open gates  
That day and night stand ready to receive us.  
But what's beyond them—who will draw that veil?

Yet death's not there—No; 'tis a point of time  
The verge 'twixt mortal and immortal being.  
It mocks our thought!—On this side all is life;  
And when we've reach'd it, in that very instant  
'Tis past the thinking of!—O! if it be  
The pangs, the throes, the agonizing struggle  
When soul and body part, sure I have felt it,  
And there's no more to fear.

Sir Richard Steele applied this scene to the author's dying in a manner while it was acting, in a paper which he dedicated to his memory (21); which was also celebrated in a poem by a Lady, and in some very fine copies of verses by William Cowper, William Duncombe, John Bunce, Esquires, and other friends; so that as none could be more justly, none was more deeply regretted than Mr Hughes.

[R] *Mr Pope had in veneration.* In support of this, considered as a point of fact, which does equal honour to both their memories, we will give the reader in this note, some letters of Mr Pope to our author, and others addressed to some of his nearest relations, which very fairly and fully express his sentiments of him as a poet and an honest man. The two first were written upon Mr Hughes's submitting the *Siege of Damascus*

(20) Hughes's  
Works, Vol. II.  
p. 233, 234.

(21) The Theatre,  
No. 15.



mascus to his perusal; the third was addressed to him the very day after he died (22).

his play of the Siege of Damascus. Mr Pope in return wrote him the following letter, to condole his loss, and to acknowledge his civility.

(22) Duncombe's Account of the Life and Writings of John Hughes, Esq; p. 25.

Twickenham, 22 Jan. 1719-20.

February 26, 1719-20.

Dear Sir,  
Your letter found me, as I have long been, in a state of health, almost as bad as that you complain of; and indeed what makes me utterly incapable of attending to any poetical task, even that of Homer.

I can only say with sincerity, I am heartily concerned for your illness, and the more uneasy with my own, in that it hinders me from serving you.

I truly wish you health and life, to enjoy that reputation and those advantages which so much ingenuity joined with so much virtue, deserves.

As soon as I am able to be in town, I will wait on you with the play, in which, and in every thing else, I wish you all success.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your faithful, and most

obedient servant,

To Mr HUGHES.

A. POPE.

Dear Sir,

I return you the play sooner than I am willing to part with what I like so extremely well, because you press it. Upon my word, I think it every way worthy of you, and make not the least doubt, but the world will do you the justice you deserve, in the acceptance of it.

I continue very much out of order, but must be forced to be in town (well or ill) some days this week, upon indispensable affairs: When I will wait upon you and tell you my sincere thoughts, none of which is more sincere, than that I am truly,

Your most obliged, and most

faithful servant,

To Mr HUGHES.

A. POPE.

Twickenham, Feb. 18, 1719-20.

Dear Sir,

I have been much concerned not to have waited upon you as I designed, since you obliged me with your play. I am since much more troubled to hear of the continuance of your illness.

Would to God you might live as long as I am sure the reputation of your tragedy must! I am a fellow-sufferer with you, in not being able to see it played, having been and still being too much indisposed to go to any public place. But I could be extremely glad some particular friends of mine had that pleasure I cannot enjoy: you would highly favour me, in letting three or four ladies have a side box, who have sent into the country to me, upon information, that the boxes are disposed of by you.

I am sorry to give you this trouble, when perhaps for your health's sake you should not have a moment's disturbance, and I could not send sooner at this distance. Pray think I wish you all the success you deserve, and all the health you want.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your most affectionate

humble servant,

A. POPE.

After the death of Mr Hughes, upon his brother's sending Mr Pope, amongst other friends to the author,

S I R,

I can't omit the acknowledgment I really think I owe your great civility, especially at so melancholy and affecting a moment, as that of your worthy brother's death must have been to you. Indeed even his common acquaintance must have known enough of him to regret his loss, and I most heartily condole with you upon it.

I believe I am further obliged to you for his play which I received yesterday, and read over again with more concern and sorrow than I ever felt in the reading any tragedy. The real loss of a good man, may be called a distress to the world, and ought to affect us more than any feigned or ancient distress how finely drawn forever.

I am glad of an occasion to give you under my hand this testimony, both how excellent I think this work to be, and how excellent I thought the author.

I am, with my hearty thanks to you,

Sir,

Your most obliged, and most

humble servant,

To Mr JABEZ HUGHES.

A. POPE.

When Mr Pope was applied to by Mr Duncombe to permit part of this last letter to appear as it does in the memoirs; he wrote him a very frank answer, and another very kind letter upon his receiving those works with the memoirs, both of which follow (23).

Twitnam, Nov. 5, 1734.

S I R,

I am extremely willing to bear any testimony of my real regard for Mr Hughes, and therefore what you mention of my letter to his brother after his death, will be a greater instance of the sincerity with which it was given: it is perfectly at your service.

I thank you for the tenderness with which you deal in this matter toward me, and I esteem you for that which you shew to the memory of your kinsman. I doubt not but you will discharge it in a becoming manner, and am,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

To Mr DUNCOMBE.

A. POPE.

Twitnam, 6 May, 1735.

S I R,

Many thanks for your kind present in which I find several very pleasing and very correct pieces of his, which are new to me.

I beg you to accept of the new volume of my things just printed, which will be delivered by Mr Doddsley, the author of the Toyshop, who is just set up as a Bookfeller.

I am,

S I R,

Your most obliged,

humble servant,

To Mr DUNCOMBE.

A. POPE.  
E

(23) These letters are communicated by William Duncombe, Esq;



HUNTINGTON [ROBERT], a learned Bishop in the beginning of this century, was the second son of Robert Huntington, Minister of Deorhyrst in Gloucestershire, and born at that place in February 1636. Having been educated in Grammar-learning at the free-school in Bristol, he was admitted, at the age of sixteen, a Portionist of Merton-college in Oxford (a); where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts March 9, 1657-8 (b). By his ingenuity, learning, and good behaviour, he so ingratiated himself with the members of that society, that they unanimously chose him Fellow, as soon as qualified by their statutes (c). On the 21st of January, 1662-3, he took the degree of Master of Arts (d); and having run through the usual course of arts and sciences, applied himself with the utmost diligence to the study of Divinity, and of the Oriental languages. The latter became of infinite service to him afterwards: for, upon the resignation of Mr Robert Frampton [A], Chaplain to the English Factory at Aleppo, he was chosen his successor in that honourable employment; wherein he acquitted himself much to his own credit, as well as that of his constituents, and of the whole English nation. He sailed from England in September 1670 [B], and in about four months reached Scandarone; from whence he travelled to Aleppo, where he was received with great respect by the Factory (e). During his eleven years residence in this place, he applied himself particularly, next to the duties of his function, to search for and procure manuscripts [C]. And, for that purpose, kept a correspondence with the learned and eminent of every profession and degree [D]; which his knowledge in the Eastern languages, especially the Arabic, enabled him to do (f). He travelled also, for his diversion and improvement, not only in the adjacent, but likewise in distant places. And after having carefully visited almost all Galilee and Samaria [E], he took a journey to Jerusalem, with some of his congregation

(a) D. Roberti Huntingtoni Vita, scriptore Tho. Smitho, Lond. 1704. 8vo. p. 1, 2.

(b) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721. col. 115.

(c) Smith, p. 2.

(d) Wood, ubi supra, col. 149.

(e) Smith, ubi supra, p. 4.

(f) Smith, ut supra, p. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21.

[A] Upon the resignation of Mr Robert Frampton.] The same that afterwards became Bishop of Gloucester. But to give a more particular account of him: he was born at Pimperm in Dorsetshire, anno. 1622, admitted into Corpus-Christi-college in Oxford in 1637, elected thence a Student of Christ's-church, where he took a Bachelor of Arts degree, 25 June, 1641. Upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he retired to his native country, and kept a school at Turnwood: some time after, he was made chaplain of a man of war; and, either upon the ship's going into the East, or through his interest with the leading members of the Turkey-company, he was appointed, in 1654, chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo. In that station he continued sixteen years, namely 'till 1670. And at his final departure brought over such ample testimonials of his eminent services, that in 1672, he was made Prebendary both of Salisbury and Gloucester. In 1673, he was advanced to the Deanry of Gloucester; and March 27, 1681, consecrated Bishop of the same. But he was deprived of it February 1, 1690-1, for refusing to take the oaths to King William III. Thereupon he retired to Standish near Gloucester, where he died 25 May, 1708, aged 86 (1).

[B] He sailed from England, in September 1670.] During the voyage, the ship touching at one of the islands in the Archipelago, to take in water, Mr Huntington and several others went on shore, and ascended up a hill, in order to view the island, the sea, and the country adjacent. Some of the thievish and vagabond Greeks on the continent observing them, landed with all expedition in the opposite part of the island, with a view of intercepting them, and cutting off their retreat. For, those places abound with nests of plunderers and pirates (2). But our travellers observing them in time, and guessing their design, prevented them, and ran to their ship with the utmost precipitation (3).

[C] To search for, and procure manuscripts.] The Europeans, and especially the English, began to apply themselves zealously, in the last century, to the procuring of manuscripts from all parts, especially from the Eastern countries. Archbishop Laud led the way, and with what success his generous benefaction to the Bodleian Library (4) abundantly testifies. Most of his successors followed his example, even down to the late Archbishop Wake, who had persons in pay to search for and purchase all the MSS. they could meet with in the East, especially any parts of the Holy Scriptures. Dr Narcissus Marsh, late Archbishop of Armagh, the most excellent Bishop Fell, and other public-spirited persons, encouraged the same search; and by them principally it was that Mr Huntington was employed. What they wanted most particularly, was good copies, or the Syriac translation, of St Ignatius's Epistles; which, however, he sought in vain. But he had better success in procuring the works of St Ephraim, or Ephrem Syrus, which were, 'till then, very little known in Europe (5).

[D] And, for that purpose, kept a correspondence with the learned and eminent of every profession and degree.] This sufficiently appears from some of his letters published by Dr Smith, at the end of his life. And that learned author gives us this further account of Mr Huntington's diligence in that respect. *Quo autem voti tam sancti compos fieret, Græcorum, Syrorum, Armenorum, etiam Judæorum, Samaritanorum, & Mohammedanorum, prout occasio sese obtulerat, operâ usus est: quam quoque Romanæ communionis Mystæ, per orientem Sparsi, rem sacram ex instituto vitæ ordinisque, cui sese addixerint, Religiosi, miro zelo procurantes, ipsi oblatam abundè & cumulatissimè pro summa sua humanitate & candore præstiterunt* (6).

[E] And Samaria.] His chief design in visiting this, and the neighbouring town of Sichem (once called Neapolis or the new city, because built out of the ruins of the other by Herod, and now by corruption Naplosa) was, to converse with the remains of the ancient Samaritans, then reduced to between twenty and thirty families; and to inform himself of their faith, opinions, customs, religious ceremonies, and to enquire what books they had. In his conversation with them, they asked him, whether there were any Hebrews in England? He, supposing they meant Jews, replied in the affirmative; not understanding yet, that they appropriated to themselves the names of Hebrews and Israelites, and retained still their old extreme contempt and aversion for the Jewish nation. And when they found he could read their language, they cried out in an extasy of joy, 'They are certainly Israelites' and Hebrews, and our very brethren: not imagining, he could possibly have learned their language from any but Samaritans. When he found they would not be undeceived, he advised them to send their book of the Law, and an account of their Religion, &c. to England: which produced the epistolary correspondence between them and the learned Dr Thomas Marshall; published by Job Ludolf, among his Samaritan letters. They having affirmed in those letters, 'That their Book of the Law, or Samaritan Pentateuch, was the very original, written by Abisha, son of Pinchas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the Priest, in the thirteenth year after the entrance of the Israelites into the land of Canaan: Out of a curiosity to see so valuable a treasure, our author took a second journey to Naplosa, five years after the first. But upon examining that Pentateuch, which they kept, with another, in their synagogue, he found that it was not above five hundred years old. When he came too closely to examine it, they told him, that there was a memorandum in it containing the above account, which had been cut out by some sacrilegious hand.—Besides that Pentateuch, they had, some Forms of Prayers; the book of Joshua, or rather a short chronicle from the creation of the world down to Mohammed; a short commentary on the Law, and a larger exposition, in Arabic (7).—The Samaritans were once flourishing

(1) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1180. and Br. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 726.

(2) See Ricaut's Present State of the Greek Church, Lond. 1679. p. 337.

(3) Smith, ut supra, p. 3, 4.

(4) Of above 1300 M.SS. See Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 53. and the Archbishop's Diary, in his Life by H. Wharton; and in Rushworth's Collect. Vol. III. p. 885.

(5) Smith, p. 5—10.

(6) Ibid. p. 5, 6.

(7) Smith, ibid. p. 12, 13, 14. & Huntingtoni Epist. p. 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, &c.



tion at the Factory : who universally make it a rule, not to return into their own country, without having seen that holy city (g) [F]. In February 1677, he sailed into Cyprus, on purpose to have the pleasure of examining the library of Hilarion Cigala, Archbishop of Justiniana Nova, and Primate of that island : but he missed of him, because he was forced then to lie hid, for fear of the Turks, who, out of some prejudice, threatened his life or liberty (b). An earnest desire of beholding the venerable ruins of the once noble and glorious city of Palmyra, caused him also to undertake, in 1678, a tedious and difficult journey of six days, or 150 miles ; (for so far was it from Aleppo) and with no better success than his last expedition. For, instead of having an opportunity of viewing the place, he and his company were very near being destroyed by two Arabian Princes, who had taken possession of those parts (i). But he had better success in a journey he took to Egypt in 1680, where he picked up several curiosities and manuscripts [G]; and had the pleasure of conversing with John Lascaris, Archbishop of Mount Sinai. He took a second voyage to Egypt, towards the end of the year 1681, in order to converse again with that Prelate, having been informed that he was at Cairo, but the information was false (k). Thus he continued, during the whole time of his residence in the East, to improve himself, and benefit his country, by the many valuable manuscripts he collected or procured [H]. But having now been there eleven years, he grew impatient for returning into England. At length, his successor being arrived, he embarked in 1682, and landed in Italy. Having visited Rome, Naples, and other the most considerable places ; and taken Paris in his way, where he stayed a few weeks, he arrived, after all his dangers and difficulties, safe into his own country. Immediately he retired to his fellowship in Merton-college, where he led a quiet but not an idle life ; being naturally very diligent and studious (l). On the 15th of June 1683, he accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (m) : and, about the same time, through the recommendation of Bishop Fell, being appointed Master of Trinity-college in Dublin, though not much to his liking [I], he set out for that place towards the end of the year. In that station he behaved in a most useful and worthy manner, encouraging good literature, and taking all proper care of the revenues of his college. He greatly promoted, at the same time, the Irish translation of the Bible, which was done through the special encouragement of Dr Narcissus Marsh, Bishop of Leighlin and Fernes, and at the sole charge of the Honourable Robert Boyle (n). But, the troubles that happened in Ireland, at the Revolution, put an end to his quiet settlement, and his good works and designs. For, upon King James's descent there in 1688-9, Dr Huntington judged it necessary to consult for his safety, by a timely retreat into England ; giving all his valuable manuscripts for lost : however, they remained safe. After the reduction of Ireland, he went back, and continued thither about a year. But having taken a firm resolution of not fixing himself in that kingdom, he resigned his Mastership in 1691, and returned to England. In the mean time, he sold for 700 pounds his fine collection of manuscripts, about six hundred in number, to the Curators of the Bodleian Library ; having before made a present to the same library of five and thirty valuable manuscripts (o). In August 1692, he was presented by Sir Edward Turnor to the Rectory of Great Hallingbury in Essex, a living of 200 pounds a year (p). As he wanted a companion in that solitary place [K], he married,

(g) Ibid. p. 11, 12.

(b) Ibid. p. 20.

(i) Ibid. p. 15, 16. See Phil. Transf. No. 218. p. 129.

(k) Smith, ut supra, p. 16, 17, 19, 20.

(l) Ibid. p. 23, 24.

(m) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 221.

(n) Smith, ut supra, p. 26, 27, 28.

(o) Ibid. p. 29, 30.

(p) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. II. p. 296.

ing at Damascus, but now their name is quite forgotten there. They were also numerous at Cairo, and so (according to their own account) they are still in Egypt ; but our author could find none there, except an old man and woman, in a very poor condition. Some families of them remain at Joppa and Gaza : and they are generally employed by the Turks for toll or tax-gatherers : in which station was Merchib Ibn Yacob, the writer of the Samaritan letters abovementioned. But upon some unjust accusation, he was forced to withdraw to Leghorn (8).

[F] *Who universally make it a rule, not to return into their own country, without having seen that holy city.* Or, as Dr Smith expresses it (9) ; *Apud enim advenas hosce præsertim post naves, opulenti mercibus onustas, e portu salutas, quo tempore feriari datum est, mos iste solennis Hierosolyma adeundi ita inolevit, ut pene cesserit in religionem ; vixque quispiam repertus est, quin sentiat, haud se, salva fama, ne dicam conscientia, nisi confecto istoc sacro itinere, in Angliam redire posse aut debere.*

[G] *Where he picked up several curiosities and manuscripts.* Particularly, the nuts and seeds, of the Egyptian Sycomore, and of other curious plants and shrubs, which were set in the Physic-garden at Oxford (10).—Among the MSS. he got there, several were in the Coptic, or Copto-Arabic, language ; especially two copies of the Gospels, one of which he purchased at Cairo, and the other in the desert of Nitria. He procured also copies of two volumes of the Councils, with an appendix to the Council of Chalcedon ; and other curious books, relating to polite literature, and natural history (11).

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[H] *By the many valuable manuscripts he collected, or procured.* He took a great deal of pains to procure three volumes, relating to the Sabæan or Mendesian Religion ; two of which they pretend to have been delivered to Adam by God himself ; and the third to have been brought down by Angels from Heaven, three hundred and thirty thousand years before the creation of the world. To obtain those volumes, our learned author kept a correspondence with father Agathangel de Sta Theresia, a bare-footed Carmelite, and President of the Mission at Bassora, who at length transmitted those three volumes to him into England, in the year 1683. But, as Dr Smith observes, they will be of no use, 'till some person is found that can understand and translate them (12).—For an account of the Sabæans, the inquisitive reader will be pleased to consult Dr Hyde's learned and curious book, *De Religione veterum Persarum*.

[I] *Though not much to his liking.* Dr Smith, in his life (13), informs us, That he earnestly refused at first that place, though very honorable and advantageous, and looked upon it as a sort of banishment.—*Onus istud, licet tanto cum honore conjunctum, averse animo primo recusat, & a se obnixè, deprecatione interposita, amolitur : sed tandem illius (14) precibus & consiliis expugnatus, cessit, planè invitatus.*—*Comperit habeo, illum de hac relegatione, quasi in exilium, apud amicos interioris notie queri consuevisse.*

[K] *As he wanted a companion in that solitary place.* He seems not to have much liked that place, otherwise a healthful and agreeable one, because the house was bad, and he wanted there the company and conversation of the learned. In one of his letters, he

(12) Ibid. p. 21, 22. Vide etiam R. Huntingtoni Epist. p. 37—44. & p. 82—87.

(13) P. 27.

(14) Bp. Fell's.

(8) Ibid. viz. R. Huntingt. Epist. P. 48, 49, 58.

(9) P. 11.

(10) Smith, ut supra, p. 22.

(11) Ibid. p. 17, 18, 22.



(q) Smith, ut  
supra, p. 31.

(r) Ibid. p. 32,  
33, 34.

(s) Ibid. p. 36.

(t) In the Philo-  
sophical Tran-  
sactions, No.  
161. p. 624.

ried, the same year, a sister of Sir John Powell, one of the Justices of the King's-Bench, which made him an excellent wife. He was offered, about that time, the Bishopric of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland, vacant by the deprivation of Dr William Sheridan for not taking the oaths, but he absolutely refused it (q). However, in 1701, he accepted of the Bishopric of Raphoe in the forefaid kingdom, to which he was promoted through the interest of the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester. Thereupon, he resigned his living, and went over to Ireland in July; and, on the 20th of August following, he was consecrated in Christ-church Dublin, by his intimate friend Dr Narcissus Marsh, then Archbishop of Dublin, and afterwards of Armagh. But, to the great loss of learning, of Ireland, and of the whole Christian world, he enjoyed his new dignity but a very short time. For he died the 2d of September 1701, twelve days after his consecration, in the sixty-sixth year of his age: and was buried in the chapel of Trinity-college, over which he had presided with so much honour (r). His memory will be always dear among all true lovers of oriental learning; and he may justly be said to have been born for the service and ornament of his country (s). All that he published himself, was 'An Account of the Porphyry Pillars in Egypt (t) [L].' Some of his observations are printed in 'A Collection of curious Travels and Voyages,' in two tomes, 8vo. published by the ingenious Mr J. Ray. Mr T. Osborne had, in some of his late sales, a collection of our author's letters, written between the years 1684 and 1688, relating to the affairs of Trinity-college in Dublin. And thirty-nine of his letters, chiefly written by him whilst abroad, were published by Dr T. Smith at the end of his life. We shall give some extracts from one of them [M].

(15) P. 57.

says, he was condemned to the country—*ruri dam-nandus* (15): And in another letter to Dr Allix, he has these words—*Tugurio siquidem caduco & persil-lanti male conveniunt thesauri, codices quanti-vis pretii, & auro contra non cari.* [He was there speaking of his Coptic Pentateuch, which he had lodged in the Bodleian Library.] Then he adds, *Tu vero cum ag-noveris infelicitatem amici tui, a libris sociisque, con-sortio scilicet & viventium & vita defunctorum exulan-tis; perpende quæso, quanto ipse (16) felicior, qui utrisque ex animo fruëris.* i. e. 'When you know my unhappiness, in being banished from books and agree-able friends, namely from the living and the dead; consider how much happier you yourself are, who enjoy both, to your heart's content.'

(16) Viz. Dr.  
Allix.

[L] *An account of the Porphyry pillars in Egypt.* He describes, and gives figures of two of them, viz. one at the Matarea, 3 or 4 miles east of Grand-Cairo, 67 feet high, and the bigness  $7\frac{1}{2}$ . The other at Alexandria, feet high. After having observed, that there is no quarry, or rather rock, of Porphyry in all the lower parts of Egypt; he says, 'That such vast monuments might be removed from place to place, is difficult indeed, but not impossible; for some of these mountains are near the Red Sea; and Sus from Cairo is but two or three days from the Nile. How possible it is to convey mighty weights by water, let the obelisks at Rome declare, which were all of them brought from this very country. And that such things may be done by land too, though not by every one, is plain enough, because we see they have been done. At Baalbec, which is fourteen hours from Damascus (for thence I went

'there is a stone about 66 foot long on the north side of the castle-wall, and two more of 60 each: and I believe we saw the way they travelled, having left one of their company, though not quite so big, in the road, as a monument thereof to this very day.'

[M] *We shall give some extracts from one of them.* It is written to Dr Allix, in answer to some questions proposed by Monsieur Picques, who, was about an accurate Map of Egypt. Some of our author's observations therein, are as follows. The name of the Nile is derived from *Νῆλος*, i. e. *The River*, by way of eminence. It rises in the mountains of Abyssinia; and, after a course of two hundred miles, discharges itself into the Mediterranean sea, by two mouths, formerly seven. It's overflowing is occasioned by the continual rains, that fall, during the winter months, in Abyssinia, and upper Egypt.—Grand Cairo is named by the inhabitants, and neighbouring nations, *Meser*, from Misraim the son of Ham. 'Tis less than Paris, but extremely populous. For, in the year 1679, there died in it of the plague five hundred and ten thousand persons: notwithstanding which, the very next year, when our author was there, it swarmed with inhabitants.—Four miles from it is a village called Matarea, where the Virgin Mary is said to have resided, when she fled into Egypt for fear of Herod's cruelty.—Natron, Latrôn, or Nitre, swims like ice on the top of a lake of stagnant water, in the desert of Nitria; and is produced from the saltiness of the water. It is very much like ice, but harder; & sometimes reddish.—What he says about the pyramids and mummies, &c. little differs from the accounts given by Mr John Greaves, and others. C

HYDE [Dr THOMAS], one of the most learned writers of the XVIIth century. He was the son of the Reverend Mr Ralph Hyde, Vicar of Billingsley near Bridgenorth in Shropshire, where he was born June 29, 1636, under whose care he received the first rudiments of learning; and having a natural propensity to the study of the oriental languages, his father encouraged and assisted him so far as was in his power, and when he was above sixteen years of age, sent him to the university of Cambridge, where he was entered of King's-college (a). There he became acquainted with the celebrated Mr Abraham Wheelock, equally famous for his skill in languages, and his willingness to promote and recommend young persons of parts and application to the utmost of his power (b). By him Mr Thomas Hyde, when he was only in his eighteenth year, was sent to London to the learned Mr Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, as a person very capable of helping him in that arduous work the Polyglot Bible, in which he was then engaged, and which was executed in such a manner, as not only did honour to him but credit to the nation (c). The services rendered him by Mr Hyde were many and great; for he transcribed the Persian Pentateuch out of the Hebrew characters, in which it was first printed at Constantinople, into the proper characters of the language; which, in the opinion of the learned Archbishop Usher, would have proved a task impossible to a native Persian, because one Hebrew character answered sometimes to one Persian letter sometimes to another, which it was exceeding difficult to distinguish (d). He also added a Latin translation (e). He farther assisted in correcting different parts of that work, in the Arabic, Syriac, and Samaritan

(a) Wood's A-  
then. Oxon. Vol.  
II. col. 973.

(b) See the arti-  
cle of W H E E-  
L O C K [A-  
B R A H A M].

(c) See the arti-  
cle of W A L-  
T O N [B R I-  
A N].

(d) Wood's A-  
then. Oxon. Vol.  
II. col. 974.

(e) Morhoff. Po-  
lyglott. Liter. I.  
3, 17, 31.  
Vide Præfat.  
Bibl. Polyglot.



maritan languages, and thereby merited the high character given him by the editor, that his skill in the oriental languages was such as surpassed his years (f). In the next year, after the publication of the Polyglot Bible, he went to Oxford, was admitted of Queen's-college, and was soon after made Hebrew reader (g). The succeeding year Mr Richard Cromwell, then Chancellor of the university, directed his letters to the Delegates of the university, signifying that he was of full standing, from the time of his admission at Cambridge, for the degree of Master of Arts, and had given public testimony of his more than ordinary abilities and learning in the oriental languages; upon which they made an order, that he should accumulate that degree, by reading only a lecture in one of the oriental languages in the schools; and having accordingly read upon the Persian tongue, he was created Master of Arts April 13, 1659 (h). Soon after the restoration of King Charles the Second, he was made Under-Keeper of the Bodleian library, upon the ejection of the famous Henry Stubbe, which gave him an opportunity of pursuing his studies with singular advantage (i). His diligent behaviour in this employment recommended him so much, that when Dr Thomas Lockey resigned the office of Head-Keeper, he was elected by the Doctors and Masters of the university with general applause, and recommended himself likewise to the public by some very learned writings (k) [A]. About this time he became known to that great patron of all sound literature, the Honourable Mr Robert Boyle, to whom he was useful in many respects, and to whom he communicated several remarkable passages relating to Chemistry, Physic, and Natural History, in oriental writers (l). In October 1666, upon the Death of Dr John Wall, Canon of Christ-Church, Rector of St Aldate's Oxford, and Prebendary of Sarum, he succeeded him in his last preferment (m). On the 14th of December, 1678, on the demise of Mr John Gregory, he had the Archdeaconry of Gloucester conferred upon him by Dr John Prickett, then Bishop of that diocese, and was installed on the 12th of January following (n). On the third of April, 1682, he was admitted Doctor of Divinity (o). He continued his studies without remission, and gave many shining proofs of his singular skill in all kinds of oriental learning, for which he was universally admired, and became justly famous over all Europe; the pieces he published being full, not only of new and curious, but also of very useful particulars [B]. On the 22d of December 1691, he was elected Arabic Professor, on

(f) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 126.

(i) Morheff. Polyhist. Liter. I. 1, 17, 31.

(k) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(l) Boyle's Works, Vol. V. p. 580—594.

(m) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 974.

(n) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. II. p. 734.

(o) Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. II. col. 219.

[A] By some very learned writings.] It was in all probability, the patronage of the learned Abraham Wheelock at Cambridge, that determined our author's inclinations in so eminent a degree to the Persian language, of which that excellent person was a great master. At Oxford there was a spirit of encouraging oriental literature; and yet our author remained there for many years in narrow circumstances, which kept him very probably the closer to his studies, and enabled him, by comparing and considering the several languages of the East, to acquire a facility in writing and speaking several of them, beyond what many, even of the learned, thought possible. The title of the first work he published, ran thus:

(1.) *Verbo Latina e lingua Persica, & Commentarii in Observationes Vlugh-Beigi, de Tabulis Longitudinis & Latitudinis stellarum fixarum*, Oxon. 1655, 4to, that is, 'A Latin Translation out of the Persian Tongue, together with Commentaries on the Observations of Vlugh-Beg, and his Tables of the Longitude and Latitude of the fixed Stars.' It may not be unacceptable to inform the reader, that this Vlugh Beg was a great Tartar Monarch, the son of Shâhrokh, and the grandson of Timur Beg, or, as we commonly call him, Tamerlane. The proper title of this Prince's treatise, is, Zig Ulug-Beg, and in the preface he informs us, that the great occupations of government, hindered him from performing in person so much as he would have done towards the completing this useful work, but that he had relied chiefly on his minister Salabeddin, surnamed Cadhi Zadehal Roumi, and that he dying before the work was finished, his colleague Gâitheddin Giamshid, and his son Ali al Coufhi, were afterwards employed, who put the last hand to it. This work, written originally in Arabic, and of which there are two Persian translations, one by Ali al Coufhi, and the other by Mohammed Ben Mohammed, is in four parts. The first treats of Æras and Epochs in five chapters. The second, of the Distinction of Times, in twenty-two chapters. The third, of the Course of the Planets, in thirteen chapters; and the fourth, regards the fixed Stars, in two hundred sections. These tables are thought the most correct of any published by the Orientals, and are calculated for the latitude of Samarcand, which was the capital of Ulugh Beg's dominions. To this is added, Mohamedes Tizinus his tables of the declension and ascension of the fixed stars.

(2) *Catalogus impressorum librorum Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ in Academia*, Oxon. 1674, fol. that is, 'A Catalogue of the printed Books in the Bodleian Library in the University of Oxford.'

(3.) *Epistola de mensuris & ponderibus Serum sive Senensium, &c.* Oxon. 1688, 8vo. that is, 'An Epistle on the Weights and Measures of the Chinese.' This is printed at the end of Dr Edward Bernard's book, entitled, *De Mensuris & Ponderibus antiquis libri tres*, that is, 'A Treatise of ancient Weights and Measures, in three Books;' as also, *Epistola N. F. D. de mari æneo Salomonis*, annexed thereunto by Dr Hyde.

[B] But also of very useful particulars.] He also published,

(4.) *Quatuor Evangelia & Acta Apostolorum lingua Malaicâ, Characteribus Europæis*, Oxon. 1677, 4to. that is, 'The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Malayan tongue.' Which were printed at the expence of Mr Boyle, and before them is prefixed an excellent preface by Dr Thomas Marshall in English.

(5.) *Specimen Libri More Nevochim, Maimonidis; Arabicè & Latine edendi* (Dec. 10, 1690) Oxon. 1691, 4to. that is, 'A Specimen of Maimonides's Guide of the Doubtful in Arabic and Latin.'

(6.) *De Ludis Orientalibus Libri duo*, sc. *Mandragorias, seu Historia Shahiludii Latine*, Oxon. 1693, 8vo. *Historia Shahiludii seu Trias Judæorum de Ludo Schachorum Heb. Lat.* Oxon. 1693, 8vo. *Historia Nordiludii & reliquorum Ludorum Orientalium ubi Arabum Persarum Indorum & Chinesium Ludi varii*, Oxon. 1693, 8vo. Before the former of these, there is a kind of dedication to Sidney Godolphin Lord Rialton, afterwards Earl of Godolphin, and Lord High-Treasurer of England; and to the latter, is prefixed a dedicatory epistle to Richard, son to John Hampden, Esq;

(7.) *Tractatus Alberti Bobovii, Turcarum Imp. Mohammedis IV<sup>ti</sup> olim Interpretis primarii de Turcarum Liturgia, pregrinatione Meccana, Circumcisione, ægroto-rum visitatione, &c. Nonnullas annotatiunculas pro ut occasio se obtulit passim adjecit* Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. à Coll. Regina Oxon. Protobibliothecarius Bodleianus, that is, 'The Treatise of Albert Bobovius, formerly first Interpreter to the Grand Signior Mohammed the Fourth, concerning the Liturgy of the Turks, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, the Ceremony of Circumcision, the



(p) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 870.

(q) See his dedication, dated Oxford, August 6, 1690.

on the decease of that great ornament of the university, Dr Edward Pocock (p). He published the same year the *Itinera Mundi* of Abraham Peritfol, the son of Mordecai Peritfol, a very learned Jew, to supply in some measure the Arabic Geography of Abul-Pheda, which, at the request of that excellent prelate Dr John Fell, he had undertaken to publish with a Latin translation; but the demise of his patron having defeated his work, he sent this lesser performance abroad, dedicated to Daniel Earl of Nottingham, then Principal Secretary of State, in hopes it might excite a greater curiosity in regard to this branch of learning (q) [C]. Dr Roger Altham, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of

\* the Visitation of the Sick, &c. with Notes occasionally interspersed, by Dr Thomas Hyde.

This, though a very short, is a very curious and very useful treatise. The author of it was by birth a Pole, and his name in his own language was Bobowski. He was carried away while a youth by the Tartars, sold to the Turks, who perceiving the pregnancy of his parts, caused him to be very carefully brought up in the Seraglio, where he spent twenty years. After this he went in the service of some great man to Egypt, where in consequence of his excellent behaviour, being made free, he, according to the custom of the Turks, had a new name imposed on him, viz. that of Ali-Beigh, or Ali Bei, as it is vulgarly pronounced. On his return to Constantinople, his general skill in the languages both of the West and of the East, gradually advanced him to the rank of Tergumân Bashi, or first interpreter of the Porte, under the reign of Mahomet the Fourth. He composed a Grammar and a Lexicon of the Turkish language, about the year 1553, he translated, at the request of Dr Basire, the Catechism of the Church of England into the Turkish language, and at the request of another gentleman, the whole Bible, which being sent into Europe to be printed, remains still in the public library at Leyden. Our author, Dr Hyde, also had in his possession, the Psalms translated and written in his own hand. His death, which happened a few years before the publication of this work, was exceedingly regretted by the Christians at Constantinople, but more especially by the English, for whom he had a singular affection and esteem, inasmuch that he often intimated his desire to have retired into England, and to have returned into the bosom of the Christian Church, if any means could have been found to afford him a tolerable maintenance.

This treatise was brought over by the celebrated Dr Thomas Smith, who made a present of it to our author, and advised him to translate it. It is certainly the most succinct, and in all probability the most genuine and authentic account that is any where extant of the religious ceremonies of the Turks, penned with so much plainness and simplicity, that it is impossible to suspect the author; and as the Doctor himself observes, there is such a very strange mixture of piety and puerility as is not to be accounted for. For example, in the visitation of the sick, we are told, that on the one hand they exhort the dying man to a sincere repentance, and to place his hopes in God; and on the other, they intreat him to pare his nails, because this is a thing not lawful after his decease. They distribute alms, and they make prayers for the departed soul; but while the man is expiring, they hollow in his ears continually a short confession of their faith, and earnestly exhort him not to apostatize from the religion of Mohammed in another world. They wash the dead body three, five, or seven times, and carry it very decently to the tomb, where they believe it is visited by the two angels of Death, Munkir and Nehir, at whose command the soul returns, and immediately the dead body stands up upon its feet, and gives direct answers to their questions. After this, they say the body dissolves, and the soul goes forthwith to Paradise, or a place of torture. This short delay they call Berzach, which some have injudiciously taken for a middle state, whereas in truth, it is strictly a middle time, or the intervening space between death and judgment. This notion agrees so exactly with the superstitions of the Jews, that there is not the least room to doubt the one is a copy of the other.

The notes of our author throughout, contain an infinity of short, curious, and instructive remarks, many of which the reader would little expect to find in such a treatise. To this piece he subjoined *Castigatio in Angelum à S<sup>ro</sup> Joseph, aliàs dictum de la Brosse Carmelitam discalceatum sui Ordinis in Ispahan Persides olim Praefectum*. That is, 'A Reproof to Angelus of St

Joseph, alias Father de la Brosse, a barefooted Carmelite, formerly Superior of his Order at Ispahan in Persia.' This man had attacked the Persian gospels in the English Polyglot, and the Latin version of them by Dr Samuel Clarke. Our author out of zeal for his colleagues in that great work, for no offence was offered to himself, wrote a letter to this Monk, in which he expostulated the matter, and shewed him his mistakes, without receiving any answer; at length in 1688, he came over to England, went to Oxford, and procured himself to be introduced to Dr Walton, without letting him know who he was, though afterwards he owned his name to be La Brosse, and that he came over to justify what he had advanced. After a short dispute, which was managed in Latin, he began of a sudden to speak the Persian language, in which, to his great surprise he found Dr Hyde more ready than himself, so that not being able to maintain his criticisms, he promised to come another time, and either defend them better, or retract them, which however he did not perform, and this induced Dr Hyde to make the dispute public. In his reproof, he first states the Carmelite's objections, then shews them to be very weak and trifling, springing from his own ignorance in the true idiom of the Persian tongue, which rendered him incapable of comprehending with how much accuracy and elegance that version was made to which he had objected. As the principal design of this attack upon the London, was to raise the credit of the Paris Polyglot, Dr Hyde's reproof produced an admirable effect, as not only maintaining the credit of the English work, but shewing also what lamentable critics these Monks were, notwithstanding the high esteem in which they stood in their own country for Oriental learning.

[C] In regard to this branch of learning.] The title of this work is, *Iggéretb Orchoth Olam*, id est, *Itinera Mundi sic dicta nempe Cosmographia Autore, Abrahamo Peritfol, Latinâ Versione donavit & Notas passim adjecit Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. è Coll. Reginae Oxon. Protobibliothecarius Bodleianus, Oxon. 1691, 4to.* that is, 'The Tour of the World, or the Cosmography of Abraham Peritfol, with a Latin translation, and notes by Dr Thomas Hyde, &c.'

This work was written by Abraham Peritfol or Paritfol, (which signifies an umbrella) in the city of Ferrara, a little before the English Reformation. The Hebrew title is taken from the following passage in Job, *Hast thou marked the old way which wicked men have trodden, which were cut down out of time*. It is written in a very pure Hebrew stile, with a very small mixture of the rabbinical phrases. The author wrote besides, a controversial treatise entitled the Shield of Abraham, alluding to his own name, in support of the Jewish religion against the Christians, as also a Commentary upon the Book of Job. As for this Cosmography it is very short, containing thirty chapters; but notwithstanding this, there are many things in it curious, and which cannot fail of delighting the judicious reader. A specimen perhaps may not prove unpleasant, we will take the sixteenth chapter, which is very short, and regards the first discovery, or rather the first endeavours to discover the the East-Indies. It is conceived in the following terms.

'Our readers are to understand, that the subjects of the Monarch of Portugal, were the first who navigated their ships, and exposed themselves to the hazard of seeking, by this new route, places of which their ancestors had not so much as an idea. For this reason, through the sudden alteration of air, and the disagreement of these new climates with their constitutions, multitudes of the seamen and passengers were carried away by diseases, till by degrees, and through experience, they learned the proper times to depart and to return with the least possible danger. Thus overcoming all the difficulties that were so formidable in the beginning, they now sailed



of Christ-Church, being, on some dispute about the oaths, removed from both preferments, Dr Hyde became possessed of them (the one being annexed to the other) July 19, 1697 (*r*). Three years after he published an excellent work, now become extremely scarce, on a subject very little known even to the learned themselves, "the Religion of the "antient Persians;" a work of such profound and various erudition, abounding with so many new lights on the most curious and interesting subjects, filled with such authentic testimonies, which none but himself could bring to the public view, and adorned with so many learned ingenious conjectures, in reference to the theology, history, and learning, of the eastern nations, that it was received with delight even by the greatest critics; a work which does honour to the times and nation in which he flourished; and which, if he had left no other monument of his studies, had been sufficient to establish and preserve his reputation, as long as any taste for antient learning shall remain [*D*]. It was, however,

(*r*) Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, Vol. III. p. 461.

a great

failed to and from these places without any considerable loss, and the way round this Æthiopic continent, through the ocean, is as pervious to the Portuguese at this day, and navigated with the same ease and safety as the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas by the Venetians and the Genoese.

Behold! the Portuguese first leaving their own coasts, and seeking those of the lower Æthiopia before mentioned, standing at a distance from the continent, and steering a south-west course, discovered the island of Porto Santo, which 'till then remained uninhabited. The King of Portugal sent thither young people of both sexes, and caused it to be stocked with sheep and with oxen. This, as I have heard from the compelled, was about the time of the exile of the children\*. There they found abundance of wild hogs, multitudes of rabbits, and innumerable pigeons, singular in this, that they were not in the least afraid of men. There they likewise met with prodigious quantities both of honey and of wax; those who made the discovery affirm, that the like in point of excellence had never been before seen. Besides, they found those trees, from the gum distilling out of which dragon's blood is made. The method in which they proceed is thus, such as are employed at a proper season, gives several strokes with an ax to the tree as it grows in the ground. The following year, at the proper time, they come and collect with great care the gum that has flowed through these wounds; and after melting and cleansing it from all dross and filth, they bring it in little round lumps to market. This is what is called, Dam Tannin, Sanguis Draconis, or Dragon's Blood. They say, that this tree in the month of March, produces fair and fine fruit, in size and form resembling cherries of a green colour, and of a most delicious flavour. The sea round this island of Porto Santo winds into many pleasant bays, affording infinite quantities of excellent fish. The country is of small extent, some twenty-five miles in circuit, every where diversified with verdant hills, and plentifully watered by crystal rivulets.

This specimen will afford the reader some notion of that elegant simplicity with which this book is written. Dr Hyde has illustrated this chapter with some very learned notes. He tells us, that the Arabic name answering to dragon's blood, did not arise barely from the colour of the gum, but from the very singular appearance of the fruit, the skin of which being taken off, there appears within-side a little dragon, most clearly and neatly expressed, with a long neck, an open mouth, a sharp bristly back, long tail, and short feet. The dragon's blood is the red juice flowing from that tree, so well known to us by the name of the Brazil wood, and so much used by our Dyers. He tells us farther, that the Arabians, Persians, and Turks, call it the blood of the two brothers. The latter also stile it Er Cani, Hominis Sanguis, or Man's Blood, equivalent to which, is the Arabic word, Dam Adam; the Italians call it Verzino, and we Brazil wood, because most of it comes to us from that country. He farther remarks, that there is besides this another sort brought likewise from the East-Indies, but brighter, better, and at least twice as dear, called by the English merchant's, Dragon's Blood in Drops, flowing from a kind of broken reed, which from thence is stiled Dragon's Blood Cane, of which he had one given him by John Tyrrel, Esq; captain of a man of war, which was four feet long. Out of the knots of this cane proceed leaves with fruit, of which, says he, I have two kinds, formerly given me by Mr John English, a merchant; the former round, and of the size of a very small filberd; the

other long, and as large as the biggest filberd, but both of a rough superficies like that of a mulberry. Being broke, there appears in the inside, a stone like that of a cherry. The outer substance dry and tough, but may be easily broken, and rubbed with the fingers, which if wiped on paper produces a beautiful red colour. It is from this sort of dragon's blood, that the varnish is made, so much in use among the Chinese in adorning their chests and cabinets. This red matter being scraped into warm water, and being suffered to steep there a long time, at length sinks to the bottom, and the water being either gently poured off or evaporated, the dragons blood is collected concreted into little drops or tears.

[*D*] For antient learning shall remain.] The title of this large and curious work, runs thus:

*Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum. Ubi etiam nova Abrahami, & Mithræ, & Vestæ, & Manethis Historia, &c. atque Angelorum Officia & Præfæcturas ex Veterum Persarum sententiâ. Item, Persarum annus antiquissimus tangitur, is τὸ Γιεμσὶδ, detegitur, verus τὸ Yeldegheerd de nove proditur, is τὸ Melicshâb expenditur, is τὸ Selgiâk & τὸ Chorzemshad notatur, & is τὸς Katâ & τὸς Oighûr explicatur. Zoroastri Vita ejusque & aliorum Vaticinia de Messia à Persarum aliorumque Monumentis eruntur: Primitivæ Opiniones de Deo & de Hominum origine referantur; Originale Orientalis Sibyllæ, Mysterium recluditur: Atque Magorum liber Sadder (Zoroastri præcepta seu Religionis Canones continens) è Persico tractus exhibetur. Dantur veterum Persarum Scripturæ & Linguae (ut hæc jam primò Europæ producuntur & litterato Orbi postliminio reddantur) Specimina. De Persiæ ejusdemque Linguae nominibus deque hujus dialectis & a moderna differentiis stricim agitur. Auctor est Thomas Hyde, S. T. D. Ling. Hebraicæ in Universitate Oxon. Professor Regius & Ling. Arab. Prof. Laudianus. Præmissis Caput Elencho accedunt Icones & Appendix variarum Dissertationum, Oxon. 1700, 4to. pages 556, that is, 'The Religion of the antient Persians and their Magi.'*

There is no need of translating the rest of this long title, because the particulars contained in it, which are in effect the contents of the whole book, will sufficiently appear in the course of this note. The indefatigable Mr Bayle, the judicious Mr Bernard, and several other foreign writers of great eminence, speak of this very elaborate performance with equal admiration and applause. To say the truth, it was a subject almost wholly new and untouched; and this, notwithstanding, that without it many of their own historians, and most of the antient Greek writers, are often obscure, in several places altogether unintelligible. His diligence, his accuracy, his freedom of thought, his sagacity, his extensive skill in the oriental languages, his zeal for truth, and his perfect candour, are equally conspicuous. But the only way to acquire a competent notion of a work, which is now become dearer than a volume of this, is to run through the analysis of the whole; which, following the track of a very able and ingenious writer, we shall therefore exhibit to the reader's view, to whom, tho' it must seem long, it is impossible that it should appear tedious.

It appears from the title, that Dr Hyde's design is not to give us a plan of the religion of the modern Persians; which is to be found in the Korân, the Mahometan being the established religion in Persia now. In the first chapter he distinguishes the Persians into antient and modern; the antient Persians had a religion entirely different from that of the modern, and it has been still preserved among some of their descendants; the

\* The author means the expulsion of his nation out of Portugal by King Emanuel, to gratify Isabella of Castile in A. D. 1492. The compelled are those who staid and dissembled, the exiled children those who departed.



a great misfortune, that the value of his extraordinary talents and uncommon erudition, was

the modern Persians are a mixture of several different nations, Saracens, Tartars, Parthians, Medes, old Persians, become Mahometans, and women of Georgia and other countries transplanted into Persia, who have formed a language compounded out of those of all these different nations. Our author, before he enters into particulars, gives us, in this first chapter, a general idea of the religion of these antient Persians. There are some still who profess this both in Persia and in India, and live separately from the rest as much as possible, and eat only with those of their own religion, in order to preserve their purity. This religion has passed through three different states. The first was a state of purity; those who professed it worshipped only the true God, of whom they had very just notions, which they had received from their ancestors, *Shem* and *Elam*. The second state is that in which *Sabaism* was mixed with the knowledge and worship of the true God. They did not indeed worship the sun and the planets, but they had too much reverence for those stars, and fell into superstition in that respect. Abraham opposed with the utmost vigour all kinds of false worship, and all the superstitions of his age; and as the Persians highly revere that Patriarch, and acknowledge that they received their Religion from him, Dr Hyde is persuaded that Abraham reduced them from their errors, and restored amongst them the worship of the true God in all its purity. But they afterwards fell back into their former superstitions, though without losing the knowledge of the true God, of whose service they were always so jealous, that they abominated all adoration of images. The third state of the religion of the antient Persians commenced, when, in imitation of the fire preserved upon the altar in the temple of Jerusalem, they kept likewise a perpetual fire upon an altar; which custom was observed likewise by the Greeks and Romans. This gave occasion to the common opinion, that the antient Persians worshipped fire; but our author endeavours to justify them from that imputation.

He owns that they regarded this fire as a thing sacred, and paid to it a kind of service, which he calls *Pyrodulia*; but he denies that they ever paid to it a proper adoration, which he files *Pyrolatria*. We are not to be surprized that practices have been imputed to these people, which they never observed. It is very difficult to know thoroughly their religion, since *Zoroaster*, their great prophet, has expressly prohibited them to instruct strangers in it, or in their language. However, our author having desired one of his friends who lived in Persia, to inform himself of the Priests of that religion concerning the worship paid by them to *Mithra*, which is the *sun*, they answered, that they did not pay any divine worship to it, or to the *moon*, or to the *stars*, but only turned towards the sun when they prayed, because the nature of it nearly resembles that of fire. They regarded it likewise as the image of God, and some of them have said that God resides in it, and others have imagined that it will be the seat of the blessed. These are the true grounds of their respect for the sun, but this respect does not go so far as adoration. It is the same case with regard to fire; when they are asked whether they worship it, they constantly deny it, affirming that they worship God alone. But as they had a great respect for their sacred fire, if any one of them was obliged to take an oath, he used to do it before this fire burning upon an altar, as the Jews did before the altar at Jerusalem, upon which there was fire. It was likewise the custom of the Pagan Arabians, who, when they suspected that the person who was about to swear would take a false oath, privately cast salt into the fire, in order to strike a terror upon him by the crackling noise which it made. As the Jews burnt their sacrifices in the sacred fire, the Persians did the same, imagining that the sacrifices would not pollute the fire like other prophane things; but if any person threw filth or spit into it, they held it was a crime that ought to be punished with death.

The Kings of Persia, and other wealthy persons, sometimes cast into the fire pearls, spices, and precious oils, in order to nourish the flames more delicately; and this they called *fire feasts*. But they did this to the honour of God, and referred to him ultimately all that they did with respect to the fire, or by means of it. But this was not the only element which they

shewed their reverence to; for they respected the air, water, and earth, and considered them as the principles of all things. They had, and still have, curators of these four elements, who are employed to take care of the waters, the rivers, and fountains, to prevent, as much as possible, the air from being infected with any stink, the fire from being polluted with any filth, or the earth with any dead body. It is out of regard to the earth that they do not bury their dead, and, for fear of infecting the air, they keep crows and vultures to devour the corpses, which have no other tombs than the entrails of these birds of prey. It was for the same reason, that Numa appointed that the Vestals should take care of the four elements; so that the word *vesta* is sometimes used for fire, and sometimes for the earth. The Vestals were also obliged to look after the fountain of the Muses near their temple. The Persians abominate all noxious animals, and, on the contrary, have a prodigious esteem for a dog and a cock. Zoroaster expressly commands them to maintain dogs; and they are so fond of cocks, because they are a kind of living clocks, that they would expose themselves to the severest sufferings, rather than cut off the head of one of these animals. Hence it is that Aristophanes calls a cock the bird of Persia or Media, and there are such a vast number of them in those countries, that our travellers scarce eat any thing else; and from hence that useful bird has been propagated over the whole world.

In the second chapter our author mentions how the Persians boast of having received their religion from Abraham, which gives him occasion to introduce the history of the life of that patriarch, to examine into his true sentiments with regard to religion, and to compare them with those of the Persians. He explains, in a manner quite new, divers Chaldee words, the true signification of which was before unknown. He shews that Abraham became famous over the whole world, and that God's command to him to offer up his son, which the Pagans imagined to have been executed, led them to think, that, in order to obtain some signal favour from Heaven, the surest way was to offer up one of their children to God. The Indian idolaters stiled their Chief Priest *Brahma*, or *Brahama*, which is nothing else but the name of Abraham. This Patriarch, according to the Jews and eastern people, of whose opinion our author does not disapprove, lived in the time of Nimrod, who was the Ninus of the Pagans, and was the son of Cush. The latter lived in the territory of Babylon; but Chaldea being too small for his descendants, they removed into the neighbouring country and settled there. This country was called at first from their father's name the land of Cush, and afterwards the land of Havilah; and it had the name of Arabia from Yaarab the son of Joktan, who dwelt in that country and possessed it. From this remark and some others Dr Hyde concludes, that it is a mistake to understand Ethiopia to be the land of Cush mentioned in Scripture, since the word is not taken in that sense in any part of the Bible, but always signifies the territory of Babylon or Arabia. There are several other curious observations in this chapter. Some authors are of opinion that Abraham was educated from his birth in the true religion, which was that of Eber, one of his ancestors; but Dr Hyde thinks the common notion more probable, viz. that Abraham was at first an idolater, but afterwards converted to the knowledge of the true God by the particular interposition of Heaven. It is impossible to say at what age he was converted. The opinion of the Persians, who assert that he was then fifteen years of age, or that of Cedrenus, who tells us that he was twenty four years old, is not disapproved by our author, who makes a great many other curious remarks upon Abraham, and upon his father Terah, his country, actions, &c.

In the third chapter, Dr Hyde examines more particularly into the religion of the Persians, and shews in what it agreed, and in what it still agrees, with that of Abraham. He treats also of the *Sabaïtes* and their religion. The Persians knew the history of the creation of the world, having learned it from the Jews, or from Zoroaster; and they kept it more pure than any other nation. As Moses has said nothing of the creation of good or bad angels, the Persians have likewise omitted it. Our author is of opinion, that though angels are created beings, and consequently not so an-



was not, after the demise of his first patrons, sufficiently understood, so as to encourage him

tient as their creator, yet it is not to be doubted, but that they existed an infinite time before the creation of the world, and are so antient, that it is impossible for the mind of man to form a just idea of their duration; for it is not, says he, pious or fit to imagine, that God was at any time without ministers, and we ought to believe that he had always angels ready to serve, and disposed at all times to execute his commands. Our author supposes likewise, that the apostate angels transgressed before the creation of the world, though not long before it. He thinks, that as the Persians were descended from Shem, they received also from him the knowledge of the true God, though they fell afterwards into a kind of *Sabaism* like the rest of the world. They were recovered from their errors by Abraham, upon which account they gave the name of that Patriarch to their religion, calling it the religion of Abraham. He conquered Chedorlaomer King of Persia, and it is probable that this prince and his allies embraced the religion of the conqueror, and that this example was followed by the subjects of these princes, as these people generally follow the religion of their governors. With regard to the *Sabaïtes*, the doctor informs us, that this is not the name of a particular nation, as that of the Sabeans, who were called so from Saba, a city in Arabia Felix. It is the name of a sect, dispersed over several nations, who worshipped stars and idols. The Arabians have not succeeded in explaining this name, since they imagined that the word Sabaa signified to change one's religion. The word Sabaïte comes from the Hebrew Saba, which signifies troops, or an army or host; and the name of *Sabaïtes* was given to those who worshipped the *host* of Heaven, that is the stars. There were two kinds of *Sabaïtes*, one of whom worshipped the stars, and the other idols. The former were of two kinds, viz. the Greek *Sabaïtes*, who chiefly addressed their devotion to the planets, and the Indian *Sabaïtes*, who addressed it to the fixed stars. The doctor corrects here several profane writers, who have spoken very differently and confusedly of the religion of the Persians, and rectifies their accounts by distinguishing the times. He agrees with Herodotus and Strabo, that there was a time when the Persians had not either temples nor altars. It was when they addressed their prayers only to the planets, or to God to procure their propitious influences. But when they began to build certain places, in which to keep the sacred fire, and which the doctor calls *Pyreæ*, they began likewise to have altars, upon which they sometimes offered sacrifices. It is not absolutely true what those authors have written, that the Persians had no images, since Gienshid, one of their Kings, is accused of idolatry, and since, towards the end of their empire, they worshipped Venus in temples appointed for that purpose, where that goddess had her priests and priestesses. Herodotus relates, that there was a law at Babylon, which ordered that the women should come once in their lives to the temple of Venus, and prostitute themselves to the first passenger who would have any commerce with them, and that they could not refuse this. The richer sort went in a chariot with a magnificent equipage. When they were once come to the temple, they were obliged not to return till some passenger had pity on them. Those who were handsome, continues Herodotus, returned soon, but some ordinary women stayed several years before they received their passport. Dr Hyde observes, that he had not read any where that the Persians had any other statues but that of Venus.

The fourth chapter is designed to prove, against the Greek and Latin writers, that the worship paid to *Mithra*, or the sun, was not a divine adoration properly so called. The fifth chapter contains a kind of digression upon the modern *Sabaism*, and the idolatry of the nations who made idols under the influences of the planets. In the sixth chapter we see the care which the antient Persians took of the water and fire; for though they endeavoured to preserve the purity of all the four elements, yet they took a more particular care of the water and fire, since these two elements were most obnoxious to pollution. They believed that there was an angel especially appointed to guard the water, and called him *Ardisur* or *Arduisur*. They celebrated his praises, and desired him to continue in his office. The seventh chapter treats of the goddess Vesta, adored by

the Greeks and Romans. The eighth chapter treats of the goddess Vesta of the Persians, and the care which the Magi, their priests, took to preserve the fire. These priests were obliged to be married, because, among those people, it was meritorious with regard both to this world and that which is to come, to increase the number of the faithful by propagating the species. The doctor is of opinion, that the Persians used to maintain the sacred fire long before the reformation of their religion by Zoroaster. Hence it follows, that before his time they had likewise covered places in the form of temples, since they could not otherwise have preserved the fire. Zoroaster only augmented the number, as our author proves. There is still extant a Persian book, intitled *Gjâvidân Chrad*, i. e. 'The Eternal Wisdom,' which is older than all the writings of Zoroaster, and ascribed to one of their Kings, named *Hushang*. This book proves evidently, that the people of those times worshipped the only true God. The same appears from some other books cited by the doctor.

The ninth chapter treats of the two principles of all things, according to the notions of the Persians, of the names given to them, and of their opinions with regard to the Deity, and the creation of all things. They established two principles; the first of these, which is single and eternal, the author and principle of all good, is God, whom they called *Yezâd*, *Izâd*, or *Izid*, that is, he who ought to be prayed to. They called him likewise *Ormûzâ*, or *Hormûz*, or *Hormisda*; and by joining a more modern name, *Hormisda Choda*! that is, O great God! or O supreme God! It is from this word that the Greeks formed that of *Oromasdes*. Besides this principle, they laid down another created one, which they supposed to be the principle of evil, and called it *Ahâriman*, *Ahremen*, *Ahrîman*, and sometimes in poetry *Ahrimanân*; whence the Greeks, who wrote the history of Persia, took their *Ἀρεμανιό*. This word is compounded of two others, which are synonymous, and signify impure, polluted; so that these two words being joined, signify very impure, and very much polluted. In their antient books, to shew the abhorrence which they had to the demon whom they called by this name, they wrote it in an inverted manner, thus, *uormisda*. With respect to the creation, the Persians taught with the Scriptures, that it was performed in six spaces of time. But they pretend that they are not simple days, and that by a day we are to understand the space of several days.

The manner in which they divide these six periods of time, and the names which they give to them, was thus. They called the first *Mid-yuzeram*, containing the space of forty five days, in which God created the heavens. The second was called *Mid-yûsham*, containing sixty days, employed in creating the waters. The third was called *Pitishoshim*, and comprehends seventy-five days, in which the earth was created. The fourth was called *Iyaseram*, and contains thirty days, in which the trees were produced. The fifth was called *Mid-yârim*, and comprehends eighty days, during which all the creatures were made. An author cited by the doctor tells us, that in this fifth period God created the beasts and birds, namely, an hundred and seventy-two kinds of beasts, and an hundred and ten kinds of birds. The sixth period was called *Hamspiramidim*, and contains seventy-five days, in which man was created. All these periods together make three hundred and sixty-five days, which form one year. According to the Persians, the creation began about May and ended in the same month, so that Adam, when he rose from the hands of God, saw the whole earth covered with fruits. Zoroaster appointed, that for each of these six periods employed in the creation, there should be observed five festival days.

In the ninth chapter our author treats of the origin of mankind, of the deluge, of divers imaginary terrestrial paradises, of Moses and Solomon, and shews that the religion of the antient Persians agrees in many points with that of the Jews, and was derived from it. Those people believed that Adam and Eve were the stock from whence mankind descended, though some among them gave our first parents different names. They believed an universal deluge which covered the whole earth. But all were not of this opinion; some denied the deluge, others said that it was not universal, and



him to send his learned treatises to the press; which he would willingly have done, not from

and that it did not rise above the top of a mountain near Hulvan, a city upon the frontiers of Assyria and Persia. The Persians have spoken of divers terrestrial paradises, and sometimes given different names to the same place. This was occasioned, because the true situation of the garden of Eden was uncertain. Some fixed it at Jerusalem, others at other places. The Persians had some knowledge of Moses, whom they styled the ruddy Shepherd, who holds a staff, because he was a shepherd when he lived with Jethro his father-in-law, and because he performed all his miracles, in Egypt and the wilderness, by means of his rod. They had knowledge also of Solomon, whom they called *Gjem*, which is likewise the name of one of their kings.

The *eleventh*, *twelfth*, and *thirteenth* chapters, contain the names and attributes which they gave to God, to angels, and to the devil. In the seven following chapters, the doctor treats of the year, and the different epochas of the antient Persians and other nations, and of the names of the angels, whom they imagined to preside over every month of the year. The antient Persian year was solar, and not lunar; but as it consisted only of twelve months of thirty days each, it did not answer exactly to the time in which the sun passes through the ecliptic, by which means the beginning of their year answered successively to all the degrees of the signs of the zodiac, and ran through all the seasons, 'till, after a revolution of fourteen hundred and sixty years, it returned to the same point where it had begun. King *Gjemshid* leaving this manner of estimating time for civil purposes, established another for religion, in order that, in a certain period of time, the same festivals might come together at the same season of the year. For this purpose he ordered, that, at the end of one hundred and twenty years, there should be an intercalation of a whole month, which should receive its name from the month after which it was intercalated. *Yesdegberd* established another epocha, and ordered the years to be computed from the beginning of his reign, and fixed the beginning of the year at March, from which it was very different when that prince began his reign. He abolished the names of the angels which the months bore, and gave them natural names, taken from the season prevailing in each month. He altered also the names of the days, and gave them such as were taken from some remarkable event; calling one, for instance, Abundance of Riches, another by a name which expressed some great rejoicing upon it, another from the revenge which he had taken of some of his enemies, from some battle, or other singular event. He abolished, in consequence of this, all the feasts and divine service observed on certain days; so that in his Kalendar there was no festival but that of the new year. But *Yesdegberd* reigning but twenty years, the Persians, who had not forgotten their ceremonies, returned after his death to their old method of computation, restoring to the months and days the names which they had before the reign of that prince. It is a mistake therefore of several Eastern and European writers, to call this antient epocha the epocha of *Yesdegberd*, since, on the contrary, that epocha was abolished by that prince, who established another, which continued no longer than his reign. It appears, that the antient Persians did not know the distinction of the year into weeks, but that they divided it only into twelve equal parts, and all the days of the months had their particular names, as those of the weeks have with us. Dr Hyde gives us also an explanation of the epochas of the Tartars and Chinese; and in the *nineteenth* and *twentieth* chapters, he mentions the different offices ascribed to the angels by the Persians, and observes that the antient and modern Persians, as well as the Mahometans, imagined that every man has two genii attending him, one good the other bad.

In the *twenty-first* and *twenty-second* chapters, he treats of the legislators of the antient Persians, of the state of their primitive and orthodox Church, of the heresies, sects, and heretics among them, and particularly of *Manes*, *Mazdek*, and some others. After Abraham, their eldest legislator was *Zoroaster*, or *Zerdusht*, who lived in the time of Darius the son of Hystaspes; and assuming the character of a prophet, after some difficulty procured the King to approve his religion, who established it in his dominions. It was the

antient religion purged from *Sabaism*, with the addition of some particular rites and ceremonies. This religion is retained by many of the Persians to this day. The works of *Zoroaster*, which contain divers precepts relating to doctrine and manners, are in the same esteem with them as the Bible with Christians. However, if we judge by the book, a translation of which is subjoined to our author's work, among several noble rules of morality there are a great number of superstitious and trifling things. The religion of *Zoroaster* did not always continue in the same state; it suffered several changes, as particularly under the reign of Alexander the Great, who conquered Persia; and under some other princes. King *Ardesbîr Babeân*, who reigned two hundred years after Christ, called together a kind of council, in order to consult the priests of his dominions upon several important points of religion, and by this means cleared it from several errors, with which it had been before in a manner disfigured. This reformation was brought about by the assistance of a certain legislator, named *Erdavirâph*. But it did not long continue, for *Manes* propagated his monstrous notions over Persia, where he was born.

In the *twenty-third* chapter, Dr Hyde gives us an account of the life of Darius Hystaspes; and in the *twenty-fourth*, that of *Zoroaster*. He observes, that his true name is *Zerdusht*, that of *Zoroaster* being invented by the Greeks, who in order to accommodate foreign names to their own language, have generally disfigured them in such a manner, that it is impossible to guess at the true name. They have likewise often given the same name to different persons, on account of some resemblance, and this has happened upon the present occasion, so that there are almost as many *Zoroasters* as there were Hercules's. But the Persians speak only of one, and agree about the age in which he lived, though they differ about his country. Some relate that he came from China, and others from Europe, by which, perhaps, they mean Palestine, which is not far distant from it. The most certain opinion is, that he was born in Persia, but that his father being poor, he became servant to the prophet *Eldras*; and seeing his master working divers miracles, he was induced to attempt the same, or at least to pretend it, in order to establish a new religion, or to reform that which was already established. Monsieur Bernard remarks in this account of our author's book, that he does not find that *Eldras* ever worked any miracles; but that if *Zoroaster* really was a servant of his, we may assert with greater probability, that he learned of that prophet all the miracles which *Moses* and the other prophets performed. Dr Hyde gives a long account of the artifices made use of by *Zoroaster* to attain his end. He spent but four or five years in digesting and propagating his doctrines, and then was killed, together with eighty other priests. But it is probable, that before he undertook his reformation, he wrote and prepared a considerable number of books, which he published afterwards. Our author rejects what the Greeks have written concerning his death.

He employs his *twenty-fifth* chapter in explaining the general name of *Zend* or *Zendavestâ*, which *Zoroaster* gave to his work. The word *Zend* is Arabic, and that of *Eshta*, Hebræo-Chaldaic, and signifies *fire*, so that we may translate the word *Zendavestâ*, an instrument to strike fire with; *Zoroaster* intimating by this, that the design of his works was to kindle the fire of zeal and piety in the hearts of men. In the *twenty-sixth* chapter, the Doctor treats particularly of *Zoroaster's* books, and of the language and character in which they are written. The original of *Zendavestâ* was written upon twelve skins in the Persian language, but in ancient characters, not understood at all by the modern Persians. All his works are in prose, so that whatever is in verse and ascribed to him, is absolutely spurious. It is true, that some Persian priests have translated into verse, a small part of their legislator's writings, because the people did not understand the language of the original, but they did not begin to do it 'till two hundred years ago, and the ancient Persians never undertook any thing of that kind.

In the *twenty-seventh* chapter, our author treats of the nature of fire, the manner of keeping it among the Persians, the signal used to call them to public assemblies, their manner of behaving in their temples, their use



from motives of vanity or profit, but from a communicative spirit, and a laudable desire  
of

use of rods in divine service, their daily repeating of their prayers in a low voice, and their silence. In the city of Nussari in India, the followers of Zoroaster assemble at the sound of a little bell; but at Ispahan, the capital of Persia, they know the proper times of assembling without any signal, or by only making use of a large piece of wood which they strike, and this they do to avoid offending the Mahometans, who will not permit the use of bells, because they were invented by the Christians. When the Persians pray, they place themselves at a small distance from the fire which burns in their great temples, for fear of polluting it with their breath, but in small temples there is only a lamp. For the greater precaution, they cover their mouth with a square piece of linnen called Panâm. They pray with a low voice, and only murmur between their teeth. The priest advances nearer to the fire, he has also his mouth covered and a cap with ears on his head, and is covered with an albe, holding in one hand a book, and in the other several white rods. He chants likewise the prayers, and recites the office taken from the book Zend. Sometimes in the warmth of devotion, he stands upon one foot, in imitation of their great prophet. After prayers follow the offerings. Every person who is able, casts into the fire precious ointments, spices, pearls, or at least corn or flesh.

In the *twenty eighth* chapter, our author treats of the priesthood and hierarchy of the Magi, at the time when their Church was in it's flourishing state, and even at present. He tells us, that this hierarchy was not much different from that which subsists now in those Christian Churches in which the several orders are distinguished. The clergy were formerly very rich, but they are in very different circumstances now, under the oppression of the Mahometans. The revenue of the priests, consists chiefly of this, that upon the 24th of April, all the inhabitants of a parish extinguish the fire in their houses, and go to light it again by the fire of their priest, paying him each of them for his permission, about six shillings and three-pence. They likewise pay tythes.

In the *twenty-ninth* and *thirtieth* chapters, the author treats further of the fire, mentions the names given it by the Persians, and speaks of the temples built to preserve it; of the manner in which the Magi behave themselves in them; of the reproachful names given by the Mahometans to the followers of Zoroaster; of those given to each order of their priesthood, their several sacred orders, and the particular names given them, and of the habits of the priests. In the *thirty-first* chapter, he discourses of the Persian Magi in general, and particularly of those who came to worship Christ immediately after his birth. The Persians by the word *mogh*, mean their wife-men and priests. The Chaldeans have taken from this, their word *mag*, and the Greeks adding their termination, have changed it into *Máyos*, which signifies not a magician, but a philosopher or wise man. Such were those who came to Bethlehem, and not Kings, as is commonly said without any foundation. Dr Hyde thinks, after Petavius, that they came from Persia, and not from Arabia, which they only passed through, or to speak more exactly, from the country of the Parthians, where there was the same religion and magi as in Persia, and where the seat of the empire was at the birth of Christ. The Prince who sent these magi, or permitted them to go, was the same Phraates the son of Orodes, who sent his four sons to Rome to be educated there, who did homage to Augustus, and restored to the Romans the ensigns which his father Orodes had taken from Crassus. The gospel, according to Dr Hyde and divers learned writers, informs us, that the birth of Christ was revealed to the Persians. They had this advantage over many other nations, as well that the Christian Revelation might be immediately known in the most distant places, as because the Persians were the only people except the Jews, who had preserved the knowledge and worship of the true God, though mixed with some superstitions. What the prophet Isaiah foretold concerning Cyrus two hundred years before the birth of that prince, is a sufficient proof of the particular regard which God had for the Persians. But whence could these Magi learn that a Messiah was to be born among the Jews? Daniel, and some other prophets had been in their country. Besides, we find some predictions in

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the writings of their pretended prophet Zoroaster, who was sometimes inspired by God, as Balaam had been before. Add to this, that the prophecies of the Old Testament were not unknown to them.

In the *thirty-second* chapter, our author shews the original of all the fabulous stories relating to the *Sibyls*, and the books ascribed to them; and in the *thirty-third* chapter, he gives a short account of the religion of the ancient Persians. He shews, that they constantly believed one God, Almighty and Eternal, possessed of all perfections which Christians ascribe to him. They believe an universal resurrection both of the good and bad, and a last judgment, in which every one will receive according to his works; the good, a life of eternal happiness; and the vicious, an eternity of misery; God having prepared for the former a Paradise of crystal, and for the latter an abyss to plunge them into. They believe that they offend God every day, but they protest that they repent of all their sins both of mind and body, by their thoughts, words, and actions. They believe that God has given the government of cities and provinces to planets and angels. That they are sent for the good or punishment of mankind when he thinks proper. That every man has his good and evil angel, the former of whom inclines him to virtue, and the latter to evil. That the devil is an irreconcilable enemy to mankind. That God favours certain persons with an infused light, which qualifies them to govern other men, and to become skilful in arts and sciences. The good likewise receive such a light. But Dr Hyde is of opinion, that this signifies only natural light or reason. The Persians believe, that in the life to come, the vicious will be tormented with different kinds of punishment; but instead of fire, they speak of darkness and a black stinking river, the waters of which are cold as snow, and suppose them to be formed of tears shed for the dead, and which serve only to enhance their punishment. They have not all the same notions concerning the place of happiness, some have fixed it in the sun with the Manicheans and other heretics; others have imagined, that after the resurrection, the blessed will live upon the earth, which shall be renewed after having passed through a conflagration. They speak likewise of a bridge built upon the abyss, over which the souls separated from the bodies are to pass into the seat of immortality; and they mention several other strange things related by our author. In the *thirty-fourth* chapter, he treats of the marriage of the Persians, of their baptisms and ablutions, and of their funeral rites. In the last chapter, he treats of the names of Persia and the Persians, and of their ancient and modern language and it's different dialects, that is, of the language of the Persians, Medes, and other people of Asia.

To these thirty-five chapters is subjoined a Latin translation of a book used by the Magi, intitled *Sadder*, containing the laws and precepts of Zoroaster. It was written above two hundred years ago in verse, in the modern Persian language, by one of their priests, the son of Melichâh, a man of great learning and skill in the old Persian, and in the antient books written in that language. In the fourth porta or chapter, the author exhorts sinners not to despair of the mercy of God, since he is ready to give much and receive but little. He mentions upon this occasion, that while Zoroaster was conversing familiarly with God, that prophet saw a man whose whole body was in hell except his right foot. He asked who he was, and God answered, that it was a prince who had reigned over thirty-three cities, and done no good during his life, having given up himself to oppression, injustice, and violence, and made his people suffer a thousand evils. But that having one day met with a sheep bound at such a distance from his food that it could not reach it, he thrust it towards the sheep with his foot, which for this reason was exempted from the torments of hell, to which the rest of his body was exposed. In the twenty-fifth porta, the author dissuades from fasting, and teaches that the true fast consists in abstinence from sin. In the sixty-seventh, he places lying among the worst of sins. The appendix of Dr Hyde, contains several curious observations, and extends to fifty-seven pages. This learned work was exceedingly well received abroad, and highly admired and esteemed by the learned at home. However the sale of it was so

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inconsiderable,



of promoting oriental literature; a task to which he was at least as equal as any man of his age. But by an unaccountable fatality, while trivial or at least less important studies met with ample recompences, these were overlooked, or rather their worth was not sufficiently understood; in consequence of which, this learned person's abilities, application, and strong inclination, to enrich the Republic of Letters, with the numerous acquisitions of a most laborious search through the course of a very long life, were neglected 'till it was too late, and the loss has been ever since (though to no purpose) deservedly regretted. Besides these, he had compleated some, and begun to prepare many other, works for the press, the titles of which are all that we can communicate to the reader, and these will be found at the bottom of the page (s) [E]. On the 9th of April 1701, he

(s) See the note.

inconsiderable, that a great part of the impression was destroyed, which is the reason of the extreme scarcity and high price of the few copies that remain. The learned Dr Prideaux has made great use of this history in his valuable performance, and indeed, if truth be the most valuable thing in history, there are more important truths to be learned out of this small work in relation to the oriental nations, than from any other book ancient or modern, and yet we shall find in the next note, that even this very learned and laborious work, was but a specimen of what our author could have done, if he had been properly supported and encouraged.

[E] *At the bottom of the page.* We owe this catalogue of our author's works to honest Anthony Wood, who tells us, that at the time he wrote, Dr Hyde had done something towards all of them, and designed, if he lived, to finish them for the press. The very catalogue is a curiosity, and lets us more thoroughly into the character of this learned man, than the most labour'd panegyric; at the same time, that it must raise in us a great concern, that we know not the fate of any of these manuscripts, of which, in the course of so long a life, many no doubt were far advanced, and some perhaps absolutely finished.

1. *Grammatica pro Linguâ Persica*: that is, A Grammar for the Persian Tongue, 4to.

2. *Lexicon Persico Latinum*: That is a Dictionary of the Persian and Latin, in a thick 4to.

3. *Lexicon Turcico Latinum*: that is a Dictionary Turkish and Latin, in a thick 4to.

4. *Nomenclator Mogolo-Tataricum, cum Grammaticâ ejusdem Lingue*: that is, A Nomenclator of the Mogul language, with a Grammar of the same Tongue.

5. *Dissertatio de Tartariâ. Item, Historia Charti-Judii*; & *Dissertatio de Numerorum Notis earundemque origine & combinandi ratione doctrinâ novâ*: that is, A Dissertation concerning Tartary. The History of Card Playing; as also a Dissertation on the Origin of Figures, and the Art of combining them according to a new Method, 8vo.

6. *Curiosa Chinensia & Selanensia*: that is, Chinese and Ceylonesse Curiosities, 8vo.

7. *Historia Gemmarum Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis*: that is, The History of Gems, Arabic and Latin, with Notes, 8vo.

8. *Historia Tamerlanis Arabicè & Latinè cum Notis*: that is, The History of Tamerlane (Timur Bec) in Arabic and Latin, 4to.

9. *Liber Bostân Persicè & Latinè cum Notis. Liber elegantissimus autore Scheia Shadi*: that is, The Poem Bostan or (*Bostan*) in Persian and Latin, with Notes. The most elegant Performance of Scheia Shadi, 4to. The name of this celebrated Persian writer was, *Sheik Mosebedin Saadi Al Shirazi*. This last implies no more than Shirasian, or a native of Shiras. The title of this poem BOSTAN, signifies literally a Garden of Fruits, an Orchard, and is admired through all the East, as one of the finest pieces ever composed by man. The language of this treatise is mixed, partly verse and partly prose, the book itself being a miscellany of Politics, History, and Morality, many of the greatest wits in Asia have wrote commentaries upon it, and there have been likewise several imitations.

10. *Divini Poetæ Hâphix Opus. Persicè & Latinè cum Notis*: that is, The work of the Divine Poet Haphix, in Persian and Latin, 4to. We find this famous author called by other learned writers, Hâfedh or Hafez, which was but a kind of surname, since he was properly called Mohammed Schamseddin. He was a native of Shiras, and lived in the time that Timur Bec, or Tamerlane, made himself master of that country, and was well received and much respected by that conqueror; he died about the time that

Sultan Babor, the grandson of Timur, reduced the city of Shiras, and the tutor or preceptor of that prince, Mohammed Mimai, not only erected a monument to his memory, but also an oratory or chapel over the place where he was interred. Seid Caffem Anovar, rendered him yet a greater honour, for he collected and published in one volume all his poetical works, which he intitled, *Divan Khovageh Hâfedh Schirazi*, which is the very book our author translated. This poet's sentiments were so refined, and he expressed himself so mystically, that he obtained the surname of *Lefsan Gaib*, the speaker of mysteries. Ahmed Feridoun explained them in the Turkish language. They are penned in the stile of the Canticles, and it may not be amiss to observe, that this Persian poet was not a little suspected in point of religion, that is, he was thought to prefer the Gospel morals to those of the Koran.

11. *Abulfeda Geographia, Arabicè & Latinè, cum Notis*: that is, Abulfeda's Geography, in Arabic and Latin, with Notes, 4to.

12. *Liber Baharistân, eloquentissimo stylo, conscriptus meri ingenii Specimina, continens Librum Gulistan æquans si non superans Persicè & Latinè, cum Notis*: that is, The Baharistân, written in a most elegant stile, abounding with sublime strokes of wit, equal, and if not excelling, the Gulistan, in Persian and Latin, with Notes, 4to.

13. *Maimonidis Liber More Nevachim, transcriptus ex Characteribus Hebraicis, quibus a Maimonide scriptum est, in proprios Arabicos, cum novâ Versione & Notis Arabicè & Latinè*: that is, The Book of Moses the Son of Maimon, entitled, The Guide of the Doubtful, transcribed out of the Hebrew Characters, in which it was wrote by the Author, into the Arabic, in which language it is wrote, with a new Translation and Notes Arabic and Latin, in a thick quarto.

14. *Historia Regum Persicæ, ex ipsorum Monumentis & Autoribus extracta*: that is, The History of the Persian Kings, extracted from the Authors and Monuments of that Nation, 4to.

15. *Annotationes in difficiliora Loca Biblica ex Literaturâ Orientali*: that is, Annotations upon difficult Texts of Scripture, the true sense of which can be only attained from Oriental Literature, in a thick quarto.

16. *Periplus Marium Mediterranei & Archipelagi, Turcicè & Latinè, cum circulo ventorum in variis Linguis, Arabicâ, Persicâ, Chinensî, &c.* That is, The Navigation of the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, in Turkish and Latin; together with the Names of the Winds marked upon the Compass in several Languages, Arabic, Persic, Chinese, &c. 8vo.

17. *Zoroastris Perso-Medi Opera omnia Mathematico-medico-physico-theologica, Persicè & Latinè*: that is, The Theological, Mathematical, Medical, and Physical Works of Zoroaster or Zerdusht, in Persian and Latin, folio.

18. *Liber Erdaviraph-name, Persicè & Latinè*: that is, The Erdaviraph-name, in Persian and Latin, quarto.

19. *Lexicon Hebraicum, emendatum ex MSS. Lexicis Rabbi Pinchon, R. Jonæ & R. Jesaiæ, atque ex collatione cum Linguis Arabicâ & Persicâ, & aliis Linguis Orientalibus*: that is, The Hebrew Lexicon, corrected from the Manuscript Lexicons of Rabbi Pinchon, Rabbi Jonas, and Rabbi Jesaas, as also by Collation with the Arabic, Persic, and other Oriental Tongues, quarto.

20. *Cælum Orientale Arabico-Persicum atque Occidentale Græco-Latinum, una cum Saphii Figurationibus Stellarum duplici situ, prout in Cælo, & prout in Globo apparent, cum earum nominibus, secundum harum gentium doctrinam*: that is, The Eastern Firmament, Arabic and Persian, as also the Western Greek and Latin, with the figures of Saphius, of the double Position



(t) MS. Catalogue of the Keepers of the Bodleian Library.

(u) History of Europe for 1703, p. 495.

(w) Pointer's Chronological Historian, Vol. II. p. 483. History of Europe for 1703, p. 495.

he resigned the office of Head-Keeper of the Bodleian library on account of his age and infirmities (t). He had occupied the post of Interpreter and Secretary in the oriental languages, during the reigns of Charles the Second, James the Second, and William the Third, with great sufficiency; and, in the course of his employment, had made himself surprizingly master of whatever regarded the policy, ceremonies, and customs, of the oriental nations (u). He ended his days February 18, 1702, at his lodgings in Christ-Church, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and lies buried at Hamborough in the county of Oxford (w). He was succeeded in his Archdeaconry of Gloucester by Mr Robert Parsons (x), and, which is very singular, in the chair of Hebrew Professor and Canon of Christ-Church by his predecessor Dr Roger Altham (y).

(x) Willis's Survey, Vol. II. p. 734.

(y) Pointer's Chronological Historian, Vol. II. p. 483. Willis's Survey, Vol. III. p. 461.

tion of the Stars in the Heavens, and as they appear on this Globe, with their Names, according to the Doctrine of those Nations, 4to.

21. *Commentarius in Pentateuchum, Arabicè, auctor Mansûr Syro-Arabe, ex Scripturâ Gersbami in Arabicam, transcriptus & Latinitate donatus*: that is, A Commentary on the Pentateuch in Arabic, &c. 4to.

22. *Urbium Armeniæ Nomenclaturæ, ex eorum Geographia excerptæ, &c.* that is, The Names of the Cities in Armenia, extracted from their Geography.

23. *Varia Chinesia, scil. eorum Idololatria Opiniones de Deo & de Paradiso, atque de Gehennâ, & de Gradibus & modis supplicii, de eorum Literaturâ, & Libris, & Chartâ, & de imprimendi modo atque Antiquitate, &c. omnia excerpta ex ore & scriptis Nativi Chinesis Shin Fo-burgb*: that is, Chinese Miscellanies, viz. In reference to their Idolatry; their Opinions of God and Paradise, as also of Gehenna, and of the Degrees and Kinds of Punishment; of their Literature, Books, and Paper, and of the Antiquity and Manner of their Printing, &c. all taken either from the Speech or Writings of Shin-Foburg, a Native of China, 8vo.

24. *Varia Selanensia, ubi insulæ Selan (vulgo Batavia Ceylon) Historiæ quædam, & vocabularium, genuinis eorum Characteribus exaratum, cum eorum Alphabeto, & aliis rebus*: that is, Miscellanies relating to the People of Ceylon, containing some Historical Passages, a Vocabulary expressed in the proper Characters of their Language, with their Alphabet, and other Things, 8vo.

25. *Bantamense Alphabetum, a Legato scriptum, cum Literarum potestate & numerorum Notis*: That is, The Bantamense Alphabet written by the Ambassador from thence, with the Powers of their Letters and Figures, 8vo.

26. *Notæ Arithmeticæ variarum Gentium, ubi tallium Notarum Origo, & combinandi ratio docetur*: that is, Arithmetical Figures of several Nations. the Origin of them declared, and the Method of using them explained, 8vo.

27. *Dialogi Arabico-Persico-Turcici; Latine versi*: that is, Arabic, Persic, Turkish Dialogues, with a Latin Translation, 8vo.

28. *Liber de Turcarum opinionibus, in rebus religiosis, Turcicè & Latine*: that is, A Treatise on the Sentiments of the Turks in Points of Religion, Turkish and Latin, 8vo.

29. *Utilia mensalia, scil. quid in Conversatione Conviviali decorum est, Arabicè & Latine*: that is, Useful Table-Talk, being the Conversation at Meals, properly expressed in Arabic and Latin, 8vo.

30. *Rivola Lexicon Armeniacum, cum Linguis Orientalibus (scil. Arabicâ, Persicâ, & Turcicâ) collatum, & in margine notatum*: that is, The Armenian Lexicon of Rivola, collated with other Oriental Languages, with marginal References, 4to.

31. *Evangelium Lucæ, & Acta Apostolorum Linguâ & Characterè Malaico*: that is, The Gospel of Luke, and the Acts of the Apostles in the Malayan Tongue and Character, 4to.

(a) Life of Edw. Earl of Clarendon, p. 1. in the Lives of the Lord-Chancellors, Lond. 1708, 8vo.

**H Y D E** [EDWARD], Earl of Clarendon, and Lord High-Chancellor of England, was descended from an ancient family in Cheshire [A], and had his birth at a place called Dinton near Hindon in Wiltshire on the 16th of February 1608 (a). Having made a quick progress in grammar learning at school, he was sent to Oxford at the age of fourteen, and entered of Magdalen-hall in Lent term 1622 (b), being put under the tuition of Mr John Oliver of Magdalen-college [B]. He had distinguished himself in the university

(b) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 533, 2d edit. 1721. fol.

(1) Fol. 118.

[A] Descended of a family originally from Cheshire.]

It appears from the Wiltshire Visitation book (1), in the Herald's-office, that Sir Robert Hyde of Hyde, Knt. in the county of Chester, temp. Henry III. had issue Robert Hyde of the same place, who by his wife, the cousin and next heir to Thomas Norbury de Norbury in the same county, had issue two sons, Sir John Hyde of Norbury, Knt. and Alexander Hyde of Denton in Wiltshire. Sir John married twice, and by his first wife Ann, daughter of ——— Baguly, of Baguly in Cheshire, had issue William Hyde of Norbury, from whom by a younger son descended the Hydcs of Hopton-Wafre in Salop. But the elder son of the said William, had issue Thomas Hyde, whose son Robert Hyde continued at Norbury, and having had three wives, by the first had Hamnet or Hamlet Hyde, whose posterity remain still at Norbury; and by the third wife, he had Laurence Hyde of Gussage St Michael in Dorsetshire (2), and of West-Hatch in Wiltshire, which Laurence had four sons, 1. Robert of West-Hatch the eldest. 2. Henry. 3. Sir Nicolas Hyde Lord Chief-Justice. 4. Sir Laurence Hyde of Salisbury, Attorney to Queen Anne consort to King James I. Of these, Henry the second son was of Pyrton in Wiltshire, and marrying Mary, daughter and heir of Edward Langford of Trowbridge in the same county, had issue by her five daughters, besides Edward, the subject of this article (3).

[B] Under the tuition of Mr John Oliver.] Of this worthy person, we have the following account by Mr Wood (4). 'That he was a Kentish-man born, and being removed from Merton-college to Magdalen, became successively Demy and Fellow there; that for his

eminence in learning and orthodox principles in religion, he was made domestic chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and promoted in the church; but losing all in the time of the rebellion, he was elected president of his college in April 1644, upon the advancement of Dr Frewen to the see of Lichfield. That in the latter end of 1647, he was turned out of his presidentship by the Committee of Parliament for the reformation of the University, and in the beginning of the next year by the visitors. That afterwards living obscurely and in great hardship, he wanted the charities, which he before bestowed on the poor and the public, being in a manner the object of charity himself. That on the 18th of May 1660, about a fortnight before his Majesty's return, he was by the authority of Parliament restored to his presidentship, and on the 22d took possession thereof, being the first of all loyal heads that were restored at Oxford. That soon after he was nominated by his Majesty Dean of Worcester, and installed there in Sept. 12, 1660, and holding that dignity to his decease, which happened 27 October 1661, he was buried in Magdalen-college chapel. That this most learned, meek, and pious person, was strangely desirous to leave this world, though few alive had then such temptations to stay in it. And that the little which he had got since his Majesty's return, he gave to pious uses, either to the poor; or to the reparation of churches, viz. St Paul's, Winchester of which he was Prebendary, Worcester; and to his college.' 'Dr Oliver, concludes this author, left also a legacy sealed up in a paper to Sir Edward Hyde, then Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor of England, some time his pupil while he was in the university, for upon

(2) Another author says of St Michael's mount in Cornwall. Lives of the Bishops, from the Restoration to the Revolution, edit. 1731. 8vo. under the article of Alexander Hyde Bishop of Salisbury.

(3) Peerage of England, 4th edit. under the title Clarendon.

(4) In Fasti, Vol. I. col. 280, 2d edit.



(c) Ibid. Fasti, Vol. I. col 231.

(d) Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

\* About this time he wrote *The Difference and Disparity between the Estates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham and Robert Earl of Essex*. Printed in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, 1672, 8vo. Athen. Oxon. ubi supra.

(e) See his Life, ubi supra.

(f) See below in remarks [G], [H], and [I].

versity by his excellent talents in polite literature, oratory, and poetry, when he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts on February 14, 1625 (c); and being desirous of a settlement therein, he stood candidate for a Wiltshire fellowship in Exeter-college [C]; but losing the election, he removed to the Middle-Temple (d), and applied himself to the study of the Law; and being called to the bar, in a few years became eminent in that profession\*. Accordingly, when the Lawyers resolved to give a public testimony of their dissent to the new doctrine advanced in Mr Prynne's *Histriomastrix*, Mr Hyde was appointed one of the managers of the mask, presented on that occasion to their Majesties at Whitehall, on Candlemas-day 1633-4 (e) [D]. At the same time he testified, upon all occasions, his utter dislike to that excess of power which was exercised by the Court [E], and supported by the Judges in Westminster-hall. In this spirit he condemned the oppressive proceedings of the High-Commission Court, the Star-Chamber, the Council-Board, the Earl-Marshal's Court or Court of Honour, and the Court of York. These appeared to him to be so many arbitrary invasions upon the legal establishment of the Church and the Monarchy, to both which he was most firmly and zealously attached (f). In this disposition, and with these principles, he was elected a member for Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire, in the Short-Parliament which met at Westminster April 10, 1640. This situation gave him the best opportunity of discerning the several characters of the leading men at that time,

\* upon the Chancellor's motion it was, that he was made Dean of Worcester.'

[C] He stood for a fellowship of Exeter-college.] I believe it will hardly be disputed, that at this time his design was for holy orders, the fellowship probably required it, and his inclination was naturally bent in favour of the Church, and he was likewise greatly devoted to the university. There is a passage in his *Animadversions upon Mr Cressy's book against Stillingfleet's Irenicum* (5), which shews that he took more than ordinary notice of particular occurrences, where the honour of that learned body was concerned, and was uncommonly affected with them. Mr Cressy having asserted, that Stillingfleet had produced on his stage in antique dresses, the famous teachers and erectors of schools for contemplation, S. Bennet, S. Romeulde, S. Bruno, S. Francis, S. Dominique, and Ignatius, exposing them to the derision of prophane persons, proceeds to observe, that 'this prophane employed wit, as he calls it, was no new invention, for that he had heard that kind of wit before, when he was a young student in Oxford, in a repetition sermon to the university, which, continues he, if fancy be alone considered, far better deserved applause, wherein the preacher decanting upon the whole life of our Saviour, rendered him and his attendants, men and women, objects of the utmost scorn and aversion, as if they, all of them, had been only a pack of dissolute vagabonds and cheats: but presently the preacher changing his stile, as became a disciple of Christ, with such admirable dexterity and force of reason answered all the cavillations and invectives made before, that the loudly repeated applause of his hearers hindered him a good space from proceeding; notwithstanding which, the grave doctors and governors of the university, though much satisfied with his abilities, yet wisely considering, that a petulant historical stile even in objections did not fit so sacred a subject, and that it was not lawful too naturally to personate a deriding Jew, obliged the preacher to a public recantation sermon in the same pulpit the Sunday following. To this pretty tale, says the Earl of Clarendon, I shall make no reply, since in the judgment of any dispassioned man, it cannot be thought to be parallel to any thing the Doctor [Stillingfleet] hath said or done. Yet I shall endeavour to convince Mr Cressy, that his memory hath not been faithful to him in preserving the merit of that case and sentence, and shall give him cause to believe, that I was likewise present at that sermon, by putting him in mind, that it was preached by one Mr Lushington, a man eminent for his parts, upon those words of the Evangelist, And his disciples came and took him away whilst we slept [Mat. viii. 13.], which gave him occasion to help the souldiers in their defence; in which he gave them leave to use some light expressions against the witnesses for the resurrection, which were not decent upon that subject; but that part was quickly ended when he put into the mouths of the disciples, to whom he likewise assigned a part, words very worthy of them, and fit to be uttered in that place, and with which the gravest auditors were abundantly satisfied, though they were displeased with some light and scandalous expressions in some other parts of the sermon: which he began with *quelle nouvelle*, as if he came thither to ask and hear news. But under favour of Mr Cressy's memory, pro-

ceeds his Lordship, *nothing of this was the ground of the sentence or of his recantation; but a Parliament being then sitting, the preacher had unwarily and very unnecessarily let fall some words, which reflected upon their proceedings, particularly, that now every peasant in Parliament by the privilege of his vote there, cared not how he behaved himself toward the King or the Church, or to that effect* (6), which made those who loved him best, willing to censure him there, that he might escape a harder judgment in another place: whereupon the Vice-Chancellor, who was Dr Pierce (afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells) commanded a copy of the sermon, which being delivered and perused by him, and a delegacy of the Doctors, Mr Lushington was reprehended for the light and scandalous expressions he had used upon a subject too much above those excesses, and was ordered to make a recantation sermon for what he had said of the Parliament, and had a text likewise given him to that purpose; the words concerning the Apostles in that of the Acts [ii. 1.] *And they assembled together with one accord in one place*: which recantation he performed with great ingenuity and much applause. If these particular recollections, concludes the Earl, do not induce Mr Cressy to concur in the truth of the relation, I am afraid we shall find few equal arbiters to determine the difference between us; for this sermon, if I am not very much deceived, was preached in April 1624 or 1625 (7), of which I believe that there be not many surviving auditors besides Mr Cressy and myself.'

[D] He was one of the managers of the Masque, &c.] Mr Whitlocke was chosen with him for the Middle-Temple, Sir Edward Herbert and Mr Selden for the Inner-Temple, Mr Noy, the Attorney-General, and Mr Gerling for Lincoln's-Inn, and Sir John Finch and another gentleman for Gray's-Inn (8). It is certain, that the *Histriomastrix* was universally condemned for the sauciness of the language, wherein was shewn an utter disregard of all manner of decency and respect to the Crown; a spirit against which Mr Hyde had by nature a particular indignation, and when it grew afterwards to the most enormous excess, was always most warmly opposed, and with a singular detestation by him, as is evident from the whole tenor of his History of the Rebellion.

[E] He disliked the excess of power exercised by the Court, &c.] Bishop Burnet (9) relates a story of him, which implies, that in the view of ambition, he was disposed at his first setting out, to fall into all the measures of the Court, and that he was brought to a juster conduct by the following incident. 'When he first began, says that Historian, to grow eminent in his profession of the Law, he went down to visit his father in Wiltshire, who one day, as they were walking in the fields together, observed to him, that men of his profession were apt to stretch the Prerogative too far, and injure liberty; but charged him, if ever he came to any eminence in his profession, never to sacrifice the laws and liberty of his country to his own interest or the will of his Prince.' He repeated this twice, and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours; and this advice had so lasting an influence on the son, that he ever after observed and pursued it.

(6) Mr Wood says the words were, *Now the peasant thinks it comes to his turn, under pretence of his privilege in Parliament, that he should dispose of Kings and Commonwealths, &c.* and that there were several other passages reflecting upon the resolution for war with Spain, and upon the Spanish match. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 262. where may be seen some passages of the recantation sermon, which evince the justice of Lord Clarendon's remark upon it

(7) It was preached on Easter Monday, in 1624. Id. ibid.

(8) Whitlocke's Memorials, &c. p. 19. edit. 1732

(9) History of his own Times, Vol. I. b. 2.



time, for which he had such an admirable talent; and he gave a conspicuous proof of his own abilities and weight in the House of Commons, as well as of his sincere and hearty affection for the King [F]. These distinguishing merits procured him a seat in the Long-Parliament for the borough of Saltash in Cornwall, where he persevered steadily under the conduct of the same principles, and shewed himself not less zealous for redressing the real grievances of the nation, than watchful for the honour of the Crown and the just rights of the Church. The limits prescribed to this work will not allow us to do justice to Mr Hyde's memory, by entering into the detail of his conduct, while he sat in the House at Westminster. But he has done that justice for himself, and in such a manner, that the reader will thank us for referring him to the perusal of it \*. We shall only mention, by way of supplement to his own account, that he was a member of the Committee for preparing the charge against the Earl of Strafford (g) [G]; and being afterwards appointed a manager at the conference with the House of Lords, for abolishing the Court of York, whereof that Earl had been several years President, he made an excellent speech on that occasion, which is inserted below [H]. The general esteem of his abilities had before placed

\* In his History of the Rebellion.

(g) See the Earl's trial, by Rushworth.

[F] *A proof of his weight in the House, and of his affection for the King.* The occasion which furnished this opportunity is related by himself, but a bare reference thereto will not, 'tis presumed, be judged sufficient for our purpose, since it gives us so clear an idea of the principles upon which he steered the course of his actions from this time. 'His Majesty having acquainted the House of Commons that he would release the ship-money, if they would grant him twelve subsidies, to be paid in three years. This message occasioned great debates that day and the next, when Mr Hampden seeing the matter ripe for the question, desired it might be put, *Whether the House should comply with the proposition made by the King, as it was contained in the message.* Hereupon Sergeant Glanville the Speaker (for the House was then in a committee) endeavoured in a pathetic speech to persuade them to comply with the King, and so reconcile him to Parliaments for ever. No speech ever united the inclination of a popular council more to the Speaker than this did; and if the question had been presently put, it was believed that few would have opposed it. But after a short silence, the other side recovering new courage, called again with some earnestness, that Mr Hampden's question should be put; which being like to meet with a concurrence, Mr Hyde, being very solicitous to keep things in some tolerable calmness, then stood up, and giving his reasons for his dislike to that question, proposed, that to the end every man might freely give his yea or no, the question might be put only upon giving the King a supply; and if this was carried, another might be put upon the manner and proportion, if not, it would have the same effect with the other proposed by Mr Hampden. This, after it had been some time opposed and diverted by other propositions, which were answered by Mr Hyde, would, as it was generally believed, have been put and carried in the affirmative, though positively opposed by Herbert the Solicitor-General, if Sir Henry Vane the Secretary had not stood up, and assured them as from his Majesty, that if they should pass a vote for a supply and not in the proportion proposed in his Majesty's message, it would not be accepted by him, and therefore desired that the question might be laid aside. This being again urged by the Solicitor-General, and it being near five in the afternoon, it was readily consented to, that the House should adjourn 'till the next morning, at which they were suddenly dissolved. And within an hour after, Mr Hyde met Mr St John, who was seldom known to smile, but then had a most cheerful aspect, and observing Mr Hyde melancholy, asked him, *what troubled him?* who answered, the same he believed, that troubled most good men, that in a time of so much confusion, so wise a Parliament should be so imprudently dissolved. Mr St John replied somewhat warmly, that all was well, that things must grow worse before they would grow better, and that that Parliament would never have done what was requisite (10).

[G] *He was one of the committee for preparing the charge against the Earl of Strafford.* He actually sat in that committee for a while. But as soon as he saw the unjustifiable and unreasonable violence with which that prosecution was pushed, he left them, and opposed the bill of attainder warmly. How long he sat among

them is not certain, but there is a passage in his history which seems to throw some light into it. In preparing for the trial, he takes notice, that, 'for the prosecution they had no mind to trust the King's Counsel, who neither knew their secret evidence, nor being informed, were like to apply or press it so vigorously as the business would require: and therefore they appointed that committee which prepared the charge to give in the evidence, and in the name of all the Commons of England, to prosecute the impeachment.' It was on the 27th of February 1640, upon Whitlock's report from the committee, that the House declared they were well satisfied that the evidence to be produced at the trial, should be managed by those members (11), and as Mr Hyde was not among these managers, he must probably have left them about that time. Mr Oldmixon, not adverting to these facts of his first being of the committee and afterwards leaving it, was led into a ridicule, by endeavouring to throw a slur upon the last cited passage in the History of the Rebellion, in a remark, that 'the arguing therein is prodigious, and if one mortal in the House of Commons ever thought of such a thing, sure he could not be so weak as to mention it' (12).<sup>2</sup> Now he might have learned from Rushworth, that such preliminary circumstances were not debated in the House, but in the secret committee, whose resolutions being afterwards reported, were agreed to, and confirmed by the House. What prodigy then was it, that even stranger things than this should be freely discoursed in a select company, where no-body suspected that one of their number would shortly leave them, and discover all that had passed amongst them.

[H] *He made a speech for abolishing the Court of York.* This speech was printed in 4to. the same year it was spoken, and again in Rushworth (13), but both copies being very imperfect, we have endeavoured, by comparing them together, to give it more correctly, as it was spoken, in the following terms:

(11) Rushworth, Vol. IV. p. 32.

(12) In his piece intituled Clarendon and Whitlocke compared.

(13) Collections; Vol. I. part ii.

MY LORDS,

'I am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, to present to your Lordships a great and crying grievance, which though it be complained of in the present pressures, but by the northern parts, yet by the logic and consequences of it, is the grievance of the whole kingdom; the Court of the President and Council of the North, or as it is more usually called the Court of York: Which by the spirit and ambition of the ministers entrusted there, or by the natural inclination of Courts to enlarge their own power and jurisdiction, hath so prodigiously broken down the banks of the first channels in which it ran, that it hath almost overwhelmed that country under the sea of arbitrary power, and involved the people in a labyrinth of distemper, oppression, and poverty.

'Your Lordships will give me leave (not with presumption to inform your great understandings, but that you may know what moved the House of Commons to their resolutions) to remember your Lordships of the foundation and erecting of this court, and of the progress and growth of it.

'Your Lordships well know, that by the suppression of all religious houses to such a value, in the twenty-seventh year of Henry VIII. from that time to the 30th of that King's reign, many (not fewer than six) insurrections

(10) Hist. of the Rebellion, &c. B. 2.



placed him in the chair of the committee which took that affair into consideration (b); as it

insurrections were made in the northern parts under pretence of that quarrel, most of them under the command of some eminent person of that country, the which being quelled before the end of the 30th year, that great King well knowing his own mind, and what he meant to do with the great houses of religion in the year following, for the prevention of any inconveniencies that might ensue to him upon such distemper, granted a commission in the 31st of his reign, to the Bishop of Landaff, the first President, and others, for the quiet government of the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, the Bishopric of Durham, the counties of the city of York, Kingston upon Hull, and Newcastle upon Tyne. But, my Lords, this commission was no other than a commission of *oyer and terminer*, only it had a clause at the end of it for the hearing of all causes real and personal, *Quando ambo partes vel altera pars ita gravata paupertate fuerit, quod commode jus suum secundum leges regni nostri aliter persequi non possit*; which clause how illegal soever (for that it is illegal and void in Law, little doubt can be made) yet whether they exercised that part of the commission at all, or so sparingly exercised it, that poor people found ease and benefit by it, I know not; but at that time I find no complaint against it. Till the coming in of King James, the commission continued still the same, and that in the first year of his reign, to the Lord Sheffield, varied no otherwise from the former, save only that it had reference to instructions, which should be sent; and whether any were sent or no, is uncertain, for we can find none.

In June, in the 7th year of the reign of King James, a new commission was granted to the same man (Sheffield) very different from all that went before, it being left out that they should enquire, *per sacramentum bonorum & legalium hominum*, and to hear and determine, *secundum leges Angliæ*, relation being had only to the instructions; which were the first instructions we can find were sent thither, though I told your Lordships there were some mention of some in the 1. Jac. I will not trouble your Lordships with those instructions, nor with the other, which followed in 14 Jac. to the same man, nor those in the 16 Jac. when a new commission was granted to Lord Sunderland, nor indeed with any; till we come to these present instructions and commission under which that part of the kingdom groans and languishes.

My Lord of Strafford came to that government in December 4 Car. and the commission hath been three several times renewed since; in the 5th year in March, in the 8th in November, and in the 13th of his Majesty's reign. Into that commission of the 8th and 13th, there was screwed a new clause for the granting, sequestering, and establishing possessions according to the instructions; under which crowded in a mass of new exorbitant and intolerable power. Though our complaint be against this commission itself, and against the whole body of these instructions, I will not mispend your Lordships precious time in desiring to have the whole read, but will presume to trouble your Lordships only with five or six of the instructions, and by the vast irregularity of these, your Lordships may judge how insupportable the whole burthen is. I shall not trouble your Lordships with the 9th instruction, though it is but short, which introduced that *miseram servitutem ubi jus est vagum & incognitum*, by requiring an obedience to such ordinances and determinations as be or shall be made by the Council-table, or high-commission-court, a grievance, my Lords, howsoever *consuetudo & peccatum claritas nobilitaverit hanc culpam*, of so transcendent a nature, that your Lordships noble justice will provide a remedy for it with no less care, than you would rescue the life and blood of the Common-wealth. Be pleased to read the 17th, 22d, 23d, 24th, 29th, and 30th, I will not trouble your Lordships with reading more, there being fifty-eight instructions in the whole, and among them, scarce one that is not against or besides the law.

Whether his Majesty may canton out a part of his kingdom to be tried by commissions, though according to the rules of the law, since the whole kingdom is under the laws and government of the courts esta-

blished at Westminster; and by this reason, several parts of the kingdom may be deprived of that privilege will not now be the question, that his Majesty cannot by commission erect a new court of Chancery, or a proceeding according to the rules of the Star-chamber, is most clear to all who have read *Magna Charta*, which allows no proceeding *nisi per legale iudicium parium & per legem terræ*: for the Court of Chancery here, by long usage and prescription, is grown to be as it were *lex terræ*. But, my Lords, the 30th instruction goes further, and erects such an empire, such a dominion, as will be liable to no controul.

The Courts of Westminster, my Lords, have a superintendency over all inferior courts to regulate their jurisdictions. If they exceed their limits as to hold plea of greater value or the like in the exercise of their jurisdiction, the judges are sworn to grant or send prohibitions; and to stop the granting of these prohibitions, or to neglect them when they are granted, is the greatest and boldest scorn of the law, and the law-makers, that can be imagined.

The King's Courts at Westminster have been always of that awful and reverend esteem with inferior judges, that the instances of such contempts against them are very rare, and exemplary in the punishment. The Bishop of Norwich in Trin. Term 20 Edw. III. Rot. 28. in the Common-pleas. In Hil. Term, Rot. 21. in the King's Bench, was attached for disobeying a prohibition at the suit of Stracill: upon full and solemn discussion of the whole matter, the court resolved, that the proceedings of the bishop were *inobedientiam & diminutionem Domini & potestatis regie, autoritatis sue ejectionem, & coronæ sue exheredationem manifestam*, &c. as the words of the record are, and therefore adjudged the temporalities of the Bishop to be seized into the King's hands, and great very great damages to be paid to the plaintiffs. And whosoever gave directions for these stout instructions, might have remembered, that no longer since than Mich. in the 7th of Elizabeth, Rot. 31. an attachment was granted against the Archbishop of York, then President of that council, for forbidding the jaylor of York to deliver one Lambert his prisoner, who was sent for by a *habeas corpus* from the King's bench. And if they would have believed the resolution of all the judges in England in Trin. Term, 6. of King James, they would have known, how unfit it had been to enlarge their jurisdiction, since most of their proceedings being of an inferior nature to what they are now grown, were then declared to be illegal, and inconsistent with the liberties of the subject.

And can such a Court as this, my Lords, deserve to live! what a compendious abridgment hath York got of all the Courts in Westminster-hall; whatsoever falls within the cognizance and jurisdiction of any of the courts here, is compleatly determinable within that one court at York; besides the power they have with the Ecclesiastical and High commission Courts.

What have the good Northern people done, that they only must be disfranchised of all the privileges of *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right*; for to what purpose serve those statutes, if they may be fined and imprisoned without law, according to the discretion of the commissioners. What have they done, that they, and they alone, of all the people of this happy island, must be disinherited of their birthright, of their inheritance? for prohibitions, writs of *habeas corpus*, writs of error, are the birthright, the inheritance of the subjects.

And it is here worth your Lordships observation, that to those many prohibitions which have been granted from above (for 'till of late, the Court of York had not the courage to oppose prohibitions, nor indeed 'till the Courts here had not the courage to grant them) 'twas never known that that Court pleaded the jurisdiction of their Council; which without doubt they would have done, by the advantage of many great persons in whose protection they have always been, had they not known that the law could not be misinterpreted enough to allow it.

Your Lordships may remember the direction I mentioned of *Magna Charta*, that all proceedings shall



it did of several other committees, appointed upon the most important occasions [I], as long as he continued his presence among them. But when they began to put in execution their ordinance for raising the militia against his Majesty, Mr Hyde being persuaded that this was an act of open rebellion, left them (i); and they felt the blow given to their authority by his absence so sensibly, that, in their instructions shortly after to the Earl of Essex, their General, he was excepted with a few others from any grace or favour from them (k). He withdrew to the King at York, having first obtained the great seal to be sent thither on May 20, 1642 (l). As he had been from the beginning of the Parliament among those who were most trusted by his Majesty, so, upon his arrival at York, he was taken into the greatest confidence, though he was not under any character in the court for some months. But, towards the latter end of the year, upon the promotion of Sir John Colepeper to be Master of the Rolls, he succeeded him in the Chancellorship of the

(i) Athen. Oxon. where last cited, and rem. [K].

(k) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 62. 2d edit. and Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. p. 22, folio edit.

(l) History of the Rebellion, Vol. II. and Salmon's Chronological Historian under that year.

' shall be *per legale judicium parium et per legem terræ*. Now this jurisdiction tells you, you shall proceed according to your discretion, that is, you shall do what you please. Nay, that we may not suspect that discretion will be gentler and kinder to us than the law, special provision is made, that no fine, no punishment, shall be less than by the law is appointed, by no means; but as much greater as you shall think fit. And in this improvement we find arbitrary Courts are very pregnant; if the law requires my good behaviour, this discretion makes me close prisoner; if the law sets me upon the pillory, this discretion appoints me to leave my ears there.

' But this proceeding according to discretion, is no new expression, 'twas in the first commission I told your Lordships of in 31 Hen. VIII. that they should proceed *secundum legem et consuetudinem regni Angliæ vel aliter*, as the words are, *secundum sanas discretionis vestras*, which in the interpretation of the law, and that is the best interpretation, signifies the same thing; to proceed according to discretion, is to proceed according to law, which is *summa discretio*; but not according to their private conceit or affection, for *talis discretio*, as the law says, *discretionem confundit*. And such a confusion hath this discretion these instructions produced, as if discretion were only moved from rage and fury: no inconvenience, no mischief, no disgrace, that the malice or insolence, or curiosity of the commissioners had a mind to bring upon that people, but through the latitude and power of this discretion hath been the quicksand which hath swallowed up their property, their liberty: I beseech your Lordships, rescue them from this discretion.

' Besides, the charge that this court is to his Majesty, which is near 1300 l. a year, your Lordships will easily guess what an insupportable burthen the many officers (whose places are of great value) the attorneys, clerks, and registers, and above a thousand solicitors, that attend the Courts, must be to that people. Inasmuch, that the country seems to be divided into officers and dependants upon that Court, and the people upon whom those officers of that Court prey and commit rapines: as he said in Petronius, *omnes hic aut captantur aut captant, omnes aut cadavera qui lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant*.

' Truly these vexed worn people of the North, are not suitors to your Lordships to regulate this Court, and to reform the judges of it, but for the extirpating these judges, and for the utter abolishing this Court. They are of Cato's mind, who would not submit to Cæsar for his life, saying, he would not be beholding to a tyrant for injustice, for it was injustice in him to take upon him to save a man's life, over whom he had no power. So these gentlemen desire, not to be beholden to this Court hereafter for injustice, the very administration of injustice founded upon illegal principles, being a grievance and an oppression to the subject.

' Upon the whole matter, the House of Commons is of opinion, 1. That the commission and instructions whereupon the President and Council of the North exercise a jurisdiction, is illegal both in the creation and execution. 2. And that it is unprofitable to his Majesty. For besides so much as 1300 l. taken out of his Majesty's revenue every year, his Majesty loseth the great benefit which would accrue to him upon writs, and upon fines, upon outlawries, and other profits, which redound to his Majesty out of his courts here. And, which I had almost forgot

' to tell your Lordships of, that his Majesty may be sure to have no benefit from that court, notable care is taken by the fifty instructions; that if any money remains over and above all disbursements, it shall be bestowed in providing household-stuff and furniture for the house where the Lord President and Council used to be. 3. And lastly, that it is inconvenient and grievous to his Majesty's subjects of those parts.

' And therefore they are humble suitors to your Lordships and the House of Commons in this behalf; that since this people do, and have in all matters of duty and affection, contended with the best of his Majesty's subjects, that they may not be distinguished from them in the manner of his justice and protection, since this Court originally instituted and erected by his Majesty for the use and benefit of his subjects, is apparently inverted to the burthen and discomfort of them, that your Lordships will join with the House of Commons, in beseeching his Majesty; that the present commission may be revoked, and no more such granted for the future.'

[I] He was chairman in several committees.] How zealously he acted on these occasions in defence of the Church is related by himself, to which account we refer the reader for the reason already mentioned: but it would be injustice to another part of his character, to omit his having the chair in the committee appointed to consider the complaints made against the Court of Honour. The members of this committee were Mr Selden, Mr Hollis, Mr Hyde, Lord Faulkland, Dr Eden Master of Trinity-hall in Cambridge, Mr Palmer, Sir John Colepeper, Mr Maynard, and Dr Parry, LL.D. They had power to receive all petitions concerning the High-Constable, and Earl Marshal's Court, and to enquire after the office of High-Constable and Earl-Marshall, and the Herald's fees, and to consider of the proceedings and power of the High-Constable and Earl-Marshall's Court, and to report the state of the whole matter to the House. Mr Hyde being called to the chair by the committee made the following report. 1. That the Constable's and Earl-Marshall's Court have no jurisdiction to hold plea of words. 2. That the Earl-Marshall can make no Court without the Constable. 3. That the Earl-Marshall's Court is a grievance. All which were confirmed by the House (14). In the same view it must be observed, that when the House resolved to impeach the judges for their irregular proceedings, Mr Hyde was sent up with the impeachment of the Barons of the Exchequer to the Lords, and the speech which he made in presenting it, is inferior to none of those that were spoken on that occasion against the iniquity of those judges. Yet at the same time he forgets not to preserve his Majesty's honour, and to do that justice to his integrity and uprightness, which he was persuaded was Cæsar's due. 'My Lords, says he, towards the conclusion of his speech. In this argument I am not willing to say much. 'Tis enough that your Lordships know tonnage and poundage is not a duty to the Crown, but a subsidy, and so granted in *subsidium*, sometimes *pro una vice tantum*, sometimes for years, and then ceased when the time did expire; that when it was granted for life, it was with this clause, *ita quod non trahatur in exemplum futuris regibus*: But 'tis abundantly enough known, that his sacred Majesty cannot be tainted with the advice and judgments of these men, but looks on this duty singly as the meer affection and bounty of his subjects, the which, no doubt, he shall never want (15).

(14) Rushworth's Collections, Vol. III. p. ii. p. 1056.

(15) Id. ibid. p. 1361, 1362.

[K] He



(m) History of the Rebellion, Vol. II, p. 151.

(n) Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles, &c. p. 737.

(o) See the next remark.

(p) In the Duke of Ormond's article, Vol. II.

the Exchequer, and at the same time was knighted and made a Privy-Counsellor (m). With these characters he sat in the Parliament assembled at Oxford in January 1643, and was one of the King's Commissioners for the treaty at Uxbridge in January the following year [K]. That treaty ended on the 22d of February (n), and, in the beginning of March, Sir Edward attended the Prince of Wales to Bristol, being appointed by the King one of the Council to his Royal Highness in his superintendency of the West (o). Soon after his arrival in that city, he entered by his Majesty's command into a correspondence with the Marquis of Ormond [L]; and from this beginning there grew that remarkable friendship between them which has been already mentioned in this work (p), and the course of this memoir will necessarily lead us to take notice of several affecting instances thereof. Upon the declining of the King's affairs, he sailed with the Lords Capel and Colepeper from Pendennis-castle in Cornwall to Scilly, and thence to Jersey. He arrived there in the beginning of March 1645 (q), and being greatly disgusted at the Prince's removal thence the following year into France, he obtained leave to stay in that island [M]. During this retirement, he began to write his History of the Rebellion, &c. which had been particularly recommended to him, and in which he was assisted also by the King, who

(q) Carte's Collection of Letters, &c. No. 43. in a letter dated March 8. 1645. wherein Sir Edw. Hyde writes, that the Prince sailed from Pendennis on Monday, and arrived there [at Jersey] on Wednesday.

[K] He was one of the King's Commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge.] Mr Whitlock intimates, that Sir Edward had a particular friendship for some of those who still continued at Westminster. Thus, when Mr Holles and that author, among others, came from them in November 1644, with propositions for an accommodation to the King at Oxford; immediately upon their arrival, divers of his Majesty's great officers and lords came to visit them, and some had their particular friends, among whom, Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) came to discourse in general about the propositions for peace, professing his earnest desire that they might take effect. The same author observes likewise, that when the commissioners for the treaty on both parts met at Uxbridge, on the 29th of January, 1644-5, several visits passed betwixt particular commissioners the same evening, and that Sir Edward Hyde came to visit Mr Holles and himself, and they had a long discourse to persuade one another to a compliance. But when the militia came to be treated on, Sir Edward would have argued, *That the whole power of the militia, by the law of England, is in the King only.* Mr Whitlock denied it to be so clear, and said, *He doubted not but to satisfy the commissioners in that point.* On which it was moved, that a day might be appointed to hear their arguments. But this, with some compliments to the abilities of the disputants, by the Earl of Southampton on the one side and Mr Holles on the other, was over-ruled, as being more likely to inflame than compose the difference between them.

■ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 322 and 124.

[L] He began a correspondence with the Marquis of Ormond.] It runs in these terms:

‘ My Lord,

‘ I have not the vanity to believe myself in any degree known or remembered by your Lordship, tho’ I have sometimes had the honour of waiting upon your Lordship in London; but I have a great ambition to be received by you as one who holds your Lordship in singular admiration, and I hope your extraordinary comportment in these degenerate times, will have so great an influence upon other noble breasts, that if neither virtue nor conscience make any impression, even envy may make them follow your Lordship's example, that they may in some degree have the recompence of such an excellent fame and estimation.

‘ When I came from Oxford (which is not a week since), having by his Majesty's command the honour of waiting upon the Prince into these parts, I had a special command from the King to use all means to give your Lordship frequent advertisements of what passes here, and to endeavour to understand the condition of affairs in that kingdom, where your Lordship worthily sits at the helm; and finding the Prince so solicitous to write to your Lordship, that I think he hath committed a duplicate of his letter to three several hands, I find it no less my duty than my inclination to make this address to your Lordship. Indeed the Prince much pleases himself with the hopes of a few men from you for his guard of firelocks, being informed of the rare diligence and activity in light marches of these men. But whether it be convenient for you to spare any of your numbers I know not. I should be very glad to hear that your Lordship were in any probable forwardness of uniting the

‘ affections of that kingdom. But I confess I have not skill enough to understand the meaning of those with whom you are to treat, be their pretences never so specious. But as your Lordship's great power and admirable vivacity hath hitherto supported that miserable kingdom, so the preservation of it is reserved only for you, when, at the distance we stand in, the means seem most difficult. I ask your Lordship's pardon for,

‘ My Lord,

Bristol, the 14th day  
of March, 1644.

‘ Your Lordship's &c.

‘ EDWARD HYDE (16).’

(16) Collection of Letters to and from the Duke of Ormond, No. CCCLXXVIII.

[M] He begged leave to stay in Jersey.] Some time after the Prince's departure, Sir Edward unbowed himself to the Marquis of Ormond in the following pathetic letter.

‘ My Lord,

June 22, 1646.

‘ Your Lordship hath been long since informed whether my Lord Digby attended the Prince, and from thence have pardoned my not acknowledging of your Grace's favour to me, from the impossibility of presenting it to you. I confess in that conjuncture of time I thought the remove from Jersey to Ireland to be very fit to be deliberately weighed, before attempted; but I would have chosen it much more cheerfully than this that is embraced, which I hope will be a memorial to my weakness; for it is my misfortune to differ from those with whom I have hitherto agreed, and especially with my best friend, which I hope will not render me the less fit for your charity, though I may be for your consideration. Indeed there is not light enough for me to see my way, and I can't well walk in the dark, and therefore I have desired leave of the Prince to breathe in this island a little for my refreshment, till I may discern some way in which I may serve his Majesty. I hope your Lordship will never meet with any interruption in the exercise of that devotion, which hath rendered you the envied example of three kingdoms, and that I shall yet find an opportunity to attend upon your Lordship, and have the honour to be received by you in the capacity of,

‘ My Lord,

‘ Your Lordship's &c.

‘ EDWARD HYDE (17).’

(17) Ibid. No. CCCCLVIII.

We see here not barely a dislike, but an extraordinary resentment, shewn to the Prince's going to Paris; and I believe it will not be disputed, that the chief ground of this resentment lay in the manifest danger into which his religion was thereby brought, from the restless endeavours of his mother. 'Tis notorious, that the Chancellor was never in any tolerable terms with her Majesty, on the account of his watchfulness against every attempt of this kind, of which more will be seen presently. And the particular way which he pitched upon to serve the King, while he continued in Jersey, is the subject of the ensuing remark.

[N] He



(r) The first is dated Jersey Dec. 26, 1647. His Essay on Sacrilege is also dated on a fast day at Jersey, 1648. in which, as to the year, there seems to be a mistake.

(s) History of the Rebellion, Vol. V. p. 131. 8vo edition.

(t) Lord Cottington did not return with him, but having changed his religion, continued in Spain the rest of his life. Ibid. Vol. III. folio edit.

(18) Vol. V. p. 70. 8vo. edition.

(19) Carte's Collection, No. CCCCLXVIII.

(20) Mr Oldmixon is positive that it was finished soon after the Restoration. Clarendon and Whitlocke compared, in the introduction.

who supplied him with several of the materials for it [N]. At the same time he spent some of his leisure hours in composing part of his *Contemplations and Reflections upon the Psalms of David* (r); and before his departure he published, *A full Answer to an infamous and traitorous Pamphlet, intituled, A Declaration of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, expressing the Reasons and Grounds of passing their late Resolutions, touching no farther Address or Application to be made to the King.* This was printed in 4to. at London in 1648, and about the middle of May that year he received a letter from the Queen to call him to Paris (s). After the King's death, he was continued both in his seat at the Privy-Council, and in his office of the Exchequer, by King Charles II. who sent him with the Lord Cottington, his Ambassador Extraordinary, into Spain, in November the following year, to apply for that monarch's assistance in the recovery of his Crown (t). He returned without success to his Majesty in July 1651 (u). Soon after his arrival, the King gave him that account (which is printed in the History of the Rebellion (w)) of his escape after the battle of Worcester, in that unfortunate expedition to Scotland, which had been undertaken during Sir Edward's absence, and was utterly disapproved by him (x). He now resided for some time at Antwerp, but left no means unattempted which lay in his power, by letters and messages to England, for compassing the Restoration \*; wherein, however, he relied solely upon the Episcopal party [O]. In

1653,

[N] He began in Jersey his History of the Rebellion, &c. Besides an express and direct declaration of this fact in one passage of the work itself, we are assured in another, that, upon the Lord Capel's waiting upon the King at Hampton-court in 1647, his Majesty writ to the Chancellor, 'thanking him for undertaking the work he was upon, and telling him, that he might expect speedily to receive some contribution from him towards it, &c. (18)'. Agreeable to this, the ninth book opens with declaring, that 'the work was first undertaken with the King's approbation and by his encouragement, and particularly that many important points were transmitted to the author by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the enemy, out of his own Memorials and Journals.' Thus far the time of beginning this history is ascertained from the history itself; but there is a passage in a letter from the Marquis of Ormond to the author, which helps to fix it to a greater exactness, and induces a great probability, that it was entered upon not long after the Prince's departure in 1646. The letter is in these terms.

'S I R,

'My Lord Digby will give me leave to profess, that the satisfaction I received at his coming hither, suffered much abatement in that you came not with him. And I shall never deny that I value your approbation of the actions I shall have part in, next after theirs, whose commands I dispute not, but obey.  
'The peace so long treated on is concluded here, and I hope it will prove as it is intended, a foundation for an happy settlement in his Majesty's other kingdoms. Whatsoever it be as to that public aim, if it shall please you to make use of it to enlarge your imprisonment, by removing into this bigger island, I can promise you what retiredness you please, and what else may conduce to your contentment, that is in the power of

Your most obedient,

Dublin-Castle,  
7 Aug. 1646.

humble servant,

ORMONDE (19).

So much for the exact time when this history was begun, and now we are upon the subject, we shall proceed to fix the time when it was finished, which may be ascertained to the same degree of exactness, from the dedication of our author's *survey of the Leviathan*, wherein he addresses himself to King Charles II. in these terms. 'As soon as I had finished (as far as I am able without the supply of those memorials and records which are fit to be inquired into) a work at least recommended, if not enjoyed to me by your blessed father, and approved, and in some degree perused by your Majesty (which I hope will be to the honour of his Majesty's memory, and your own magnanimous sufferings) I could not think of, &c.' This dedication is dated, Moulins, May 10, 1673, whence it appears that the history was not compleated 'till the beginning of that, or the latter end of the preceding year (20). The use of this remark is, that it ac-

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counts for those passages in the history, wherein facts are related which happened long after the Restoration; as for instance, that 'Sir John Digby lived many years after the King's return (21);' and that the Earl of Sandwich's 'expedition in waiting on the King with the fleet, was never forgiven him by some men (22),' which we see might very consistently be observed in this history, though that Earl did not lose his life 'till 1672.

[O] He relied solely upon the Episcopal party to bring about the Restoration.] His steadiness in this resolution, created him several enemies, and much opposition was raised against him in the little court which attended the King in his exile. These divisions did not escape the observations of Cromwell's spies about that Court. Accordingly there are several letters and papers concerning it in Thurloe's Collection. We shall give an extract of the first intelligence upon this subject which occurs there: It is a paper of Colonel Bampffield, and intitled, *The Conditions and Sentiments of the Titular King of Scots, and of those abroad who are interested in his Affairs.* It appears to be wrote after the reduction of Scotland by Cromwell, in the latter end of the year 1651. The informer sets out with an account of the King's Council, 'who, says he, are his mother, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Ormonde, Earl of Rochester, the Lords Percy, Jermin, Inchiquin, — Taaffe, lately made, and Sir Edward Hyde. The four first are of a faction directly opposite to Hyde; and the other party, who for the most part entirely govern in his councils, and their designs seem to be as different as their inclination. Ormonde, Hyde, and their party have, contrary to the sense of the rest, advised and prevailed with their King totally to abandon the party and principles of the Presbyterians, and to rely intirely upon his old episcopal party, which they persuade him comprehends the whole nobility, gentry, and bulk of the kingdom, who would not rise with him in his late march into England, because he was believed to go upon grounds disagreeable both to their affection and interests, and to the good of the nation, and inconsistent to the ancient constitution both in Church and State. And to this purpose Sir Giles Talbot, about a year and a half ago, or little more, was employed with a message from England; and to second this, afterwards Colonel Philips went with another, and albeit, I believe there is much of reality in this message, yet I don't doubt but the persons and their designs were represented by Hyde and Ormonde (who procured them to be recommended as fittest for a trust) with greater advantage, than either could produce, for the strengthening of their own credit with their master; by which means they weaned the King from the government of his mother's counsel, and have ever since bound him absolutely up to their own sense, to cast himself totally upon the Episcopal Party. As for Scotland, it being (to use their own phrase) under the slavery of the English conquest, they would now embrace the King's interest upon his own terms, to free themselves from their present bandage (23). In another letter of the same collection written in 1655, there is advice, that Hyde is not

(u) His Contemplations upon the 68th and two following Psalms are dated Antwerp, 16 July, 1651, which he says in the address prefixed to that work were written a little after his return from Spain.

(w) Vol. III. folio edit.

(x) See the next remark [O].

\* Several of these may be seen in Thurloe's State Papers.

(21) Vol. V. p. 192. 8vo. edit.

(22) Vol. VI. p. 768.

(23) Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 511.



(y) See the article of GREEN-VILE [Sir RICHARD].

(z) History of the Rebellion, Vol. III. and Thurloe's State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 335.

(aa) The seals were delivered to him at Bruges, Jan. 13 1657. Id. ibid. p. 729, 730. or Jan. 29. Wood, Vol. II. col. 534.

(bb) See many of his letters in the appendix to the Life of Dr John Berwick, in English, 1723. 8vo. and others in Thurloe, Vol. VII.

(cc) They called it an act of obivision for his friends, and indemnity for his enemies. North's Examen of Kennet's History of England, p. 454. Lond. 1740. 4to. He was also charged with advising the King to make friends of his enemies, for that his friends would continue so in all events. This he constantly denied to the last. Lives of the Lord-Chancellors, p. 26, 27.

1653, he was accused of holding a correspondence with Cromwell, and receiving a pension from him for intelligence. but was fully cleared by a declaration of the King and Council, on January 13 the following year [P]. This attempt to ruin him with his Majesty was made by the Old Royalists, and it turned so much to his advantage, that he was advanced to be Secretary of State afterwards, upon the removal of Mr Robert Long, who had been concerned in it (y). In 1657, two more attacks were made, one by the Papists and the other by the Presbyterians, with the same design and with no better success (z); and he was made Lord High-Chancellor of England the same year (aa). It would be tedious to mention the several particulars of that part which he managed in 1659, to prepare matters for his Majesty's reception. This was a sweet employ, and the more so, since, as he had always advised his Majesty to depend upon the episcopal party for the recovery of his Crown; so he had the honour and satisfaction to see it brought about by those means, in which he was a principal instrument. And his prudence, justice, and moderation, in settling the just boundaries betwixt the prerogative of the Crown and the liberties of the people at the Restoration, are largely related likewise to his honour in all the general histories of England [Q]. However, in reducing so much confusion into order, where so many clashing interests in point of property were concerned, it was not in the power of man to satisfy every body. And as the act of indemnity on the one hand raised him those enemies among the Royalists, which afterwards proved the greatest instruments of his ruin (cc); so the act of uniformity on the other hand was never forgiven him by the Presbyterians (dd). With regard to his own particular, wherein he had been one of the greatest sharers in his master's sufferings, he had a proportionable share of his glory. Besides the post of Lord High-Chancellor, in which he was continued (ee), he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, October 27, 1660\*. In the beginning of November he was created a peer, by the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire (ff); to which were added, in April the following year (gg), the titles of Viscount Cornbury in Oxfordshire, and Earl of Clarendon in Wiltshire. Upon the death of Henry Lord Falkland in 1663 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Oxford (bb); to which may be added, that he was Steward of the King's manor of Woodstock (ii). With these honours he held the first place in his Majesty's confidence, and was Prime Manager, if not Prime Minister (kk), under him. And he also received several grants from the Crown of considerable value [R]. Lastly, to compleat his happiness, these extraordinary favours, at the

dy would pay for them. See his Vindication, &c. in his Tracts, p. 25. Lond. 1727, folio.

(ii) His Vindication, &c. Art. 14. and it appears by the 6th art. that for a short time after the Restoration, he was a Commissioner of the Treasury and assisted in the Customs; so that he was Lord High-Chancellor of England, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary of State, Commissioner of the Treasury, and acted as Commissioner of the Customs, all at once. He was also unanimously chosen F. R. S. Feb. 8, 1664-5. Birch's Hist. of the R. S. Vol. II. p. 12.

(kk) There is no such post in England as that of Prime-Minister.

(dd) See the Compleat History of England.

(ee) Soon after he was sworn into this office, he drew up a Collection of the Rules and Orders heretofore used in Chancery, done by the advice and assistance of Sir Hargrave Grimston, Master of the Rolls, which was printed at London, 1667, 8vo.

\* Wood, ubi supra.

(ff) The patent bears date Nov. 3, 1660. Peerage of England, under the name of Hyde.

(gg) On the 20th of April, 1661. Id. ibid. He had obtained this manor of the King, to whom it was forfeited by Sir John Danvers, one of the Judges of King Charles I.

Wood, Vol. II. col. 534. As to such as are properly Crown lands, the Earl assures us, that he had none of his Majesty's lands but what he bought for as much as any bo-

time

\* Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 86.

truffed by the Presbyterians\*. What his opinion was of their assistance in this case, he did himself expressly declare on another occasion, in the following very strong terms, where speaking of the Restoration, he says, 'It pleased God, by a chain of miracles, at last to bring that to pass which all the world thought impossible to be done. He suffered the King to make all those attempts for his own vindication which his reason, industry, and virtue, could dictate to him; to endeavour by a union and conjunction with his own subjects, who had been the original of all his sufferings, to conquer those, who had been worse than they; but God blessed not that union and conjunction, those hands were too weak to hold up in battle, and too proud to hold up in prayer: God would not suffer that people to redeem the mischief they had done, by any noble action, but condemned them to undergo the penalty of it by very notable sufferings, by, and under those who had been enabled by them, to commit much greater wickedness.'

[P] He was cleared by the King and Council.] Notwithstanding this advantage, if we may believe Thurloe's intelligence, he thought himself in some danger the following year from the Queen's party. In a letter from Manning, dated June 1, 1655, N. S. that informer writes thus, 'I need not tell you by whom Prince Rupert was turned from Court, yet perhaps you have not known, that Hyde then offered Charles Stuart 50000 men should be in arms in England before a year went about, if he would quit the Queen's Court, and the Prince's party (24)'. Upon the same subject, in another letter dated from Cologne, November 9, 1655, there is this advice. Hyde is very fearful of being laid aside, which makes him omit no way which may keep himself up, though to the ruin of thousands. This caused him to promise much to be done in his design on England and Scotland before Christmas (25). The same person, November 17, following, from the same place, uses these terms: Charles Stuart daily tells us, Have patience a little, and you will not fail of action both in England and Scotland, or else adieu Ormonde and Hyde (26). But all this storm being quelled by the Chan-

cellor, there is a letter dated June 24, 1656, which contains the following information. I understand that C. R. is in a poor condition and equipage, and that almost every body forsakes him. All speak ill of his Chancellor Hyde, that he doth possess and govern him solely (27).

[Q] His moderation in settling affairs at the Restoration, &c.] The most remarkable instances of this moderation are, that he neither set aside the petition of right, nor endeavoured to raise the Star-chamber or High Commission Courts again when it was in his power, nor did he attempt to repeal the bill for Triennial Parliaments; though at the same he took care to repeal all things extorted by the long Parliament from King Charles I. and to settle the militia affairs. But other acts relating to the Prerogative, he did not touch upon, as tonnage, poundage, ship-money, &c. and when he might have obtained two millions for the standing revenue, he asked but 1,200,000 per ann. which he thought would still put the King under a necessity of having recourse to his Parliaments (28).

[R] He received several valuable grants from the Crown.] Besides the manor of Cornbury mentioned above, and the ground for his house near St James's palace, he had also a grant for 25000 l. to be paid out of the forfeited estates in Ireland, of which we have the following account from himself (29): 'Amongst the bills, says he, which were first transmitted from Ireland after his Majesty's happy return, there was an imposition of a certain sum of money upon some specified lands in the several provinces, which were to be paid to his Majesty within a limited time, and to be disposed of by his Majesty to such persons who had served him faithfully, and suffered in so doing, or words to that effect, for I am most confident, that I never heard of it at the time when it passed. But very near two years after his Majesty's return, I received a letter from the Earl of Orrery, that there would be in his hands, and the two other Lords (who had been appointed treasurers to receive the money raised by that act) a good sum of money for me, and desiring that

(27) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 141.

(28) His Life, in the Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 28, 29.

(29) In his Vindication against the Charge, &c. in 1667. p. 65—68. published in his Tracts, &c. 1727, folio.

|| Address to his Children, in his Miscellanies, p. 371.

(24) Thurloe, Vol. III. p. 459.

(25) Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 122.

(26) Ibid. p. 169. Hyde, in this letter, is supposed to hold a correspondence with Lambert or Fairfax, on a design to murder the Protector, and then seize such sea-ports as shall be found most feasible.



time when they were bestowed, were generally esteemed to be so many instances of the King's justice to his personal merit and his past services, and were reckoned as a part of those blessings, the sense of which then so remarkably filled the hearts of all people with a flood of joy. But it was not possible to stand many years in a situation so much distinguished above others, without becoming the object of envy [S]; which being the natural parent of malice, created him such enemies as both wished and attempted his ruin, and at last effected it. The first open attack upon him was made by the Earl of Bristol, who, in 1663, exhibited a charge of high-treason against him to the House of Lords [T]; and though

that I would speedily send my direction for the disposal thereof, because he was confident, that the money would be paid in at least by the time that my letter could arrive there. No man can be surprized with any thing, more than I was, at the receipt of this letter; believing that there was some mistake in it, and that my name might have been used in trust by some-body who had given me no notice of it, and without returning any answer to the Earl of Orrery, I writ by that post to the Lord Lieutenant, to inform him, what my Lord of Orrery had writ to me, and to desire him to inform me by his own inquiry, what the meaning of it might be. Before I had an answer from the Lord Lieutenant, and indeed before my letter could come to his hands, I received a second letter from the Earl of Orrery, in which he informed me, that there was now paid in to my use the sum of 12600 l. and that there would be the like sum again received at the end of six months, sending me likewise a particular direction to what person and in what form I was to send my order for the payment of the money. I forbore likewise to answer this letter till I had received an answer from the Lord Lieutenant, who then informed me at large, what title I had to this money, and how I came to have it: that shortly after passing that Act of Parliament above-mentioned, the Earl of Orrery had come to him, and putting him in mind, how the Chancellor had rejected all overtures which had been made to him, of benefit out of that kingdom, (which refusal, and many others, which shew how unsollicitous I have always been in the way of getting, is not more known to any man living than to the Lord Lieutenant) wished, that he would move his Majesty to confer some part of that money upon him, which the Lord Lieutenant very willingly did, and his Majesty as cheerfully granted: that a letter was accordingly prepared, and his Majesty's royal signature procured by Mr Secretary Nicholas, who was at the same time commanded by the King not to let me know of it; and to which purpose there was likewise a clause in the letter, whereby it was provided, that I should have no notice of it, which the Lord Lieutenant said, was by his Majesty's directions, or with his approbation; because it was said, that if I had notice of it, I should be so foolish as to obstruct it myself: and that there was a clause likewise in the said letter, which directed the payment of the said money to my heirs, executors, or assigns, if I should die before the receipt thereof. Of all which, being thus fully advertised by the Lord Lieutenant, of which, till that time, I had not the least notice or imagination, I desired Mr Secretary Nicholas to give me a copy of that letter (which had been since passed as a grant unto me under the great seal of Ireland) which he gave me, with a larger account of many gracious circumstances in the King's granting it, and the obligation laid upon him of secrecy; and the great caution used, that I might have no notice of it.——He then observes, that he waited upon his Majesty with his thanks, who enlarged his bounty with expressions of favour; that upon the prospect of this money, he agreed for the purchase of a manor called Blunsden in Wiltshire, joining to an estate he had there; and that he promised to pay more money together than is usual in such purchases, presuming that he could not at all be disappointed of the mentioned sum of money from Ireland, which was the sole ground and encouragement he had to undertake that bargain. But that the very next letters he received from thence informed him, that the necessities of that kingdom had been such, that they could only return him 6000 l. and that they had been forced to make use of the rest for the public, which would without doubt take care to repay him again within few months. And so, continues he, I

found myself engaged in a purchase which I could not retract, upon a presumption of money, which in that manner I was disappointed of: and I have not only never since received a penny of what was due upon the second payment, (and which I presumed would have been so certain, that I assigned it upon the marriage of my second son, to him as part of his portion) but the remainder of the first sum, was so borrowed or taken from me, that no part of it hath been since paid to me or to my use: by which, and the inconveniencies and damage which have since ensued to me from thence, I may reasonably say, that I am yet a loser, and involved in a great debt by that signal bounty of his Majesty, which I hope will in due time be made good to me, under so good a security as an Act of Parliament; and I have great reason to complain of those my very good friends, who first disposed his Majesty to that act of grace, and were not afterwards sollicitous enough in their several places to make it effectual to me.

[S] *Without becoming the object of envy.* Nothing served more, if so much, to inflame this passion, than the incident of his eldest daughter's marriage with the Duke of York, which happened in a few months after the King's return. She had been one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess Royal Henrietta, some time during the exile, when the Duke fell in love with her; and being disappointed by the defeat of Sir George Booth, in a design he had formed of coming with some forces to England in 1659, he went to Breda, where his sister then resided (30); and spending some weeks there, he took this opportunity, if we may believe Bishop Burnet (31), of soliciting Miss Hyde to a compliance without marriage; but she managed the matter with such address, that, in conclusion, he married her there on the fourth of November that year (32). However, this was done with all possible secrecy, and unknown to her father. After their arrival in England, growing big with child and near her time, she called upon the Duke to own his marriage; and though he endeavoured to draw her from claiming him, both by great promises and great threatenings, yet she had the spirit and wisdom to tell him, She would have it known that she was his wife, let him use her afterwards as he pleased. The King ordered some Bishops and Judges to peruse the proofs of her marriage; and they reporting that it was according to the doctrine of the Gospel and the Law of England (33), he told his brother he would not break with the Earl of Clarendon, he must live with her whom he had made his wife. Accordingly, on the third of September, 1660, they were remarried at Worcester house, where the Earl of Clarendon then lived, by Dr Joseph Crowther the Duke's chaplain (35). The same author observes, that the father solemnly protested he knew nothing of it till it broke out in the manner here related, and that he looked on it as that which would end in his ruin (35).

[T] *A charge of high-treason.* The substance of it was, that the Chancellor had said that his Majesty was dangerously corrupted in his religion, and inclined to Popery; that persons of that religion had such access and such credit with him, that unless a careful eye were had upon it, the Protestant Religion would be overthrown; and that were it not for his [the Chancellor's] standing in the gap, Popery would be introduced; and that he was the zealous upholder of the Protestant Religion. That upon Sir Henry Bennet's being made Secretary of State in the room of Sir Edward Nicholas, he said, that his Majesty had given 10,000 l. to remove a zealous Protestant, that he might bring into that high place a concealed Papist. That he had persuaded the King, contrary to his reason, to allow his name to be used to the Pope and several Cardinals, in the solicitations of a Cardinal's cap for the Lord Aubigny, Great Almoner to the Queen; to effect which, he had employed Richard Bealing, a known

(30) Carte's History of the Duke of Ormond, Vol. II, p. 188.

(31) History of his own Times, Vol. I.

(32) Kennet's Register, p. 246.

(33) She had been cautious to have an undeniable evidence of it in the Earl of Ossory, who was present, and the only person that was present at it. Carte, ubi supra.

(34) Kennet's Register, as before.

(35) Burnet, where last cited, and Echard's History of England, ad annum 1660. B. I. c. i. N. B. This remarriage seems to have been performed to prevent the clamours that might otherwise possibly be raised about the legitimacy of the issue.



though this prosecution ended greatly to the honour of the Chancellor [U], yet his enemies advanced very considerably by it in their design, to make himself gracious to his master,

known Papist, and promised great favour to the Papists here in case it should be effected; and that he hoped to compass the taking away all penal laws against the Papists. That being intrusted with the treaty betwixt his Majesty and the Queen, he concluded the King's marriage upon articles scandalous and dangerous to the Protestant Religion. That he had vented opprobrious scandals against his Majesty's course of life; and that he had suggested to the Duke of York, that his Majesty intended to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth; that he had persuaded the King, against the advice of the Lord-General, to withdraw the English garrisons out of Scotland, and demolish all the forts built there, without expecting the advice of Parliament. That he had told his Majesty there never was so weak and inconsiderable a House of Lords, nor never so weak and heady a House of Commons; and particularly, that it was better to sell Dunkirk, than to be at their mercy for want of money; and that he advised and effected the sale of the same to the French King. That he had enriched himself by the sale of offices, contrary to law, and had converted to his own use vast sums of public money, raised in Ireland by way of subsidy, to defray the charge of the government in that kingdom; and that he had procured his Majesty's customs to be farmed at a lower rate than others offered, and that to persons with some of whom he went a share, and in other parts of money resulting from his Majesty's revenue. It has been observed, that the words concerning the King's private inclinations and debaucheries were generally thought to have been the real expressions or suggestions of the Chancellor, but surely not altogether without a cause; that they may be thought the effect of an indecent freedom, but can hardly be supposed to proceed from any want of integrity or loyalty (36). However, we shall see presently that these freedoms, by the artful aggravations of his enemies, became the principal if not the sole cause of his ruin. At present, it will be more to our purpose to take notice, that though the Chancellor is here charged with being intrusted to negotiate the treaty of the Portugal match, and concluding it, yet it is not said that he proposed that marriage, which is the more necessary to attend to, because this reflection, among others, has been lately thrown upon the Chancellor's memory by a noble author, who, by way of proving the truth of it, quotes a long passage from the *Memoirs of Portugal*, written by the Sieur d'Ablancourt, Resident from France at the Court of Portugal when this marriage proposal was made, in which France itself, says his Lordship, *was too much interested not to be well informed* (37). As this assertion is directly contrary to what is suggested in the preface to the *History of the Rebellion*, where the authors mention his having opposed that match, on account of the general belief that the Infanta [as it should seem through some malformation of the parts] could have no children. We shall produce the following account by Mr Carte, which will perhaps be thought decisive in the Chancellor's vindication, since it is grounded upon a relation to that author by Dr Hough the late Bishop of Worcester, (whose character may be seen in this work) (38), from the Duke of Ormond's own mouth and Sir Robert Southwell's Narrative. 'The King's resolution to marry the Infanta,' says Mr Carte, was taken without the knowledge either of the Duke of Ormonde or the Lord Chancellor Clarendon. The King first communicated it to the Chancellor, and told him at the same time that he had agreed to the match. The Chancellor said he hoped his Majesty was not determined, for there were several things deserved to be maturely considered in that affair, which he was ready to offer, if his Majesty had not prevented it, by telling him that he was absolutely determined. The Chancellor acquainting the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Southampton with the matter, it was agreed among them, that he should desire the King to grant them all three an audience together. This was granted: they attended him in the room which was called Tom Chiffinch's closet, where the rarities stood, and gave him their reasons against the match. The Chancellor opened the subject, and particularly urged, not only what the Spaniard had objected as to the barrenness of the lady proposed, but the accounts

and reasons which he had from other hands, to believe that the Infanta would never prove with child; that if it proved so in the event, it would be a great infelicity to the whole kingdom; and this was a consideration so very important, that the Portugal minister ought to be talked to plainly on the subject, and the matter seriously examined (39). The King replied, that he was satisfied that accusation came originally from the malice of the Spaniards, and was without foundation; and in fine, told them he had proceeded so far in the matter, that it was now too late for him to retreat, and he must go on with the treaty. During this audience, upon their remonstrating against his marrying a Roman-Catholic wife; the King asked, *Where is there a Protestant fit for me to marry?* It was said his Majesty could be at no loss in that point, for there were ladies enough in Germany of that religion, and of families fit for the alliance of any prince. *Cods fish*, said the King, *they are all foggy, and I can't like any one of them for a wife*. Upon this answer, which excluded all Protestants that could be proposed, the Duke of Ormonde was clearly convinced, that the resolution was taken for the King to marry none but a Roman-Catholic. It was a point indeed, concludes Mr Carte, which his mother, and those of that religion who were in the secret of the change he had made in his, had extremely at heart, and thought of the utmost consequence, as well to fix him theirs, as to advance the cause of Catholicity (40). As the Chancellor's opposing this marriage on account of the lady's barrenness was an instance of his integrity; so the opposition which he gave to the intended divorce, for which that cause among others was alledged, is another instance of the same integrity, which redounds equally at least to his honour. The person designed to supply her Majesty's place was Mrs Stuart, a beautiful young lady, who was related to the King, and had some office under the Queen. The Chancellor, to prevent this, sent for the Duke of Richmond, who was of the same name; and seeming to be sorry that a person of his worth and relation to his Majesty should receive no marks of his favour, advised him to marry this lady, as the most likely means to advance himself. The young nobleman, liking the person, followed the advice, made immediate application to the lady, who was ignorant of the King's intentions, and in a few days married her. The King, thus disappointed, and soon after informed how the match was brought about, banished the Duke with his new Ducheſs from Court, and reserved his resentment against the Chancellor to a more convenient opportunity. This account by Mr Echard (41) is inserted here, because the truth of it has not as we know of been disputed. Mr Carte indeed (not finding any thing decisive concerning it in the Duke of Ormond's papers) observes that it doth not appear whether the Chancellor actually encouraged the Duke of Richmond's marriage or no. 'But I find,' says that author by way of confirming it, that he [the Chancellor] was so strongly possessed of the King's inclination to a divorce, that even after his disgrace he was persuaded the Duke of Buckingham had undertaken to carry that matter through the Parliament. It is certain too, continues he, that the King considered him as the chief promoter of that marriage, and resented it in the highest degree (42). The charge of the Chancellor's advising the sale of Dunkirk shall be considered in an ensuing remark.

[U] *It ended greatly to the Chancellor's honour.* It is observable, that there had been a long course of friendship both in adversity and prosperity between the Chancellor and the Earl of Bristol; but they gradually falling into different measures upon the account of religion or politics, and the Chancellor refusing a small boon, as the Earl took it to be, which was said to be the passing a patent in favour of a Court lady, the latter thought himself so disobliged, that letting loose his fiery temper, he thought of nothing but revenge (43). The same author who makes this remark observes, that there appears a perverse turn in the Earl of Bristol's articles, wherein the Chancellor is first represented as jealous of Popery, and complaining of the King's inclination to it by choosing new ministers popishly affected;

(39) See more of this in Lord Lansdowne's article.

(40) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 254. Bishop Burnet, ubi supra, says, that the French agent offered the Chancellor 100000 l. and assured him of renewing the same present every year, but that he rejected the offer with great indignation.

(41) In his History of England, ad annum 1667. B. I. c. 3.

(42) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 352. See also Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. folio edit.

(43) Lives of the Lord Chancellors, p. 207, 208.

(36) Lives of the Lord Chancellors p. 268.

(37) Vindication of General Monk, &c. in the second volume of Lord Lansdowne's Works, p. 135.

(38) See his article.



master, less respected in parliament, and less beloved by the people (11). The building of a magnificent house, which was begun in the following year 1664, furnished fresh matter for obloquy [W]. In the mean time, though he was very sensible that he continually lost ground in his Majesty's favour, yet he disdained to stoop to those arts which were become necessary to prevent the mischievous consequences thereof [X]; so that by degrees

(11) Compleat History of England, Vol. III. p. 266. 2d edit.

fedled; and yet after all, he is made the instrument of those very designs laid for Popery, and the professed promoter of them. This is somewhat surprizing; and what has since made the designed revenge more apparent is, that the articles should tax the Chancellor with saying, that Sir Henry Bennet was a concealed Papist, when the Earl of Bristol himself was the same, and had been privy to all that the King had done at Fontenabla at the Pyrenean treaty. His revenge was returned upon the prosecutor abundantly to the vindication and honour of the Chancellor by the House of Lords; who shewed themselves very sensible of the malice of the prosecution, and as soon as the articles were exhibited and read before them, after a short consideration made the following order: 'That a copy of the articles or charge of high-treason, exhibited this day by the Earl of Bristol against the Lord Chancellor, be delivered to the Lord Chief-Justice, who with all the rest of the Judges are to consider, whether the said charge hath been brought in regularly and legally; and whether it may be proceeded on, and how; and whether there be any treason in it or no; and make report thereof to this House on Monday next if they can, or else as soon after as possibly they can.' Upon this important occasion, all the Judges met at Serjeant's Inn, and the Earl of Bristol repaired to them, desiring to see their order; which being read, he told them, that *he came out of respect to know of them, whether they were informed how it came into the House of Peers, whether as a charge or not.* But one of the Judges, who had been present when it was delivered in, saying, that *they were tied up by their orders,* the Earl took some exception at the manner of his expression, as if his address was unnecessary at that time, and taking it as a rebuke upon him, departed. And, according to their order, which supposed it to be a charge of *high-treason*, and not mentioning *misdemeanors*, having considered the matter, they unanimously agreed upon this answer, which the Lord Chief-Justice Foster delivered into the House of Lords: 'We conceive that a charge of high-treason cannot, by the laws and statutes of this realm, be originally exhibited by one Peer against another unto the House of Peers: and that therefore a charge of high-treason by the Earl of Bristol against the Chancellor, mentioned in the order of reference to us on the 10th of this instant July, hath not been regularly and legally brought in; and if the matters alledged in the said charge were admitted to be true, although alledged to be traiterously done; yet there is no treason in it.' Upon the reading of this answer, the Earl of Bristol took exceptions at it, and some of the Lords, who were friends to the Chancellor, inferred, that 'If it was not regularly and legally brought in, it was a libel, and ought to be condemned, and the author of it censured.' To satisfy the House, one of the Judges, upon conference with his brethren, did the next day deliver the reasons of the opinion of the Judges in their answer; when the Earl of Bristol, a little to extenuate the matter, said, that *the articles were not intended by him as a charge, but an information.* Hereupon their Lordships, upon a fair debate of the question, did unanimously resolve to declare their concurrence with the opinion of the Judges.

[W] *The building of his house furnished fresh matter for obloquy.* We shall take the account of this matter from Bishop Burnet, who has not spared to censure the Earl's indiscretion on that step, which indeed he was himself not insensible of, and afterwards lamented (44). 'The King, says that historian, had granted him, as has been already observed, a large piece of ground near St James's palace to build upon (45); he intended a good ordinary house, but not understanding those matters himself, he put the management of it into the hands of others, who run him into a vast expence of above 50,000l. three times as much as he had designed to lay out upon it (46). During the war, and in the plague year [1665], he had about 300 men at work, which he thought would have been an acceptable thing, when so many men

were kept at work, and so much money as was daily paid circulated about. But it had a contrary effect, it raised a great outcry against him. Some called it *Dunkirk house*, intimating that it was built by his share of the price of Dunkirk. Others called it *Holland-house*, because he was believed to be no friend to the war; so it was given out he had the money from the Dutch: it was visible that, in a time of public calamity, he was building a very noble palace. Another accident was, that before the war there were some designs on foot for the repairing of St Paul's, and many stones were brought thither for the purpose. That project was laid aside: he upon that bought the stones, and made use of them in building his own house. This, how slight soever it may seem to be, yet it had a great effect by the management of his enemies (47). To the Bishop's remark it may be added, that this stately pile was not finished 'till 1667 (48); so that it stood a growing monument for the popular odium to feed on; almost the whole interval between his first and his last impeachment; and to aggravate and spread that odium, there was published a most virulent satirical song; intitled *Clarendon's House-warming*, consisting of many stanzas, each of four hendecasyllables, to which, by way of sting at the tail, was added the following clumsily but bitter epigram.

#### Upon the House.

Here lye the sacred bones  
Of Paul beguiled of his stones.  
Here lye the golden briberies  
Of many ruin'd families.  
Here lies the Cavalier's debenture wall,  
Fix'd on an eccentric basis.  
Here's Dunkirk town and Tangier hall,  
The Queen's marriage and all,  
The Dutch-men's *Templum Pacis*.\*

[X] *Though he was sensible of his losing ground, yet he disdained those arts which were become necessary, &c.* From the time that Sir Henry Bennet (afterwards Lord Arlington) was made Secretary of State, he was apt to complain, upon occasion that he had no credit at Court, which disoblighd the King; and when his advice, prudently and honestly given, was over-ruled, he did not care to intermeddle, but left it to wiser men, as he filed them, to follow their own measures, and to perform what they had confidently undertaken for the King's service. This manner of conduct made him neglect his interest (of which few ministers have ever had a greater share, and yet founded upon virtue) in the House of Commons, 'till at last it was utterly ruined (49). This observation of Mr Carte's is agreeable to all the general histories. But there is an instance of this conduct related by the Earl himself, which sets it in the fullest light, as follows. In 1667, the insult by the Dutch at Chatham happening soon after the Earl was settled in Clarendon-house, the clamours of the populace on that occasion were all levelled at him as the author of all the calamities of the kingdom; so that he was in continual apprehensions they would pull down his house, and that he should fall a sacrifice to their fury (50). In the mean time, the distraction was so great in court and city, as if an army of 100,000 men had encompassed it; and though the Dutch fleet advanced no farther than Chatham, and returned out of the Thames; yet it remained still upon the coast, and landing about Harwich, attempted the castle of Langhorne-point, and kept the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, in perpetual alarm for many days: the trainbands, which had been drawn together, pretended the time was expired that they were obliged to maintain themselves, and therefore required pay or liberty to depart, though the enemy was in view, and themselves like to be made the first prey. The regi-

(47) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 249, folio edition.

(48) He did not go into it 'till April that year. Carte, where last cited. At his entrance he said, this house will one day be my ruin. It stood at the upper end of St James's street, where Albemarle street and the streets adjoining now are. Echard, Vol. III. p. 192.

\* State Poems, from Oliver Cromwell to King James II. p. 247. Lond. 1697, 8vo.

(49) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 350.

(50) Carte, where last cited, and the Earl's Vindication, passim.



degrees the King was brought at length to entertain an unconquerable aversion to him [Y]; and having first taken away the great seal in August 1667 [Z], afterward encouraged an impeachment

ments which had been raised without charge to the King, upon the interest of several persons of honour and great reputation, had upon the first musters received one month's pay; but that time was expired; and they must either receive another pay, or take free quarter upon the country, which the time would not bear. In this perplexity, some persons had advised the King to summon the Parliament to convene upon a short day, notwithstanding it stood prorogued 'till October. And, continues the Earl, when his Majesty asked my opinion of it, I told him I thought it could not be done; I was sure it never had been done. To which his Majesty replied, that he was assured by many that he might do it, and named Mr Prynne to be of that opinion. Shortly after, his Majesty appointed the whole council to meet upon the debate, of which I knew nothing 'till I came into the room. The King himself told us what we were to debate upon; that we all saw the straits we were in, the general distemper of the nation, the insolence of the enemy; that there was a necessity of having an army, that he had no money, nor knew where to get any, nor could imagine any other way to provide against the inconveniences which were in view, than by calling the Parliament; of which, and any other expedient, he would receive our advice, expressing so much of his own sense, that it was plain enough he inclined to that remedy: upon which, three or four of those who sat at the lower end of the table, and who were known to have contrived the council, expressed themselves at large; seemed very confident that it might lawfully be done; that no other way could be found to raise money; that men could not be kept together without money; and desired that they who were of another opinion would propose some other counsel. I don't deny their reasons did in no degree satisfy me; and though I knew very well that the resolution was upon the matter already taken, that there was a great desire in some men, whose malice to me was enough known, to lead me into some expressions of which they might take advantage; yet the obligation of my oath to deliver myself freely, the conceived security of that place, and the opinion that the thing was not reasonable, and would produce many inconveniences to the King's service, prevailed with me to discharge my own conscience, God knows, according to the best of my understanding; I said, I knew well the disadvantage upon which I spoke in so tender a point, and how unpopular a thing it was to be against the convening of the Parliament in a time of so great straits, when no other remedy could be found; yet *that* appearing to me not practicable, I thought it not to be embraced; that it was confessed by all hands, that in the point of law, the convening them before the time to which they were adjourned was at least very doubtful; and to me, upon all the disquisition I could make, it was very clear it could not be done; that the temper of both Houses was well known; and it could not but be presumed, that when they came together, the first debate they would fall upon, would be upon the manner of their coming, and whether they were in a capacity to act; and I doubted very much, that there would be very few who would be willing to pass an Act of Parliament in so doubtful a season, and then if their meeting was only to confer, when they might say any thing and conclude nothing, I thought it well worth the considering, whether, in so general a distemper, such an assembly might not interrupt all other considerations and expedients, and yet propose none, and so increase the confusion: I said if the necessities were so urgent, that it was necessary to have a Parliament convened, and that they could not lawfully re-assemble that which was prorogued, 'till the day to which it was prorogued, as I was confident it could not be, there could be no doubt but that it was in the King's power to dissolve that Parliament, and forthwith issue out writs for calling another, which might be regularly assembled more than a month before the prorogued Parliament could meet. There were many more for this expedient as the best way; but many others declaring against it, the King himself, with some quickness, asked the Chancellor what he would advise, upon

which he said, that 'till a new Parliament could meet, for the present support of those troops which were to guard the coasts, to avoid the worst sort of free quarters made by the soldiers themselves, the only way that appeared to him to be practicable, would be to write letters to the Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of those counties where the troops were obliged to remain, to cause provisions to be brought into their quarters; as also to write the like letters to the neighbouring counties, to raise money by way of contribution, as had heretofore been done. And it is possible, concludes he, that in the earnestness of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, I might use that expression of raising contribution as had been done in the late civil war (51). Thus he ventured too boldly to oppose the majority of the Council, with the King at their head; and the consequence was, that this opinion of his appeared at the head of the articles of treason soon after exhibited against him, dressed up in the following terms: 'That the Earl of Clarendon hath designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the kingdom thereby; advising the King to dissolve the present Parliament; to lay aside all thoughts of Parliaments for the future; to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution.'

[Y] *He was brought by degrees to an unconquerable aversion for him.* There can be no clearer proof of his innocence and real worth, than the low methods taken by his adversaries to beget this aversion in his Majesty, the particulars of which are finely and delicately touched in the preface to the first volume of his History of the Rebellion. But it will not be amiss to lay before the reader some circumstances of that singular one, which has been generally thought to have the greatest share in creating the said aversion. It is allowed on all hands, that the Chancellor was not without the pride of conscious virtue †, 'where his personal carriage was attended with a kind of gravity and haughtiness, which struck a very disagreeable awe into a Court filled with licentious persons of both sexes; that he often took the liberty to give such reproofs to these persons of mirth and gallantry, as were very unacceptable to them, and sometimes thought it his duty to advise the King himself in such a manner, that they took advantage of him, and as he passed in Court would often say to his Majesty, *There goes your schoolmaster*. The chief of these was the Duke of Buckingham, who had a surprising talent of ridicule and buffoonery; and that he might make a way to his ruin, he often acted and mimicked the Chancellor in the presence of the King, walking stately with a pair of bellows before him for the purse, and Colonel Titus carrying a fire-shovel on his shoulder for the mace; with which sort of banter and farce, says Mr Echard, the King was too much delighted and captivated (52). Accordingly, as soon as the seal was taken from him and delivered to the King, Mr May, well knowing the compliment that would be the most grateful to his Majesty on that occasion, upon kissing his hand told him, *He was then King of England and never before* (53). But we have still a more undeniable evidence that it was this part of his behaviour which was resented above any thing else by his Majesty, and that is the King himself, who, in a letter wrote expressly to satisfy the Duke of Ormonde what the Chancellor had done to displease him, besides the dissatisfaction of the world on his account, does not offer to charge him with any crime, but only with a certain *peevishness of temper* which gave him offence (54).

[Z] *The seal was taken from him.* Upon this occasion he wrote the following letter to the Duke of Ormonde.

'Though I have great reason to take heed what I write and what I say, and therefore have given over sending all letters by the post, yet I satisfy myself, that this bearer will carefully deliver into your hands this scribble; and your's of the 26th is so full of kindness, that I must not leave it unacknowledged. The truth is, I know not what to say, the world is so much altered since I wrote last. The great affliction I lay under from the unexpected loss of my wife, which I did not apprehend full two days, had, I thought, pretty well prepared me to quit the world; yet I cannot

(51) Vindication of himself against the first article of the House of Commons, printed in his Tracts, edit. 1727, folio.

† He acknowledges it himself in his Vindication, &c. where he calls it the pride of a good conscience, p. 9.

(52) Echard's History of England, ad annum 1667. B. I. c. 3.

(53) The Chancellor's Vindication of himself, &c. ubi supra, p. 8.

(54) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. I. p. 353. and Echard's History, where last cited.



impeachment of high-treason, which was brought against him by the House of Commons [A A] in November; and lastly, during the prosecution, procured him to leave the kingdom [B B] in the beginning of December; whereupon, an act of banishment was passed against

cannot tell you, that the other which followed within a few days, did not exceedingly surprize me, and even astonish me; nor in truth am I yet recovered out of that trance. Nor can I imagine, how, from being thought a pretty wise fellow, I am become suddenly to have no understanding, and to be of no use. It fell upon me in an ill time, and how I shall shift I know not, being under a vast debt, and possessed of a very small estate, and so like to be in straits enough. Nor do I know what is more intended. I thank God I fear nothing that my enemies can bring against me, though the number of them is great, and those of my friends fewer than I could imagine †.

Upon all the reflections I can make with myself, I am not conscious of having done or said any thing in discharge of my public trust, which I would not have done or said if I had been that moment to expire. I am accused of insolence and sawciness in debates, of which 'tis said I had directions long since to advertise me. In truth, I think I have been frequently bold enough, in which I am sure my intentions were always full of duty; and I am confident you will swear for me that that duty will never decline. If I know myself, I shall never be less warm in all the King's concernment than I have ever been, and it is not impossible that I may yet do him more service under his displeasure, than I have been able to do in his favour.

There are now other expedients designed to his service than I could travel in. I am pretty well composed in my mind, and if I am suffered, shall be glad to spend this winter here, and at the spring shall retire into some corner in the country, where I may be able to get bread. I must not omit to tell you, that the Duke of York hath been and is as gracious to me, and as much concerned for me as possible; I have not many other friends to brag of. I confess I have so much mortification upon the observation of the humours of men, that the very ridiculousness thereof is some allay to the melancholic. God prosper you and your's, and keep your master firm to you, for I believe I have few enemies who don't desire to oblige you the same way they have done me\*. I pray God to provide well for the public here, and bring you and me once more together.

Clarendon-house,  
24 Sept. 1667.

CLARENDON (55).\*

[A A] *The King encouraged an impeachment of high-treason, &c.* Two instances of this are given, one by Mr Carte, who relates (56), that his Majesty observing Sir John Finch to be silent in the House, when this point came in question, gave him positive orders to be active, and to promote the business. And Mr Echard tells us (57), that the King very sharply rebuked Sir Stephen Fox for voting against the impeachment. And besides these express declarations of his temper on this occasion, the Earl hath not spared to assert, that, as soon as the Parliament came together, it quickly appeared that my enemies (they are his own words) had so far prevailed with his Majesty, as to declare his own displeasure against me, and against all those who appeared to have no ill opinion of me; and then nothing was spoken so much of as the resolution to take my life, and the lady Castlemain declared that the Duke of Buckingham was to sit Lord High-Steward of England upon my trial, many wagers being laid in the Court that I should lose my head; and Sir Thomas Osborne, a person of great intimacy with the Duke, had declared in the country before he came up to Parliament, that if the Chancellor was not hanged he would be hanged himself; all which was done, he intimates, in the view of driving him out of the land (58), a thing which his Majesty had indeed fixed upon, and which was compassed in the manner related in the next remark.

[B B] *Procured him to leave the kingdom.* As this part of his conduct was condemned by many of his friends (59), and particularly by the Duke of Ormonde, who had in a manner engaged for his steadiness and courage to stand a trial (60) he drew up a particular account of it, as follows. \* From the beginning of

the prosecution in Parliament against me, some persons who wished me very well, informed of the several intentions against me, earnestly advised me to withdraw myself, and thereby to provide for my security, which I utterly refused to do. And it is well known, that the day when the House of Commons sent up their general impeachment, that my coach was ready, and waited three or four hours to carry me to the House, I expecting to be sent for 'till their rising. When the debate grew so hot in the House of Peers, that many expositions from the Lower House, they still refused to commit me to prison, I received new importunities from my friends to make my escape. And they were persuaded by some who had had the greatest hand in contriving my ruin, to believe that it would be grateful to the King, and that there should be no means used to obstruct my going away: and when nothing of this could work upon me, the Bishop of Hereford (who had not carried himself so well toward me as some men thought I had deserved from him †) first sent to the Bishop of Winchester to persuade him to get me out of the kingdom; and confessed to him, that it was the King's desire, though he would not own it to any body else; and then came to me himself, pressing the same thing to me, and undertook upon his salvation (which was his own expression) that I should neither be stopped in my passage, nor suffer the least degree in my honour or my fortune by my absence; which he said I could not believe he would undertake without very good authority, and thereupon enlarged upon the calamities the kingdom must suffer upon this difference between the two Houses, of which I should be looked upon to be the sole cause, and therefore had reason to apprehend what sense the people were like to have of it: and Mr Seymour had the confidence to tell a noble Lord of the House, who had vigorously opposed my commitment, that if the House of Peers did not comply with the House of Commons, the people would not only pull down my house, but the houses of all those Lords who adhered to me: I told the Bishop I was very innocent in all things laid to my charge, and therefore was not to be terrified by threats; however, if it were thought fit for his Majesty's service that I absented myself, I would without any consideration how far I might suffer in point of reputation, submit to his Majesty's direction; only I desired, that I might have such a pass as might secure me from being stopped, and exposed as a spectacle to the people, and as a man running away from justice; which the Bishop thought I might reasonably require, and made no doubt of sending it me accordingly: but the next morning he told the Bishop of Winchester, that if the King should grant such a pass, it might give great offence to the Parliament; which hazard his Majesty would not run; but renewed all the assurances he had before given for the security of my passage; and I as positively refused to accept thereof; and so continued in my house, and spoke every day publickly with many persons a full week after the time that the Bishop had been with me, notwithstanding the daily advice and importunity I received from my friends and nearest relations to withdraw.

It pleased God, that the Duke of York had been for some weeks sick of the small-pox, so that nobody had spoken with him about any business for the space of near a month; but the malignity of the disease being spent, his Majesty himself had, upon the last Friday in November, visited his Royal Highness; and saying little more than to congratulate his recovery and express his own great joy in it, he came again the next morning early, and had some private conference with him. And the King no sooner departed from him, but the Duke bid his wife send presently to me, and conjure me presently to be gone; that she should let me know that it was absolutely necessary for the King's service, and that I might be very confident and secure that I should meet with no obstruction in the way, nor undergo the least damage in my honour or fortune by being gone. And upon this

† His name will be seen presently among the protesting Lords.

|| The Duke's interest was in some danger, a project being on foot to procure a declaration from the King that he had been married to the Duke of Monmouth's mother; and the persons appointed by his Majesty to reduce his expenses had proposed the cutting off the 200 l. a week allowed for the Duke's table. General History of England, and Carte, p. 355.

† He lost, on May 19, his chief friend the Earl of Southampton, upon whose death the treasury was put into the hands of the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashley, Sir Thomas Clifton, Sir William Coventry, and Sir John Dancombe, none of them well affected to the Chancellor. Carte, Vol. II. p. 351.

\* The sincere and inviolable friendship between these two worthy Statesmen is very exemplary. We have seen the commencement of it, and it was cemented by an uninterrupted series of mutual kindnesses; one of which, on the Chancellor's part, was his writing the *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland*, from the papers communicated to him by the Duke. This piece was printed at London, 1726, 8vo.

(55) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the Appendix, No. LII.

(56) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 353.

(57) Echard's History of England, Vol. III.

(58) Vindication of himself, in the conclusion.

(59) North's Examen of Kennet's History of England, p. 454.

(60) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the appendix, No. LXVII. See also a Letter from the Duke to the Lord Arlington, dated Sept. 3, 1667. in the same volume, p. 353. and in remark [A] of the ensuing article.



against him on the 19th of that month. Before his departure, he drew up an apology \* in a petition to the House of Lords, which being delivered by his eldest son, the Lord Cornbury, to the Earl of Denbigh, was presented by him to the House on the third of December. His friends were divided in their opinions about the part which he took of withdrawing, but they all thought him ill advised in the matter of his petition (mm), wherein he vindicated himself from any way contributing to the late miscarriages, in such a manner as laid the blame at the same time upon others [CC]. He retired to Normandy, where, if not the malice, at least the misrepresentations, of his enemies pursued him. As he was going in the latter end of March following from Rouen to Paris, he stopped for some time towards the end of April at a town called Evreux, on the south side of the Seine; where he was assaulted by some seamen, and very narrowly escaped with his life [DD]. Being greatly afflicted with the gout, and finding himself not secure in that part of

\* It is printed in Rapin's History of England under this year.

(in m) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. P. 354.

' this authority and command I did, upon Saturday the last of November, 1667, leave my own house, and went by coach to Erith, where I embarked; and it pleased God, after some days struggling with ill wind and weather, I arrived at Calais the Wednesday following. And I did no more in this adventure, whatever prejudice I have undergone by it, than I shall always do in sacrificing my honour and my life itself upon the least insinuation of his Majesty's pleasure, and whenever he thinks his service may be advanced by it. And if any man shall yet think, notwithstanding all that I have said, that I ought not to have withdrawn myself, but to have remained there in prison, or in any other condition they would have put me, until I had been fully cleared upon a fair trial, he will, I hope, have so much compassion of me, as to think I had great difficulties to contend with, and will lament, on my behalf, that I am forced to undergo so hard a fate after the age of threescore years, whereof thirty have been spent in the service of the Crown; and for the prosperity whereof, and the happiness of his Majesty's royal person, my daily prayers shall be poured out in what condition soever I am, and in what corner soever of the world I shall be confined or condemned to (61).'

(61) His Vindication, in the conclusion.

This absolute resignation, not only of his life but of his honour too, to the King's pleasure, will perhaps be looked on at this time of day, (if any thing more than a strain of Court language) to be a rare example of the influence of the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, which was preached up in those days, and for which his Lordship may be justly honoured with the title of a Confessor. But though that principle ought, in justice to his universally acknowledged integrity, to be allowed the first place among the motives which prevailed upon him to withdraw; yet as he declares at the same time that he had great difficulties to contend with; so no injury will be done to him, in supposing that the principle of self-preservation held the second place among those motives. There is a letter of his son the Lord Cornbury to the Duke of Ormonde, which furnishes a sufficient warrant for this assertion. It is dated December 8, four days after his father's landing at Calais, and was wrote to excuse that resolution. In this view, having alledged the several other reasons for it, he closes the number as follows: that 'being informed from very creditable hands, that there was a design to prorogue the Parliament, on purpose to try him by a jury of Peers, (by which means he might fall into the hands of the protesting Lords) he resolved to withdraw \*.' Accordingly Mr Carte informs us, that it appeared from Lord Arlington's Letters to the Duke of Ormonde, that it was expected a week before the vote [for committing him], that if the Lords would not recede from their privilege, the Commons would either take the way of remonstrating [as they did] against it †, or bring a bill of attainder. The last, which would still have left the whole House of Lords to judge, afforded the prosecutors little hopes of success, especially since the Bishops would have voted on that occasion; and therefore a trial by commission, directed to twenty-four Peers, was deemed more eligible; and the Lord Clarendon, with all his innocence and integrity, had reason to dread the judgment of twenty-four such persons as should be packed by the Duke of Buckingham †. The number twenty-four of this jury plainly points to the Lords who protested against the vote for not committing the Earl, which were D. Bucks, D. Albemarle, Teynham, St David's, T. Lucas, Ch. Garrard, Berkshire, Powlet, Howard of Charlton, Pembroke, Rochester, W. Duresme, T. Sandes, Jo. Berkley, Northampton, Kent, Carlisle, Dover, Nor-

wich, Vaughan, Hen. Hereford, Byron, Bath, Bristol, Arlington, Say and Seal, Powis. In number twenty-four, besides the three Bishops †.

[CC] *As laid the blame upon others* ] The Lord Arlington, who thought himself particularly struck at in the petition, called it a libel in the House, and after reading it, the Lords sent two of the Judges to acquaint the Commons of it, and to desire a conference. The Duke of Buckingham, who was also plainly aimed at in the petition, delivered it to the Commons, and in his usual way of insult and ridicule, said, The Lords have commanded me to deliver to you this scandalous and seditious paper sent from the Earl of Clarendon. They bid me present it to you, and desire you in a convenient time to send it to them again, for it has a style which they are in love with, and therefore desire to keep it. Upon the reading of it in that House, it was voted to be *scandalous, malicious, and a reproach to the justice of the nation*; whereupon they moved the Lords that it might be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was ordered, and executed accordingly (62).

[DD] *He narrowly escaped with his life.* ] This assault was made on the 23d of April, as appears from the following account of it in a letter to Sir William Coventry, Secretary of State, by Mr Oliver Long, dated at Evreux, April 26, 1668 (63). 'As I was travelling from Rouen towards Orleans, it was my fortune, April 23, N. S. to overtake the Earl of Clarendon (then in his unhappy and unmerited exile) who was going towards Bourbon, but took up his lodging at a private hôtel in a small walled town called Evreux, some leagues from Rouen. I, as most English gentlemen did to so valuable a patriot, went to pay him a visit near supper time, when he was, as usual, very civil to me. Before supper was done, twenty or thirty English seamen and more, came and demanded entrance at the great gate, which being strongly barred, kept them out for some time; but in a short space they brake it, and presently drove all they found, by their advantage of numbers, into the Earl's chamber, where by the assistance of only three swords and pistols, we kept them out for half an hour, in which dispute many of us were wounded by their swords and pistols, whereof they had many. To conclude, they broke the windows and doors, and under the conduct of one Howard an Irishman (who has three brothers, as I am told, in the King of England's service), and an ensign in the company of cannoners; they quickly found the Earl in his bed, not able to stand by the violence of the gout; whence after they had given him many blows with their swords and staves, mixed with horrible curses and oaths, they dragged him on the ground into the middle of the yard, where they encompassed him around with their swords, and after they had told him in their own language, how he had sold the kingdom and robbed them of their pay, Howard commanded them all, as one man, to run their swords through his body. But what difference arose among themselves before they could agree, God above, who alone sent this spirit of dissension, only knows. In this interval, their lieutenant, one Savaine, came and disarmed them. Sixteen of the ringleaders were put into prison, and many of those things which they had rifled from him found again, which were restored, and of great value. Monsieur La Fonde, a great man belonging to the King of France's bed-chamber, sent to conduct the Earl on his way hither, was so desperately wounded in the head, that there were but little hopes of his life. Many of these assassins were grievously wounded, and this action is so much resented by all here, that many of these

† Compleat collection of the Lords' Protests, under the year 1667. Lond. 1737. 8vo.

(62) State Trials, in that of the Earl of Clarendon, Vol. II. p. 572.

(63) The original is in the Bodleian library.

\* Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. in the Appendix, No. LIII.

† The debate which ended in that remonstrance was ushered in by the Duke of Albemarle's son, a youth of 14 or 15 years of age, such being allowed then to sit in the House of Commons. Ibid. in the body of the work, p. 349.

† Ibid.



of France, he went in the summer to Montpellier, where, being more at ease [EE], he drew up his *Discourse by way of Vindication of himself, from the Charge of High-Treason brought against him by the House of Commons in November 1667* [FF]. Recovering his health to a good degree, he continued at Montpellier three or four years, spending a good

‘ these criminals will meet with an usage equal to their merit.’

[EE] *He was more at ease at Montpellier* ] In the dedication of the *Contemplations, &c. upon the Psalms*, having taken notice of the severe treatment he met with at Evreux, he declares he was in no place which he could confidently reside in ‘till he came to Montpellier, where he found very good reception and accommodation, through the extraordinary civility and address of Lady Mordaunt. Who having obtained a very great esteem from all persons there, had taken some pains by her good mention of him, and the post that he had sustained, and some advantageous discourse of his relations ||, to prepare them in such a manner to bid him welcome, that he found a very extraordinary respect from all persons of quality, men and women; which continued during his stay there (64). Upon this mention of Lady Mordaunt’s kindness to the Earl, we shall take an opportunity of vindicating the Chancellor’s share in the Restoration, with regard to one particular, wherein the Lord Mordaunt was concerned. It was no inconsiderable part of Monke’s instructions to Sir John Greenville, that he should not return ‘till he had seen the King out of the Spanish dominions, and his Majesty was desired to make haste to Breda, and from thence dispatch all the letters and papers he should send to England. ‘I have taken notice of this particular, continues Mr Carte, as well to do an act of justice to General Monke, by shewing that his application to the King, was earlier than is generally represented, and that he did not stay ‘till he had seen the issue of the election, by which he might judge of the temper of the members, as to do another to the Marquis of Ormonde (from whom no-body I believe will separate the Lord Chancellor) by shewing, that he was not unacquainted with Monke’s affairs and instructions. The surmise that those were kept a secret from these two noble persons is so far from truth, that on the very next day after Lord Mordaunt and Sir John Greenville parted from the King, Lord Mordaunt, upon some fresh advices received from England, of Monke’s measures and further communications of his designs, sent a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, desiring him to dispatch *Hartville Baron* with the commission for the General, and such further instructions as were necessary \*.’

[FF] *A vindication of himself from the charge of high-treason, &c.* ] This charge consists of seventeen articles, which to go over here would be tedious, especially since notwithstanding the challenge made by his son Mr Laurence Hyde, defying the House to prove any one of them, yet no proof was ever attempted there (65). The article which charges him with advising the sale of Dunkirk to the French, is the only one that ever made the least impression to the disadvantage of his memory; and since a late noble author, already quoted in this memoir, hath produced a circumstance, which, if not rightly understood, may be thought to support the opinion, that he even advised the parting with it in general; we shall endeavour to set that matter in it’s true light. The Earl of Clarendon begins his defence against this article in these terms. It is very well known to his Majesty and to several persons yet alive, that the parting with Dunkirk was resolved upon before ever I heard of it; and that the purpose was therefore concealed from me, because it was believed that I was not of that opinion, and would not concur in the advice †. However in proceeding he confesses, that when it was first proposed and debated in the Council, he was not only present, but agreed with the majority in their opinion for the sale of it; and that in a second debate, he also concurred with his Majesty’s proposal for making the first offer to France; and that in pursuance of this resolution, he was one of those four or five Lords of the Privy-Council appointed to treat with Mr *Estrades*, who was come privately to England for that purpose, and that after several conferences with him, the bargain was concluded (66). Thus the Chancellor’s own state of the case confirms the observation of Lord Lansdowne (67) from the *letters and negotiations of the Count D’Estrades* that

the first motion came from the Chancellor in a letter dated at Hampton-Court, June 29, 1662, and signed *Clarendon*; that is, the first motion to that Count; which may be very true, and yet it may be as true, that the resolution for parting with Dunkirk was taken before ever the Chancellor heard of it, as he himself avers. But in justice to our readers, we must not omit mentioning one particular concerning this treaty, though it may seem to bear a little hard upon his memory. Having recounted the several steps taken in negotiating this affair ‘till it was brought to a conclusion, by agreeing upon 500000 pistoles, to be paid in specie, for the purchase, he proceeds thus: ‘Which I believe was a greater sum of money than was ever paid at one payment by any Prince in Christendom, upon what occasion soever. And, continues he, that all this should not amount to a greater value than the ammunition, artillery, and stores were worth, which were delivered with it, is very strange, and cannot be supposed by any reasonable computation †. I do very well remember, that in the treaty, we did with much earnestness insist upon the detaining the cannon and other artillery and ammunition. But M. D’Estrades would not consent to it, being necessary, as he said, for the defence of the place, which probably might be attacked by the Spaniards in a few days after the delivery of it into the hands of his master; and upon inserting that exception of the cannon, &c. in our demand, he was at last induced to consent to the payment of 500000 pistoles, which he had never before yielded unto; he concludes with observing, that his Majesty caused some estimate to be made of the cannon, &c. and that the value did not arise to more than 20000 l. sterling, or thereabouts.’ It is evident, that in this account, the Chancellor had an eye upon the speech which was made to his Majesty by Sir Edward Harley, who had been governor of Dunkirk \* ‘till the sale was projected, when being removed and returning to England, on the delivery of his accounts, he took his leave of the King, telling him before the Duke of Albemarle, who had procured him that government, that the guns, stores, and ammunition he left at Dunkirk, were worth more money than the French were to give for the place (68). He told him also, that he would leave him one thing more, which his Majesty did not think of, and that was 10000 l. he had saved in his iron chest against a siege, or any other exigence that might happen (69). It may not be improper to observe likewise here, since it made the surrendry of the place more unpopular; that this gentleman, during the short space of time he held that government, had recruited the garrison to above 9000 men, and began many fortifications, which were afterwards perfected by the French (70); that on his removal he left in the hands of the deputy-treasurer, the sum of 127752 l. 15 s. (71); that he strenuously opposed the sale of it, and by his interest in the House of Commons, procured the resolution that it should never be alienated, but be made a part of the King’s hereditary dominions (72), and that he refused an offer made him by a certain great man, of 10000 l. to be passive in the surrendry of it (73); that being offered the peerage, with the title of Viscount, for his signal services at and before the Restoration, he refused that honour, giving this reason for it, *least his zeal and his services for the Restoration of the ancient government should be reproached as proceeding from ambition, and not conscience*. And lastly his being made Knight of the Bath, was done without his knowledge when he was at Dunkirk, the King inserting his name in the list with his own hand (74). Upon the whole it cannot, I think, be denied, that the Earl of Clarendon had a principal share both in proposing and effecting the sale of Dunkirk to the French. Yet at the same time it ought to be observed in his behalf, that therein he yielded to the opinion of others, and especially to his Majesty’s particular desire. In respect to which, he was united with the Duke of Ormond in making it an inviolable rule of his duty, to serve the King his own way (75).

† This article of his charge is in these terms, *That he advised and effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French King, being part of his Majesty’s dominions, together with the ammunition, artillery, and all sorts of stores there, and for no greater value than the said ammunition, artillery, and stores, were worth.*

\* From the time of the Restoration.

(68) Collins’s *Historical Collections of the Families of Cavendish, Holles, Vere, Harley, &c.* p. 204.

(69) *Id. ibid.* ex collectione J. Freind, M. D.

(70) *Ibid.* p. 202, from a MS. intitled, *Histoire de la Maison de Harley, par Mons. Moret.*

(71) *Ibid.* p. 203, from Sir Edward Harley’s Account of the Expences and Treasure at Dunkirk, MS.

(72) Kennet’s *History of England*, Vol. III. p. 259, 2d edit. 1719.

(73) Collins, *ubi supra*, p. 202. from Moret’s MS.

(74) Collins, p. 205. N.B. This Sir Edw. Harley was father to Robert Harley Earl of Oxford, and Lord High-Treasurer in the reign of Queen Anne. *ibid.*

(75) See No. 77, in the appendix to Carte’s *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, Vol. II.



(nn) The greatest part of his Essays are also dated at Montpellier.

(oo) It is dated  $\frac{1}{2}$  Feb. 1670-1, and consequently wrote before he had heard of the Duchess of York's changing her religion, in whom he declares himself singularly happy, that tho' her condition had made his duty a debt to her, yet she had behaved to him with the same kindness, tenderness, and duty, as if she

good part of his time (nn) in that devout work beforementioned, *The Contemplations and Reflections upon the Psalms*, which he finished there, and prefixed to it a most pathetic address to his children (oo). In 1672 he resided at Moulins, where he wrote his *Animadversions upon Mr Cressy's book, intituled, Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church by Dr Stillingfleet, and the Imputation refuted and reorted, by J. C. [GG]*. He also drew up his Survey of Mr Hobbes's Leviathan the following year at Moulins [pp], having lately finished his great work the *History of the Rebellion, &c.* there \*; and removing thence to Rouen, he paid his last debt to nature, on the ninth of December 1674, in that city; whence his body was brought to England, and interred on the north side of King Henry VIIIth's chapel in Westminster-abbey (qq). He was twice married; first to Anne, daughter of Sir Gregory Ayloffe of Robson in Wiltshire, Knt; and this lady dying without issue by him, he married, in July 1634, at St Margaret's Westminster, Francis, daughter, and at length heir, to Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart. who brought him several children (rr), besides Henry the eldest son who succeeded him in the honour and estate. We shall give an account of them all below [HH].

were still under the dependance and discipline of his own family.

(76) It was rendered easy likewise to him, by what he had written in his Essay, dated at Moulins the year before, against multiplying controversies, &c. which furnished him with a good part of these animadversions. *Miscellaneous Works, &c.* p. 240, & seq. 2d edit. 1751.

(77) Animadversions, p. 7.

(78) The same year that the Earl had stood for a fellowship of Exeter-college, as above-mentioned.

(79) Mr Cressy was born at Walk-field in Yorkshire, where his father practised the Law as a Counsellor, for which town his Lordship, while a Commoner, had been a Member of Parliament. *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 528. and the Earl of Strafford's article.

(80) He had been long known to his Lordship. See his article in Vol. II. p. 1183. remark [E].

(81) Deans and Chaplains had been voted down by the Parliament the year before. *Salmon's Chron. Hist.* under the year 1641.

(82) In his *Exomologesis*, chap. ii. where he confirms his opinion by the authority of Hooker, who, in *Eccles. Polity*, l. 5. [p. 432.] n. 79. declares, that the Church of England could not probably continue above 80 years.

[GG] *His answer to Cressy.* What first induced him to undertake this task (76), was the knowledge he had of Mr Cressy, by means of an acquaintance which had commenced at Oxford (77), where that gentleman was his contemporary, and being chosen Fellow of Merton-college in 1625 (78), took the degree of A. M. and afterwards entering into holy orders, was no inconsiderable preacher, and became chaplain to the Lord Wentworth, then President of the North (79), and continued so after he was Deputy of Ireland, whither he went in 1638 with Lucius Lord Falkland (80), probably as chaplain; and in 1642, his Lordship being Secretary of State, procured him a canonry of Windsor, and the deanry of Leighlin in Ireland was conferred upon him about the same time, but he was never installed into the deanry, and never received any profits from either of these dignities, by reason of the confusion of the times (81); so that being reduced to very narrow circumstances, especially after the death of the Lord Falkland at the battle of Newbury in September 1643, he travelled as a tutor with Charles Berkley, Esq; (afterwards Earl of Falmouth) in 1644. But upon a foresight (if we may believe himself (82)) that the Church of England would soon terminate by the restless attempts of the Sectaries, he began to think of settling himself in the Church of Rome. Accordingly going by the way of Paris to that city, he publicly renounced his religion there in 1646; after which returning to Paris, he published his *Exomologesis; or a faithful Narrative of the Occasions and Motives of his Conversion to Catholic Unity*, 1647, 12mo. Soon after it was printed, he sent a copy to Dr Henry Hammond who had been his familiar acquaintance, and having a kindness for him on account of his modesty, learning, and parts, invited him into England, assuring him that he should be provided with a sufficient subsistence to live comfortably, and not be molested about his religion and conscience, but he declined the offer; and in 1653, there came out a second edition of his *Exomologesis*, with several alterations and additions made by the direction of the Benedictine Monks (83), of which order he had then taken the habit in the English college at Doway. He was supplied at Paris with 100 crowns for this journey by the Queen-mother of England; and after the Restoration, upon the marriage of King Charles II. to the Infanta of Portugal, he was taken into the service of that Queen, and lived mostly in Somerset-house in the Strand. At length dying in the house of one Mr Caryl, at East-Grinstead in Sussex, August 10, 1674, he was buried in the church there, as Mr Wood was informed, by the superior of his order on this side the river Trent in England, one Gregory Mallet, alias John Jackson, who dying also September 10, 1681, in the Sheldonian family, was buried in the chancel of Long-Compton church in Warwickshire (84). This Cressy wrote several other things, particularly a piece intituled *Santa Sophia*, or Directions for the Prayer of Contemplation, &c. (85) which

(83) In this edition, the protestation of duty and obedience to the King was left out, and there were added some reproaches against the Church of England, and many virulent expressions against its clergy. *Clarendon's Animadv.* p. 76, 77.

(84) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 528 to 532. These instances are inserted to confirm an observation made by the Earl, that this order of Monks was particularly favoured by King Charles II. which the Chancellor, according to his avowed principles, here defends. *Animadv.* p. 43, 44. (85) It was extracted from some treatises of Aug. Baker, a Benedictine at Doway, printed in 1657, in two vols 8vo.

shews, that he fell into the doctrine and principles of Quietism and the mystic divinity. However he was long esteemed the Coryphaeus of the Roman party, and his *Exomologesis*, we are told, was the golden calf to which the English Papists fell down and worshipped, boasting that it was unanswerable, and had given a total overthrow to the Chillingworthians, and to the book and tenets of Lucius Lord Falkland (86). He had in his answer to Stillingfleet's *Irenicum*, dropped some expressions which seemed to insinuate that his Lordship, as well as Mr Chillingworth, was tainted with Socinianism. This was warmly refuted, especially in the behalf of Lord Falkland, by the Earl of Clarendon, in the treatise now under consideration; where he laments, that this attempt to traduce the memory of that incomparable Lord, had found credit enough with two or three persons of the Church of England, ' (who, says he, never knew, and I think never saw that excellent person) to take upon them to asperse a nobleman of the most prodigious learning, the most exemplary manners, and singular good nature, of the most unblemished integrity, and the greatest ornament of the nation, that any age hath produced.' He afterwards proceeds to defend this deservedly darling friend in the following terms. ' If the having read Socinus, and the commanding that in him, which no-body can reasonably discommend in him, and the making use of that reason which God hath given to man for the examining of that which is most properly examined by reason, and to avoid the weak arguments of some men, how successfully soever insisted upon, or to discover the fallacies of others, be the definition of a Socinian, the party will be very strong in all Churches; but if a perfect detestation of all those opinions against the person and divinity of our Saviour, or any other doctrine that is contrary to the Church of England, (and the Church of England hath more formally condemned Socinianism, than any other Church hath done, as appears by the canons of 1640) can free a man from that reproach, as without doubt it ought to do, I can very warrantably declare, that that unparalleled Lord was no Socinian; nor is it possible for any man who is a true son of the Church of England, to be corrupted with those opinions (87). Accordingly Mr Cressy, a little before his death, wrote an answer to the Animadversions, wherein disavowing the design imputed to him by the Earl, of charging Lord Falkland with Socinianism, he joins with his honourable antagonist in clearing his Lordship from that aspersions which had been thrown upon him by others (88).

[HH] *We shall give an account below.* By his second Lady he had four sons and two daughters. Of these Anne, the eldest, married as already mentioned, to the Duke of York, by that match became mother to two daughters, Mary and Anne, who were successively Queens of England. Besides these, she brought the Duke four sons and three daughters, who all died in their infancy \*. The last was born February 9, 1670-1, and her mother deceased the 31st of March following, having a little before her death changed her religion †, to the great grief of her father, who on that occasion wrote a most pathetic letter to her, and another to the Duke her consort ‡. Bishop Burnet gives her the following character. ' The Duchess of York, says he, was a very extraordinary woman,

(pp) The dedication to his Majesty is dated at Moulins, May 10, 1673. See Hubbes's article.

\* See rem. [N].

(qq) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. col. 535.

(rr) She died much lamented by him a few days before he was deprived of the Great-Seal. Vindication of himself, &c. in the conclusion.

(86) See Romish Doctrines not from the beginning; or, A Reply to what S. C. hath returned to Dr Pierce's Sermon, in the preface. Lond. 1664, by Daniel Whitby. See his article.

(87) Animadversions, &c. p. 183 to 189.

(88) Epistle apostolical to a Person of Honour, § 7. edit. 1674, 8vo.

\* She brought a child every year after her marriage, except that of 1661. *Salmon's Chron. Hist.* from 1660 to 1670.

† See a paper left by her in St James's palace, dated Aug. 20, 1670.

‡ They are both printed in the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, 1712, 8vo. second edit. See Kennet's Hist. of England, Vol. III. in the notes, at p. 321. She died before the letter reached England. *Burnet's History of his own times*, Vol. I. p. 310.



woman, had great knowledge and a lively sense of things: she soon understood what belonged to a princess, and took state on her rather too much; she wrote well, and had began the Duke's life, of which she shewed a volume, all drawn from the Duke's journal. She was bred to great strictness in religion, and practised secret confession, as Morley Bishop of Winchester told me, and that he was her confessor; she began at twelve years old, and continued under his direction, 'till upon her father's disgrace he was put from Court.' The Bishop concludes her character with this remark, according to his usual manner, 'that she was generous and friendly, but was too severe an enemy †.' The Chancellor's second daughter Frances, married Thomas Keightley of Hertingfordbury in Hertfordshire, created a Knight of the Bath to attend on the coronation of King Charles II. This lady was possessed of the MS. containing her father's tracts, which a little before her death she put into the hands of the booksellers, to have them printed in pursuance of the Chancellor's will, which was performed accordingly ‡. Of the Earl's sons, James the youngest was drowned on board the Gloucester frigate, going with the Duke of York to Scotland in 1682 \*. Edward the third son, was a student in the Middle Temple, and died unmarried; the second son Laurence, is the subject of the next article; and of Henry, we shall give some account here, as follows. Having received the rudiments of his education, he was early entered into business. For his father apprehending of what fatal consequence it would have been to the King's affairs, if his correspondence had been discovered by unfaithful secretaries, engaged him when very young, to write all his letters in cypher; so that he was generally half the day writing in cypher or decyphering, and was so discreet as well as faithful, that nothing was ever discovered by him (89). After the Restoration, he was created A. M. at Oxford, Feb. 14, 1660, and upon settling the Queen's household the following year, he was appointed Chamberlain to her Majesty (90). Upon his father's leaving the kingdom in 1667, he wrote a letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, entreating the continuance of his friendship to the family. This letter was apparently wrote by the direction of his father, and begins thus:

'May it please your Grace.

'Having the opportunity of a safe messenger, I presume to give your Grace the trouble of this paper, to send you some account of the sad condition of our miserable family; which having constantly received so much countenance from your Grace's protection, I flatter myself you will now afford (in this extremity) a share of your compassion, and a continuance of your favour, 'till you find cause to withdraw it, which I am sure never will be.' He then proceeds to give his Grace the particulars of the proceedings against his father, whereof we have given a short extract already, which he concludes in these terms. 'Thus your Grace sees the inevitable ruin and destruction of a person who has spent near thirty years in the service of the Crown, for part of which time your Grace is able to give him some testimony. If this storm proceeded only from the power and malice of a particular faction it were to be struggled with; but being from the anger and displeasure of the King, (the ground whereof he could never yet by any means discover) makes his misfortunes insupportable. I presume not to give your Grace an account of any further proceedings in Parliament upon this affair, knowing you will have it from better hands; but one thing I must not omit telling your Grace, which is, that Lord Berkeley very indutiously spreads abroad a rumour, that to his knowledge, your Grace hath broken all friendship with my father for above these two years, which I am sure a better authority than his can't make me believe. Your Grace hath too much generosity to abandon one whom you have so long protected, without telling him of it (91): my brother and myself are yet in our employments (92), but we are told that we shall not long continue so: neither are we to expect much favour, having none to resort to but the Duke [of York], who indeed hath all along very graciously and vigorously appeared in all the concerns of our family; but wanting interest and credit to support the father, we are not to hope that he can have enough to protect the children.

'Thus your Grace sees how I presume upon your

'favour, in giving you this impertinent trouble; but to torment you more with apologies, would make my crime the greater. Therefore I will conclude, with begging the continuance of your Grace's protection to our family, and particularly to,

'May it please your Grace,

'your Grace's most dutiful,

'and most obedient servant,

'CORNBURY (93).'

Whitehall,  
8 Dec. 1687.

His Lordship so highly resented his father's ill usage from the King, that he struck in with the party against the Court (94); and upon taking his seat in the House of Peers, we find him joining even with Buckingham and Shaftesbury, in a protest against the vote for returning thanks to his Majesty for his speech at the opening of the session in April 1675 (95). However he still held his post of Chamberlain to the Queen (96), and afterwards shewing himself no less zealous against the bill of exclusion to disinherit the Duke of York (97), he was taken into favour and made a Privy-Counsellor, May 26, 1680 (98). Upon King James's accession to the throne (99), the Marquis of Halifax being made President of the Council, was succeeded in the Privy-Seal by the Earl of Clarendon, February 18, 1684-5 (100), and being constituted Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (101) in the beginning of December (102), he set out for that kingdom on the 16th of that month (103); but being too firmly attached to the Protestant religion for those times (104), he was displaced on the 6th of February, 1686-7 (105); and on the 11th of March following, was removed from the Privy-Seal, which had been put into commission during his absence (106). About this time he was made High-Steward of the University of Oxford (107). After the landing of the Prince of Orange, he was one of the Protestant Lords, who being summoned, waited upon King James at Whitehall November 26, and among other things advised his Majesty to send commissioners to treat with the Prince (108), and soon after went to the Prince near Salisbury (109); and upon the King's return from Feversham to Whitehall on the 16th of December, his Lordship proposed sending his Majesty to Breda (110). Upon the Revolution, he refused to take the oaths to King William, and in 1690, being accused of joining with the Bp of Ely and others in a plot against the government, he was sent to the Tower of London; however, after some months he was released thence, but confined to his house in the country (111). He passed his time afterwards in a private manner to his death, which happened Oct. 22, 1709. Besides the places held by him already mentioned, he was governor of New-England, as also F. R. S. He married twice, 1. Theodosia, third surviving daughter of Arthur Lord Capel (beheaded by the rebels in March 1648-9). 2. Flower, daughter and sole heir to William Backhouse of Swallowfield, Esq; and widow of Sir William Backhouse, Bart. He had no issue from this last match, and his first Lady, whom he married in the year of the Restoration, brought him the following year, an only son Edward, who returning from his travels in 1682, being then twenty one years of age, was afterwards made master of the horse to Prince George of Denmark, and in November 1688, he went over to the Prince of Orange with almost three intire regiments (112), being soon followed by Prince George, who sent him the following year to compliment in his name the embassadors from the States-General, on their arrival to congratulate King William and Queen Mary on their accession to the Crown. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was Governor of New-York, and Envoy-Extraordinary to the Court of Hanover (113). He married Katherine, daughter to Henry Lord O-Brian of Ireland, eldest son and heir of Henry Earl of Thomond, by whom he had issue one son Edward, and two daughters, Katherine and Theodosia, the first of which died unmarried in 1708, and the other married John Blighe, Esq. The son, Edward, became Baron of Clifton in right of his mother, who succeeded to that title upon the decease of her mother, being sister and sole heir to Charles Duke of Lenox and Richmond

(93) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. appendix, No. LII.

(94) Burnet, where last cited.

(95) Collection of the Lords' Protests under that year, Lond. 1737, 8vo. He also protested against the famous test bill the same year. Ibid.

(96) He is addressed by this title in the dedication of a *Treatise upon Coin and Coinage*, by Rice Vaughan, Lond. 1675, 8vo. which perhaps was Mr Wood's authority for saying he found his Lordship in the Chamberlain's place that year. Fasti, ubi supra.

(97) Burnet, ubi supra.

(98) Wood's Fasti, where last cited.

(99) His Majesty's Accession was on the 6th of February, 1685. Salmon's Chron. Hist. that year.

(100) Id. ibid.

(101) The Duke of Ormonde had been removed from that post by King Charles II. a little before his death. See the Duke's article.

(102) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II.

(103) Salmon, under the year 1685.

(104) Burnet, ubi supra.

(105) The Earl of Tyrconnel, a professed Papist, was put in his room. Id. under the year 1686.

(106) He was succeeded by the Lord Arundel of Wardour. Id. ibid.

(107) Wood, ubi supra.

(108) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 794. who tells us, that the Earl at that meeting reflected on his Majesty most of any one there.

(109) Id. ibid. who says he suggested so many peevish and peculiar things, as rendered him suspected.

(111) Ibid. Vol. II. p. 69 and 71. See more of this in the ensuing article, rem. [G]. (112) Salmon, in the year 1688.

(113) See the article of John Gay.

(114) (110) Id. p. 800.

† Id. ibid. p. 170, and p. 310. where he is still more severe.

§ Peerage, under Hyde. There were in all 68 created, April. 15, 1661. Salmon, under that year.

‡ See the advertisement prefixed to the Tracts.

\* See the article of John Duke of Marlborough, in remark [C].

(89) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I.

(90) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 131.

(91) The Marquis denied that he ever gave any foundation for such a report. See Carte's Ormonde, Vol. II. appendix, No. LIV. It has been observed that the Chancellor had a quarrel with Lord Berkeley, and therefore in his History of the Rebellion endeavours to lessen his Lordship's service and merit. Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 167, fourth edition.

(92) His brother Laurence was then Master of the Robes. See the next article.



(114) See a Resolution of the House of Peers, anno 1673.

\* Peerage, under Hyde, Vol. II. edit. 1741.

(a) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, in the appendix, p. 56.

(b) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 131.

(c) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, Vol. I.

(d) The first was sent by the King and the other by the Duke of York, to whom he was then Groom of the Stole and Gentleman of the Bedchamber. Wood and Boyer, ubi supra.

(114). This Edward Baron of Clifton, died in the twenty-second year of his age, February 12, 1712-13, unmarried, and his father the third Earl of Clarendon, deceasing on the 1st of March 1723-4\*, leaving no male

issue; his titles descended to his cousin, the son of Laurence Earl of Rochester, as will be seen in the ensuing article. P

HYDE [LAURENCE], second son of the Chancellor, was endued by nature with excellent talents, which, notwithstanding the miserable state at that time of his father's fortunes, were very carefully improved by a genteel education. He applied himself with uncommon assiduity to his studies (a); so that the progress he had made therein at the Restoration, gave him a just claim to the degree of Master of Arts, which the university of Oxford conferred on him, as well as on his elder brother, by diploma, February 14, 1660 (b). From this beginning he grew afterwards to be equal to the first employments in the State, and became both the ornament and support of his family. He soon appeared on the public stage of affairs, being chosen a member for the just mentioned university in the first Parliament of King Charles II. which met May 8, 1661 (c). In October the same year, during the recess of Parliament, he accompanied the Lord Crofts and Sir Charles Berkeley to Paris, who were sent to congratulate the King of France on the birth of the Dauphin. Mr Hyde bore no public character, yet he was received at that Court with particular marks of distinction (d), and soon after his return home was appointed Master of the Robes to his Majesty, in whose good opinion he daily gained ground by his polite and prudent behaviour (e). In 1665, he was one of the four gentlemen commissioned by the House of Commons to thank the university for their loyalty to his Majesty and to King Charles I. (f); and when, by a Court intrigue, as mentioned in the preceding article, his father fell under an impeachment by the House of Commons in 1667, he undertook his defence with great modesty and resolution (g) [A]. The misfortunes which oppressed the Chancellor had no ill effect upon his son, whose abilities became daily more conspicuous; and in 1676, he was appointed Ambassador-Extraordinary to John Sobieski King

(e) Burnet, who observes that he obtained this post as well by his own personal merit as by his father's interest. History of his own Times, Vol. I.

(f) Boyer.

(g) See remark [FF] in the preceding article.

[A] He undertook his father's defence with great modesty and resolution. When the articles of impeachment were read to the House, he moved in his father's name, that, for the dispatch of business, those who knew best what their evidence was, would single out any one of the articles, which they thought could be best proved; and if they could make proof of that, he would submit to the censure due upon them all. Sir Charles Wheeler on this occasion (in confidence of the assurances of others who pretended to have proofs ready) got up, and answered for the proof of every one of them; of which he was afterwards much ashamed, when he found, upon further inquiry, that there was not so much as evidence to support any one of them. How far the sale of Dunkirk may be thought an exception to what is advanced by Mr Carte (1), has been observed in its proper place (2), where also the particular persons combined to effect the Chancellor's ruin have been named. But as he himself was clearly persuaded, that the prime ringleader and his most mischievous enemy in that combination, was the Lord Arlington, we shall here produce one remarkable instance in confirmation of the Chancellor's sentiments concerning his Lordship. In order to set this in a clear light, it will be necessary to observe, that there had been all along, and still subsisted, what in Court-language is styled a good understanding, that is, an exact observance of all the external forms of civility and friendship between this Lord and the Duke of Ormonde, at the time of the Chancellor's disgrace. That when the King's purpose of taking the seal was intimated to him by the Duke of York, he desired his highness would procure him an audience with his Majesty, which was granted, and a conference had at the Chancellor's apartment at Whitehall, August 26, 1667, no person whatever being present besides the three here mentioned; and therefore, though the result of this conference was the King's express declaration of his purpose to remove the Chancellor (3), yet that was still a secret. Under all that distracting anxiety which the dread of being disappointed always produces in a state of uncertainty, Lord Arlington wrote a letter to the Duke of Ormonde the next day after the conference, but before he knew the result of it, wherein he acquaints his Grace, that the King was persuaded his affairs would be much embarrassed, and the Lord Chancellor much exposed in the next Session, and therefore had recommended it to the Duke of York to prepare his Lordship to retire; that his Royal Highness brought his Majesty such an answer back again, as he believed the thing would be easily done. But since that answer, the Duke and all Lord Clarendon's friends, believing that such a step would tend highly

to his prejudice, had been very earnest with the King to change his mind, and the Lord Chancellor had been with him yesterday; that he could not really tell what his Majesty had finally determined, but was afraid he would be prevailed with to change his mind; for in that case, the next would prove a very troublesome Session of Parliament, and those things whereof the government stood most essentially in need, would very hardly be obtained, and even the Chancellor himself would suffer more than he would have done, if he had retired; concluding his sense of that matter in these words: 'I heartily pray it may be otherwise, but I fear I shall be a true prophet, and then not be exposed to so much censure as I am for my opinion now.' This letter was carried with great expedition to Dublin; for on the third of September, the Duke of Ormonde returned an answer, wherein he thus expresses his sense of that matter, which he wishes might be represented to his Majesty. 'I am able, says he, to make no judgment on the expedient his Majesty found to give himself ease, and the Lord Chancellor security at the next meeting of Parliament. If my Lord Chancellor could persuade himself, that the demission of his charge would facilitate a good intelligence between the King and his subjects, and gain those assistances from them to support the government, which are so evidently necessary, he is not so good a servant, or so wise a man, as I hope he will be found, if he would not on his own accord lay the Seals at his Majesty's feet, and beseech him to take them from him; but if there remains any doubt of the success of forcing him to retire, or if he is not chargeable with some crime, such as put into the balance of many years faithful, painful, and comfortless service, will outweigh it, I know the King is too good a master to set him aside, which in effect is to condemn him unheard, upon popular clamours and for uncertain advantages, whereof the one will always find men of business, who rise by it, and the other will never be brought in competition with honour and justice, which are the only lasting supports to greatness, and can hardly fail, since they can so hardly be found without the assistance of steadiness and courage.' Lord Arlington received this letter on the thirteenth at night, and read it next day to his Majesty, who thereupon, said he would write that night to the Lord Lieutenant, and give him an account of what the Lord Chancellor had done to displease him, besides the dissimulation of the world on his account (4). The purport of the King's letter, as far as it regards the Chancellor, has been already related (5).

(4) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, ubi supra.

(5) In remark [BB] of the preceding article.

[B] Was

(1) Life of the Duke of Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 353.

(2) In remark [FF] of the preceding article.

(3) His Majesty would have had the Chancellor deliver the seal himself, which he refusing to do, Secretary Morrice was sent for it four days after. Vindication of Lord Clarendon, &c. in his Miscellaneous Works, p. 84, 85.



King of Poland, with orders to repair from thence to the Imperial Court, to condole the Emperor Leopold on the death of the Empress; but on his arrival at Vienna, finding the Emperor married again, he passed privately homeward, and coming to Holland, found there a commission, appointing him one of the Ambassadors Mediators at the treaty of Nimeguen (b). He had not been long returned from thence when the King sent him again to Holland, not only to act as a Mediator at Nimeguen, but to treat privately with the Prince of Orange on a general peace; and though some disagreement in the sentiments of his Majesty and the Prince of Orange on this last subject ended that commission, yet when King Charles, finding the French provoked at the terms of the treaty, resolved on a league with the States-General to force both France and Spain to the terms proposed, Mr Hyde was employed on that occasion, and procured the League to be signed in 1677. The next year, the Dutch entering into a separate peace with France, he was again sent to Holland, with proposals to the Prince of Orange to declare war against France; which, though it did not answer the King's intent, yet he was so satisfied with Mr Hyde's good conduct therein, that March 26, 1679 (i), he made him one of the Lords of the Treasury; and upon the Earl of Essex (k) resigning his place of First-Commissioner at that board, Mr Hyde succeeded him on the 19th of November following (l). He had in the interim obtained a new seat in the House of Commons, as a Burgess for Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire, in the new Parliament which was called to meet October 7 this year (m). He was now sworn a Privy-Counsellor, and Mr Sydney Godolphin being brought into the Council along with him, they two joining in confidence with the Earl of Sunderland, formed a triumvirate, which at that juncture had the principal management of the King's affairs. But these ministers having been somewhat remiss in the discovery and prosecution of the Popish plot, and Mr Hyde in particular, on account of his relation to the Duke of York and his education at Court, having appeared at the head of those who opposed the bill of exclusion, the Commons, in 1680, addressed the King to remove him, with his brother the Earl of Clarendon, and some others, from his council and affairs for ever (n). But his Majesty was so far from complying with the request, that on the 23d of April the following year, 1681, he created him Baron of Wotton-Basset in Wiltshire, and Viscount Hyde of Kennilworth in Warwickshire; and upon the death of Charles the young Earl of Rochester, he succeeded to that title November 29, 1682 (o). He was made Lord-President of the Council on the 25th of August (p), 1684, and before the end of that year was nominated Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in the room of the Duke of Ormonde [B]; but that appointment determining with the death of his Majesty, the white

(i) Peerage, ubi supra.

(m) Wood's Fasti, where last cited.

(n) See Echard, and other general histories of England.

(o) Salmon, under 1682. Wood, Vol. II. col. 657. Burnet tells us that he was charged this year with bribery by Lord Halifax, for having farmed a branch of the revenue much lower than had been proposed for it. Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 531.

(p) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

[B] Was nominated to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, &c.] This was intimated to him by the King in Oct. 1684 (6), as is evident from the following letter to the Duke of Ormonde, dated at Whitehall, Oct. 13, 1684.

' Having been made acquainted that the King has written, or is about to write, to your Grace upon a subject that concerns yourself. Though it be a very tender point for me to say any thing upon, I had rather do that which is decent and natural for a man in my circumstances to do upon such an occasion, let the consequences of it be what it will to me, than seem to have been privy to designs which I would not own. I must confess that I have suspected something of this kind going on almost ever since you went from hence. And you may remember, that not long ago, when I gave your Grace an account of some letters of your's that I laid before the King, I hinted to you, that his Majesty was not satisfied with several of the officers of the army, though I told you at the same time I was not directed to say so much. But I did not believe, that what was then in the King's mind would have gone so far; and upon my word, from the moment I found it did, I have done all that was in me to hinder it, and at last to delay it, and would have contributed any thing I could think of to continue it in the same hands it is.

' I am not insensible how hard a construction it may bear in the world, that a man so much concerned as I am, to support all your interests, should appear as it were undermining you in one of your most eminent stations. Nor am I ignorant, that if you are not well satisfied to leave your employment, no man who is to succeed you will find great comfort to himself, or be able to do the King great service in it.

' These two considerations will serve, I hope, to convince your Grace, that I have not been the adviser of this matter; and when you shall be satisfied, that the King had determined it before he resolved who should succeed, I will flatter myself that you will not be displeased, if you must have a successor, that he should be one,

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' that can never have an interest different from your Grace: but as he must ever depend upon your assistance, protection, and advice, so he will make it his whole business to let you see, that he is most faithfully, and entirely,

' Your Grace's most humble,

' and obedient servant,

' ROCHESTER (7).'

(7) Carte, &c. No. CXXXI.

It must be observed, that the subject of this address was become the more delicate for his Lordship to touch upon, as his eldest daughter had a few years before been married to his Grace's grandson [afterwards Duke of Ormonde]. Accordingly, when the Earl wrote upon the twentieth following, for some advice relating to his behaviour in the government, he begs to know his Grace's sentiments concerning the disposal of the young couple, in case of their grandfather's removal to England (8). To this the Duke sent an answer on the third of December, to which the Earl replied on the thirteenth of that month, acquainting his Grace, that several officers in the army were to be removed, the Council changed, and some powers of the Lord Lieutenant restrained (9). For these reasons the Earl was in no great haste to go to Ireland, in order to take upon him that government: he saw how the Duke of Ormonde's enemies had prevailed against him in his absence (10), and was apprehensive that he might lose his own interest at Court by the like absence. On this occasion, he remembered a story of the Duke of Buckingham, who was designed to go as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and received the compliments of all the Court upon that account except one old courtier, who he knew was much attached to him, and yet was entirely silent upon the subject. The Duke asked how it came to pass that he alone was silent, when all the world were expressing their good wishes to him? he replied, that his Grace always had his best wishes, but he differed from others in the sense he had of that preferment. For as he was an old attendant upon Courts, he had never observed any man turn his back upon the Court, but

30 S

(8) Ibid. No. CXXXVI.

(9) Ibid. No. CXXXVII.

(10) The Duke went to Ireland in August preceding. See his article.

(b) Collin's Peerage of England, Vol. II. p. 297, & seq. edit. 1741.

(i) He was one of the four that were admitted to that board on the resignation of the Earl of Donby. Wood, ubi supra.

(k) Viz. Arthur Earl of Essex, who was afterwards prosecuted for the Fanatic plot. See the article of Lord Russell.

(6) His Majesty had acquainted the Duke with it in a letter dated October 19. Carte's Ormonde, Vol. III. No. CCXXVIII.



white staff was again put into the Earl of Rochester's hands by King James II. on the 16th of February the same year (q). July 22, 1685, he was installed Knight of the Garter (r). He was likewise put into the Ecclesiastical Commission (s); but afterwards endeavouring to prevent Tyrconnel's being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, he found his interest with the King too weak to prevail in that point, and indeed scarce sufficient to support himself; for refusing to comply with the King's request to change his religion [C], he was obliged to resign his commission of Lord High-Treasurer (t). However, in lieu thereof he had a pension of 4000 l. a year assigned him out of the Post-Office (u) [D], which so much engaged him to the King, that he afterward went over to Holland to take care of his Majesty's interest. At the Revolution, he concurred with the Lords in several acts during the administration of the inter-regnum; but in the Convention-Parliament, he warmly insisted upon the grand point of hereditary right, and, in consequence of that principle, pressed vehemently for a regent [E]. However, the vote declaring

(u) Dukes of Marlborough's Conduct, § 1. It was granted for his own life and that of his eldest son Henry, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Rochester. Collins, in Peerage, Vol. II. edit. 1741, p. 304. says it was 5000 l.

he presently caught cold in it. There were likewise some restraints to be put upon the Earl of Rochester, which he did not like. For he was not to have the nomination of the lowest commissioned officer in the army, which was to be put under the command of a Lieutenant-General to be particularly appointed; there were changes also to be made both in the civil and military officers, and probably in neither to his mind. It was intended in truth, to make a general alteration in all employments, which it was thought the Duke of Ormonde would not approve, and was therefore improper to be put under his direction. This was the very reason assigned by the King for his removal. This change, continues Mr Carte, seems to be calculated for the advantage of the Roman Catholics, as appears from a passage in his Grace's letter of December 15, 1684, to Lord Arlington, and it was by their interest, that the Duke of Ormonde seems to have been now removed, as appears from another letter of December 19 following (11).

[C] *Refusing to comply with the King's request to change his religion.* Bishop Burnet having observed, that the Earl's being put into the High-commission Court, which he accepted with no good will, rendered him suspected by those who were no favourers of King James's proceedings, and his opposing Tyrconnel's being made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and some other steps in Council, laid him equally under the jealousy and suspicion of the Papists, proceeds in these terms: The latter put his Majesty upon the experiment of trying his affection for the Church of Rome, who, from the many favours he had bestowed on him, and the constant readiness he had always shewn in his service, thought he had sufficient grounds to fasten that request upon him. He told the King he was fully satisfied about his religion, but on his Majesty's pressing that he would hear his priests, he then desired to have some of the English clergy present, to which the King consented, only excepted Tillotson and Stillingfleet, on which the Earl said, he would take the chaplains in waiting (for the forms of the chaplains were still kept up), which were Dr Patrick and Dr Jane. At the appointed time the priests began the task, and when they had done, the Earl said, if they had nothing stronger to urge, he was sure he could answer all he had heard; and without troubling Patrick and Jane, answered them with much heat and spirit, not without some scorn, saying, Were these the grounds to persuade men to change their religion? whereupon the King, who was present, broke off the conference, charging all that were there, to say nothing of it, and soon after he [the Earl] lost his white staff (12).

[D] *He lost the Treasurer's staff, but had a pension.* The following particular is a conspicuous proof of his Lordship's economy in this post, and therefore well deserves a place here, especially as we have it from a writer who appears to have good authority for the facts advanced by him, whatever glosses he may have put upon those facts, in a piece professedly written in defence of a party. His words are these. 'Not long after (13) Miss Jennings [afterwards Lady Churchill and Duchess of Marlborough] was taken into the service of the Princess of Denmark, her Highness had the misfortune to find that her expences had exceeded her income between six and seven thousand pounds, which they had never done before, and was forced to apply to her royal father (14) for that sum, to enable her to discharge her debts, which he readily and cheerfully complied with. The next year her highness fell into the like difficulty, was forced to make the like application

and received the like indulgence: but was soon after surprized with a visit from his Majesty, so sudden and unexpected, that Lady Churchill, and a certain other Lady of her Highness's Court, had but just time enough to hide themselves in a closet adjoining; from whence they overheard the King charging his daughter with having *somebody about her*, for whose sake she plunged herself into these inconveniences, and recommending to her a more exact economy for the future. To this the Princess made no reply but with her tears; and the King being withdrawn, Lady Churchill to pacify her for the present, and answer several other obvious ends, quitted the place of her concealment, with the following decent expressions in her mouth: *Oh Madam! all this is owing to that old R—— your uncle* (15).

[E] *He insisted on the point of hereditary right, and pressed for a regent.* It is the remark of the last cited author in vindication of his Lordship's understanding, which had been unhandlily made a jest of by the Dukes of Marlborough (16). That the Earl's noble defence of his great father when impeached, and conscientious opposition of the *exclusion-bill*, however unpopular, were equal proofs of his genius and his virtue; but the shrewd light in which he stated the Vote of Abdication in the general conference between the Lords and Commons, which left the most forward undertakers for our late deliverer without a reply; will for ever render his name venerable (17). In support of this assertion, it is observed, That the Convention, which upon the Prince of Orange's letters, met on the 22d of Jan. 1688, having on the 28th of the same month come to the following resolutions, viz. 'That King James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between King and people; and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant.' The Lords concurred with this resolution with amendments; for instead of the word *abdicated*, they put in *deserted*, and quite left out that *the throne is thereby vacant*. This occasioned a free conference between the Lords and Commons, and my Lord Rochester concluded the debate about the first amendment in these words. 'The Lords have given their reasons why they first altered the word *abdicated*, because it was a word not known in the Common-Law, and of doubtful signification: therefore it would be well, if the Commons would please to express their own meaning by it. I believe my Lords would be induced to agree, that the King hath abdicated, that is, renounced the government for himself, if you mean no farther than that; and if you do so, why should you not be pleased to explain yourselves, that every one may know how the matter stands; and to preserve a good correspondence between the two Houses in such a juncture and conjunction as this. But if you don't mean any thing more by it, than abdicated for himself only, though their Lordships should agree to the using of the word *abdicated*; yet this would prove a greater argument against their agreeing in the other point about the vacancy of the throne. Therefore we should be glad to have you explain yourselves, what you mean by it. Here there was a pause—And the Commons afterwards proceeding to the second amendment, the Lords in the whole course of the debate shewed the great concern they had for the succession of the Crown: and my Lord Rochester made it appear, that he had that matter at heart as much as any of them,

(15) The other side of the question, &c. p. 47. 48. Lond. 1742, 8vo.

(16) See her Conduct, particularly § 1.

(17) The other side of the question, &c. p. 98.—98.

(q) Id. ibid.

(r) Peerage of England, and Wood, ubi sup'a.

(s) Salmon, under the year 1686.

(t) Echard, p. 208.

(11) Carte, Vol. II. p. 540.

(12) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 624.

(13) It should be some time after, for Miss Jennings was in the Princess's service when she was married to Colonel Churchill in 1681. See the Duke of Marlborough's article.

(14) This fact is partly confirmed by the Princess's letter to Lady Marlborough, printed in the Account of the Conduct of the Dukes of M—, &c. p. 87. Lond. 1742, 8vo. where she writes thus, *When we were first married we had but 20,000 l. a year (and it is true, indeed, the King was so kind to pay my debts).*



declaring the vacancy of the throne being carried, he acquiesced in the new settlement (w). But the part he had acted drew on him a coldness from King William, and consequently from Queen Mary, to whom he was so nearly allied; who was so possessed against him, that notwithstanding he tried all his friends and interest in the Court to be admitted to clear himself and to recover her favour, he found her so alienated from him, that no person was willing to undertake it; insomuch, that he was apprehensive a stop would be put to his pension (x). In this exigence he addressed himself to Bishop Burnet [L], by whose means his fears were not only dispersed, but he was received into a high degree of favour and confidence

(w) Burnet, Vol. II.

(x) Ibid. p. 118, 117.

them, as is evident from what follows. 'In a free conference, says his Lordship, the points in question are fully to be debated; and the Lords in order to their agreement with the Commons, are to be satisfied what is meant, and how far it may extend.

'You gentlemen that are the managers for the House of Commons, it seems come with a limited commission, and will not enter into that consideration, which (as our reasons express) hath a great weight with my Lords, whether this vote of the Commons will not make the monarchy of England, which has always heretofore been hereditary, to become elective.

'That the vacancy of the throne will infer such a consequence, to me appears very plain; and I take it from the argument that the last gentleman [meaning Mr. afterward Lord, Somers] used for the word *vacant*, out of the record of Richard the Second's time, that is cited for a precedent for that word. Since, as that is the only precedent, so it is attended with this very consequence: For it being there declared, that the royal seat was *vacant*, immediately did follow an election of Henry IV, who was not next in the right line. Did not then this hereditary monarchy in this instance become elective? when King Charles II. died, I would fain know, whether in our law the throne was vacant: no sure, the next heir was immediately in the throne, and so it is in all hereditary successive governments. Indeed in Poland, when the King dies there is a vacancy; because there the laws know no certain successor. So that the difference is plain, that wherever the monarchy is hereditary, upon the ceasing of him in possession the throne is not vacant; where 'tis elective, it is vacant.'

[F] He addressed himself to Bishop Burnet.] This fact is produced in favour of the Bishop by his son, who gives the following account of it. 'Some of the hardest treatment, says that author, he [the Bishop] had met with in the two former reigns, had passed through the hands of the Earl of Rochester. No two men ever differed more widely in their principles both in Church and State, yet the first good office done that Earl with the King and Queen, after all other applications for introduction had failed, effected their intire reconciliation to him, and the first advantages he reaped from that reconciliation, were owing to the said prelate.' In order to confirm and illustrate what is thus advanced, the same author has given us the copies of two letters, the originals of which he asserts to be in his hands. The first letter is from Lady Ranelagh to the Bishop, in these terms.

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship knows, that by my Lord Rochester's desiring me to help him to thank you, for your forwardness to do him favours with their Majesties (out of the sense he had, that he ought to be more grateful for them, because he had not at all deserved them from your Lordship) he had informed me, that you had done him such favours. And when, pursuant to his desires, I began to give you humble thanks for him (who is a person in whom I can be very sensibly obliged), I told your Lordship, I was pleased in paying this duty, as much upon your account, as upon his Lordship's, as having endeavoured to conquer him by weapons fit to be used by one of your profession and character, and I hoped he might be advantaged, as well by being gained by you, as by reaping good fruits of your mediations with their Majesties. And now I present your Lordship, in the inclosed, with what appears to me an evidence, that my hopes of his making ingenuous returns for your generous advances towards a friendship with him were not groundless; since he would surely never have pitched upon you to manage an applica-

tion of his about an interest, wherein the visible subsistence of his family is so deeply concerned, if he did not firmly believe the reality of your intentions towards him, though he have no merits of his towards you, or any thing else but your christian beniggings towards him to build that faith upon. Nor can he in my poor opinion give a clearer proof of his being already overcome by you, than in chusing you to be the person, to whom he would in such an interest be obliged; since he thereby puts himself upon the peril of being faithfully your's, or a very unthankful man; which I do so much assure myself, he will not be, that I humbly beg your Lordship to put this obligation upon him, to perfect what you have already begun to do for him of a like nature, and to the same royal person\*; who would not, I think, act unbecomingly herself, nor the eminent station God hath placed her in, in assisting five innocent children, who have the honour to be related to her royal mother, who did still with great tenderness consider her own family, when she was most raised above it: especially when in assisting them, her Majesty will need only to concern herself to preserve a property made theirs by the law of England, which as being a Queen of this kingdom, she is obliged to maintain, &c.

13 July, 1689.

'K. RANELAGH.'

The inclosed letter here mentioned, was from the Earl, in the following terms.

'My Lord,

'The good offices your Lordship has told me you endeavoured to do me with the Queen of your own accord and generosity, incline me to be desirous to be obliged to your Lordship for the favour of presenting the inclosed petition to her Majesty. Your Lordship will see, by the reading it, the occasion and the subject of it; and I am sure I need not suggest any thing to your own kind thoughts to add at the delivery of it, save only this, which I thought not proper to touch in the petition, that I have certainly as good a title in law to it, as any man has to any thing he possesses; as likewise that the pension is appointed to be paid out of a part of the revenue, which never was destined by any act of parliament for any public use of the government, which I think has something of weight and reason to distinguish it from those pensions, that are placed on the more public branches of the revenue.

'I know not whether the Queen can do me any good in this affair, but I will believe her Majesty cannot but wish she could. However, I think I should have been very wanting to my children, if I had not laid this case most humbly before her Majesty; least at one time or other she herself might say, I had been too negligent in not making application to her; which having now done, I leave the rest with all possible submission to her own judgment, and to the reflections that some good natured moments may incline her to make towards my family. I would say a great deal to your Lordship for my own confidence in addressing this to your Lordship, some passages of my life having been such as may very properly give it that name; but I think, whatever you would be content to hear on that subject, will be better expressed by the person, who does me the honour to deliver this to your Lordship, from,

'My Lord,

'Your Lordship's most obedient,

July 13,  
1689.

'humble servant,

'ROCHESTER (18):'

[G] He

\* This passage seems to allude to the Earl's acting in the Ecclesiastical Commission, for which his pardon had probably been obtained by the Bishop. See his History of his own Times, Vol. I.

(18) Life of Bishop Burnet, subjoined to the 2d volume of the History of his own Times, p. 700, 701, 702.



(y) Wood, ubi  
supra.

confidence with her Majesty; and making use of the same mediation [G] in the behalf of his brother the Earl of Clarendon, in 1690 he obtained his pardon, and on the first of March 1691-2 he was taken into the Privy-Council (y). Some time after, the Queen greatly resenting the Princess of Denmark's conduct, in continuing Lady Marlborough in her service, notwithstanding her Lord's disgrace, the Earl of Rochester, their uncle, heartily interested himself in endeavouring to procure a reconciliation between the two sisters [H]. But the King was never brought thoroughly to confide in him, 'till the

[G] *He made use of the same mediation.* We are obliged to the author quoted in the preceding remark for the following letters, who introduces them with this prefatory account: That 'when the Earl of Clarendon was unhappily engaged in the conspiracy against the government in 1690, and some hotter whigs were for the severest methods, the Bishop [Burnet] became a hearty and successful advocate in his favour, as appears from the two ensuing letters of Lord Rochester to the Bishop.'

'My Lord,

Upon what account soever it is, that your Lordship is pleased to let me hear from you, I take it to be some thing of good fortune, whatever ill cause there may be in it too. Therefore I humbly thank your Lordship for the honour of your's of the 18th from Salisbury, which was sent me to this pretty place where I love to be, as much as you do at your palace. And though I cannot do so much good to others as your Lordship does to all that are near you, yet I do more to myself, than I can do any where else.

*Quid sentire putas, quid credis amice precari.*

*Sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam  
Quod superest ævi.*

Forgive this transgressional rapture, and accept my thanks, which I pay your Lordship for your kind letter: for indeed I do take it very kindly, that you were so much concerned, as to give me a kind hint of that unseasonable discourse, you came to be acquainted with, when you were last in London. I will make the best use of it I can to prevent the like for the future, if I have any credit; and in the mean time, I must make use of this opportunity to calm and soften your resentments toward this friend of mine, as you call him in the beginning of your letter. I will allow you, as a servant to the King and Queen, and a subject to their crown, to have as great a detestation of the contrivance, as you can wish; and upon my word I can accompany you in it. But when I consider you as once you were a concerned friend of this Lord, to have a respect for his family, and particularly my father, who lost not only all the honours and preferments in this world, but even the comforts of it too, for the integrity and uprightness of his heart, you must forgive me, if I conjure you by all that's sacred in this generation, in which we live together, by the character that you bear, and by the religion you profess, that you don't (as much as in you lies) suffer this next heir of my good father's name and honour, to go down with sorrow to the grave. I would not flatter myself, that your Lordship could be moved with any fondness of mine, to endeavour to bring to pass what is not fit for a wife and good man to propose, that would be to make a very ill use of your friendship to me; and I had rather be corrected myself in my own desires, than expose your Lordship on such an account; but I hope that those who are the supreme directors in this matter under God, may in their great wisdom judge, that it may prove as much to their honour and safety too, to pass over this particular, as if they should pursue the strictest measures of justice in it. Though I am a brother, if I did not upon the greatest reflection I can make, think I should be of the same opinion, if I were none, I would not press this matter upon you; for I cannot but think, that the Queen would do somewhat, and would be very glad to avow it too, for the memory of that gentleman so long in his grave. It is upon this account I am begging of your Lordship to do all that is possible to preserve every part and branch and member of his family, from the least transient stain of infamy and reproach. And if God was prevailed with by Abraham to save a whole city for the sake of ten righteous men; I hope there may be as charitable an inclination

to spare the *débris* of our broken family, for the sake of him who was the raiser of it.

I ask your Lordship's pardon for being thus importunate, for I have great need of your help, and I hope I shall have it from you. Losses of many and good friends I have borne, and submitted with patience to the pleasure of Almighty God, but a calamity of this nature that I now deprecate, has in it something so frightful, and on some accounts so unnatural, that I beg you for God's sake, from any angry man yourself, grow an advocate for me, and for the family on this account.

I am ever, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

New Park,  
March 21,  
1690-91.

humble servant,

ROCHESTER.\*

His Lordship having received a very obliging answer to this letter, wrote a second time to the Bishop, as follows:

'My Lord,

I was warm, I confess, in the last letter I gave your Lordship the trouble of, and I thank you for reproving the vehemency of my stile in your last of the 28th. I am grown cooler, and acknowledge my fault; neither did I commit it with any apprehension that your Lordship was inexorable, or that it would be so much as needful to desire your assistance. You may remember, you had said a word to me when you were here, an *attainder*, that I acknowledge sounded very harsh to me; and when I had reflected a little more upon it, as likewise that your Lordship did not use to speak by chance, and consequently that you had good grounds for what you said; I own it heated me all over, which made me express my thoughts to you with more transport than was fit; and I will say no more of them, for fear of running into new excesses. What your Lordship proposes for my Lord Clarendon to desire, is perfectly agreeable to my mind; but I know not, whether it be not a little too early, and that such a petition would be presented with a better grace, if he were once out of the Tower upon bail, than it would be, while he is under this close confinement. — But, as your Lordship says, the affair of *Mons* must for the present put a stop to every man's private thoughts, for that is a matter of such vast importance to the public, that it is but very fit that all particular considerations should give way to it, and wait the determination of that great point. — [In proceeding, he takes notice of Lady Ranelagh's kindness to him, and concludes thus] I owe her many obligations. I am sorry to see how little I can return, when there is most need of serving her\*. Among all her favours, one that I shall never forget, was her desire and endeavours not only to renew for me the acquaintance I formerly had with your Lordship, but to knit it closer into a friendship, in which I am always to own your Lordship's ready concurrence; and I hope I shall not fail as faithfully to perform all the part that belongs to,

\* She lay then  
very dangerously  
ill of a fever.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

April 2,  
1691.

and humble servant,

ROCHESTER (19).<sup>\*</sup> (19) Ibid. p.  
702—705.

[H] *He endeavoured to reconcile the two sisters.*

A specimen has been already given of Lady Marlborough's disposition toward his Lordship (20). The original cause of it is discovered by herself. His

(20) In remark  
[D].

Lordship



the jealousies he entertained of his principles were removed by Mr Robert Harley afterwards Earl of Oxford (z), through whose means he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland

(z) Boyer's Life of Queen Anne, in the appendix, p. 57. and Burnett, Vol. II. p. 280.

Lordship had warmly opposed her coming into the Princess of Denmark's family. His Lordship likewise upon her husband's disgrace, shewed himself very desirous to have her removed thence (21), a behaviour which must needs be extremely resented by her Ladyship; and she took an opportunity of shewing it many years afterwards by an abusive misrepresentation of his Lordship's conduct in regard to the subject of the present remark, his endeavours to reconcile the two royal sisters. However, his Lordship's memory quickly found an advocate who has done him plenary justice in this point. But as the express design of that author was to erect an exact counter-battery to that of her Grace, perhaps in the opinion that it was necessary to bend the tree as much the contrary way, in order to reduce it to a due rectitude (22), we shall endeavour here, to give the true out-line of his Lordship's conduct on this occasion. In this view it will be necessary to observe, that there had been some heart-burnings between these royal personages, from the time of Queen Mary's accession to the throne, which were much inflamed by the incident of the Princess's allowance of 50,000 l. a year settled by Parliament in 1690. After the vote had passed in the Commons, the Duchess tells us she consulted Lord Rochester whether her highness should try for more, to which his answer was, *That he thought not only that the Princess ought to be satisfied with 50,000 l. but that she ought to have taken it in any way the King and Queen pleased.* Her Grace imputes this answer to his Lordship's making his court at this time to the Queen (23). That he was at that time desirous to testify a particular respect to the Queen, has been already shewn, as well as his motives thereto, in the two preceding remarks. However, considering the intire regard he had for the Princess and all her interests, it seems more probable that this answer was the immediate effect of a lively resentment at the imprudence and unreasonableness of the question, which no doubt was sharpened too, both by the natural warmth of his temper, and an extreme concern to see the minion's presumption. But the event which separated the two sisters, so as never to be closed, was the visit made to her Majesty by the Princess, with Lady Marlborough in her retinue, during the time of that Lord's disgrace at Court. Upon which the Queen the next day wrote to her sister the following letter.

Kensington, Friday the 5th of February.

'Having something to say to you, which I know will not be very pleasing I chuse rather to write it first, being unwilling to surprize you, though I think what I am going to tell you, if you give yourself the time to think, that never any body was suffered to live at Court in my Lord Marlborough's circumstances; I need not repeat the cause he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it.

I hope you do me the justice to believe it is as much against my will, that I now tell you, that after this, it is very unfit that Lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he ought not.

I think I might have expected you should have spoke to me of it, and the King and I both believing it, made us stay thus long. But seeing you are so far from it, that you brought Lady Marlborough hither last night, makes us resolve to put it off no longer, but tell you, she must not stay; and that I have all the reason imaginable to look upon your bringing her, as the strangest thing that ever was done. Nor could all my kindness for you, (which is ever ready to turn all you do the best way) at any other time have hindered me shewing it you that moment; but I considered your condition, and that made me master it so far as not to take notice of it then.

But now I must tell you, it was very unkind in a sister, would have been very uncivil in an equal, and I need not say I have more to claim. Which though my kindness would make me never exact, yet when I see the use you would make of it, I must tell you, I know what is due to me, and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon that account I tell you plainly, Lady

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Marlborough must not continue with you in the circumstances her Lord is:

I know this will be uneasy to you, and I am sorry for it, and it is very much so to me to say all this to you, for I have all the real kindness imaginable for you, and as I ever have, so I will always do my part to live with you as sisters ought. That is, not only like so near relations, but like friends. And as such I did think to write to you, for I would have made myself believe your kindness for her made you at first forget that you should have for the King and me, and resolved to put you in mind of it myself, neither of us being willing to come to harsher ways.

But the sight of Lady Marlborough having changed my thoughts; does naturally alter my stile. And since by that I see how little you seem to consider what in common civility you owe us, I have told it you plainly; but withal assure you, that let me have never so much reason to take any thing ill of you, my kindness is so great, that I can pass over most things, and live with you, as becomes me. And I desire to do so, merely from that motive. For I do love you as my sister, and nothing but yourself can make me do otherwise, and that is the reason I chuse to write this rather than tell it you, that you may overcome your first thoughts; and when you have well considered, you will find, that though the thing be hard (which I again assure you I am sorry for), yet it is not unreasonable, but what has ever been practised, and what you yourself would do, were you in my place.

I will end this with once more desiring you to consider the matter impartially, and take time for it. I do not desire an answer presently, because I would not have you give a rash one. I shall come to your drawing-room to-morrow before you play, because you know why I cannot make one: at some other time we shall reason the business calmly; which I will willingly do, or any thing else that may shew, it shall never be my fault, if we do not live kindly together: nor will I ever be other by choice, but,

Your truly loving,

and affectionate sister,

M. R. (24). (24) Ibid. p. 44, & seq.

To this letter the Princess returned the following answer.

'Your Majesty was in the right to think your letter would be very surprizing to me. For you must needs be sensible enough of the kindness I have for Lady Marlborough, to know that a command from you to part with her, must be the greatest mortification in the world to me, and indeed of such a nature, as I might well have hoped your kindness to me would have always prevented. I am satisfied she cannot have been guilty of any fault to you. And it would be extremely to her advantage, if I could here repeat every word she had said to me of you in her whole life. I confess it is no small addition to my trouble, to find the want of your Majesty's kindness to me upon this occasion; since I am sure I have always endeavoured to preserve it by all the actions of my life.

Your care of my present condition is extremely obliging, and if you would be pleased to add to it so far, as upon my account to re-call your severe command (as I must beg leave to call it in a matter so tender to me, and so little reasonable as I think, to be imposed upon me, that you would scarce require it from the meanest of your subjects) I should ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable mark of your kindness to me; and I must as freely own, that as I think this proceeding can be for no other intent than to give me a very sensible mortification; so there is no misery that I cannot readily resolve to suffer, rather than the thoughts of parting with her. If after all this that I have said, I must still find myself so unhappy as to be farther pressed in this matter; yet your Majesty may be assured, that as my past actions have given the greatest testimony of my respect both for the King and you, so it shall always be my endeavour, wherever I

30 T

am,

(21) Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 43.

(22) The piece is intitled, The other Side of the Question, &c. printed the same year with the Duchess's conduct.

(23) Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, &c. p. 37.



\* He went over to Ireland that year, but made a short stay. *Burnet*, p. 291.

in 1700\*. He was possessed of that important post † and of the favour of Queen Anne on her accession to the throne; but being ordered to his government of Ireland, he declined

† King William, some weeks before his death, had sent to dismiss him, but it was not executed. *Ibid.* p. 313.

am, to preserve it carefully for the time to come, as becomes,

constant marks of duty and respect, which I have in my heart for your Majesty, as becomes,

Your Majesty's

Your Majesty's

very affectionate sister,

very affectionate sister

and servant,

and servant,

ANNE.

ANNE.

From the Cockpit,  
Feb. 6, 1692 (25).

(25) This letter is also given by the *Duchess*, who likewise observes that the visit was made about three weeks after her Lord's removal; whence that disgrace must have happened about the middle of January, 1692, a circumstance which the reader is desired to supply in the *Duke's* article, in Vol. II. p. 1339.

Lord Rochester was pitched upon as the properest person to carry this inflaming letter to the Queen, but he declined the office, and therein gave a most conspicuous proof of his affectionate regard to both his nieces, and of his sincere desire to see them reconciled, nothing being more notorious than that this address was dictated by no healing spirit. Accordingly it was soon followed by another, declaring the Princess's resolution to remove herself from the Cockpit, in order to avoid complying with the Queen's command. The letter was as follows.

'I am very sorry to find that all I have said myself, and my Lord Rochester for me, has not had effect enough to keep your Majesty from persisting in a resolution, which you are satisfied must be so great a mortification to me, as to avoid it, I shall be obliged to retire; and deprive myself of the satisfaction of living, where I might have frequent opportunities of assuring you of that duty and respect, which I always have been, and shall be desirous to pay you upon all occasions.

'My only consolation in this extremity is, that not having done any thing in all my life to deserve your unkindness, I hope I shall not be long under the necessity of absenting myself from you: the thought of which is so uneasy to me, that I find myself too much indisposed to give your Majesty any further trouble at this time.'

We see here the Princess expressly acknowledging the good offices of her uncle in her behalf to the Queen; and what follows, will shew that he persevered in those good offices. The Princess being delivered, at Sion-house, of a child which died soon after the birth; and signifying the same in a respectful manner to the Queen, her Majesty was prevailed with by his Lordship in return, to send word that she would go that afternoon and see the Princess at Sion, and she was there very soon after the notice arrived. And though no good effect followed from this visit, wherein her Majesty again insisted on her first demand; yet surely it was an advance on the Queen's side, and consequently a proof of the uncle's good intentions to her sister. But the sincerity of these intentions seem to have been suspected, for upon the Princess's recovery, when this visit was to be returned, she employed Bishop Stillingfleet instead of Lord Rochester to carry the letter.

Her letter of annunciation.

To the Queen.

Sion, the 20th of May.

I have now, God be thanked, recovered my strength well enough to go abroad, and though my duty and inclination would both lead me to wait upon your Majesty, as soon as I am able to do it, yet I have of late had the misfortune of being so much under your Majesty's displeasure, as to apprehend there may be hard constructions made, upon any thing I either do or not do with the most respectful intentions; and I am in doubt, whether the same arguments that have prevailed with your Majesty to forbid people from shewing their usual respects to me (26), may not be carried so much further, as not to permit me to pay my duty to you. That I acknowledge would be a great increase of affliction to me; and nothing but your Majesty's own command shall ever willingly make me submit to it. For whatever reason I may think in my own mind I have to complain of being hardly used, yet I will strive to hide it as much as possible; and though I will not pretend to live at the *Cockpit*, unless you would be so kind as to make it easy to me, yet wherever I am, I will endeavour always to give the

(26) All company had been forbidden waiting on the Princess, and her Guards had been also taken away. *Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct*, p. 75.

The answer returned by the Queen, manifests the highest resentment in these terms.

To the Princess.

'I have received your's by the Bishop of Worcester, and have very little to say to it, since you cannot but know, that as I never used compliments, so now they will not serve.

'Tis none of my fault, we live at this distance, and I have endeavoured to shew my willingness to do otherwise, and I will do no more. Don't give yourself any unnecessary trouble: for be assured it is not words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you, and I now tell you, if you doubted it before, that I cannot change my mind, but expect to be complied with, or you must not wonder if I doubt of your kindness. You can give me no other marks that will satisfy me. Nor can I put any other construction upon your actions, than what all the world must do, that sees them. These things don't hinder me being very glad to hear you are so well, and wishing you may continue so; and that you may yet, while 'tis in your power, oblige me to be,

'Your affectionate sister,

'MARIE R.'

This was indeed rigid and arbitrary (27), and the effect which it produced was natural, a fixed resolution in the Princess not to submit to it. No doubt there was faults on both sides as is usual in such differences; and if the Queen was governed therein by her consort, the Princess was not less spirited up by her favourite, who, as we have seen, having got the sole possession, had prevailed upon her to exclude her uncle from her councils, a fact which is far from being denied by the *Duchess*, and was much resented by the *Earl*, who did not spare to express it (if indeed he did write (28)) to the Princess in the following terms.

(27) That 'tis said was the Princess's expression concerning it. *Ibid.* § 1. where both the preceding letters may be seen, as also the following.

'Madam,  
'I am afraid I may be guilty of too great presumption in giving your Royal Highness the trouble of a letter; but I do it with so good intentions, that I hope you can't be angry with me for it. And now that one is unhappily restrained from the honour of waiting upon your Royal Highness, there is no other way but this to make an offer of my humble duty to you. It is a very uncomfortable reflection for me to make, that being so really concerned as I am sure I am for your Royal Highness's happiness, I should be so unfortunate as to be wholly useless to you at a time, when your Royal Highness cannot but think yourself, that you have use of every body, that are truly and faithfully your servants. And however, I have been so mistaken in my judgment, as to have never offered any thing to your Highness worth your approbation; I do, with all humility, submit my poor opinion to that of your Royal Highness, but beg you to believe it is not flattery to any body else, nor any other consideration that has made me be of the mind I was, but only the want of a better understanding, to be able to think of something more for your service; and being thus incapable of myself to propose any thing that is agreeable to you, I take this occasion humbly to offer to your Royal Highness all the little service, you may judge me fit to be employed in, and most earnestly to beseech you to believe, that if I can be of any use in the world to your Royal Highness, there is nothing that I would endeavour

(28) How came her Grace by this letter? is a query put into *The other Side of the Question*, p. 114.



(a a) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 340, 341. who tells us, he was uneasy at the presence the Duke of Marlborough had in the Queen's confidence.

• He likewise made a speech in Parliament that year, to shew that the Church was in danger. Boyer, p. 215.

it, and thereupon was dismissed from all his employments (a a) [1]. From that time he put himself at the head of those who were called the High-Church party, and, among other instances of his zeal for that cause, strenuously supported the occasional conformity-bill; he also proposed to bring over the Princess Sophia in 1705\*, and opposed the Regency-bill that year, and the Union-bill in 1707; which gave his opposers a fair opportunity to keep him from Court, 'till the same person who reconciled him to King William, did him the like good office with the Queen, upon the change of the ministry in 1710, when he was made Lord-President of the Council; and it was said that her Majesty designed him again for the post of Lord-Treasurer, if his death had not prevented it (b b). He died suddenly May 2, 1711, and was interred in Westminster-abbey (c c). His character, as is drawn by Bishop Burnet, may be seen below [K]. His Lordship married Henrietta, the fifth daughter of

(b b) Boyer, in the appendix, p. 57.

(c c) Collins's Peerage, edit. 1741, under Hyde.

Richard

‘deavour with greater satisfaction to myself, than at this time to express the great concern I presume to say I have for your Royal Highness, by any thing that I can do for your service. And if any thing I have taken the confidence to say be worth your taking notice of, the least signification of your pleasure will bring me at all times to receive the honour of your commands, and the duty and zeal and passion I have for your true interest and prosperity, will, I hope, make some amends for the want of a better judgment and capacity, which I acknowledge every body has a greater share of than,

‘Madam,

‘Your Royal Highness's

‘most obedient, and most

‘dutiful servant,

‘ROCHESTER.’

To this his Lordship received the following answer from the Princess.

To the Earl of Rochester.

‘I give you many thanks for the compliments and expressions of service, which you make me in your letter; which I should be much better pleased with than I am, if I had any reason to think them sincere.

‘It is a great mortification to me, to find that I shall continue under the misfortune of the Queen's displeasure. I had hopes, in time, the occasion of it would have appeared as little reasonable to the Queen, as it has always done to me. And if you would have persuaded me of the sincerity of your intentions, as you seem to desire, you must give me leave to say, I cannot think it very hard for you to convince me of it by the effects. And 'till then I must beg leave to be excused, if I am apt to think this great mortification which has been given me, cannot have proceeded from the Queen's own temper; who I am persuaded, is both more just in herself than that comes to, as well as more kind to

‘Your very affectionate friend,

‘ANNE.’

The Earl had the point of a reconciliation too much at heart, to suffer himself to be moved from it by the severe reflections thrown upon him in this letter. He was very sensible from what quiver all those shafts were taken, and therefore without laying them to the charge of his niece, who he knew was endued with as much native goodness as ever fell to the share of a woman, proceeded to make yet another attempt, in order if possible to heal a breach, in which the reputation of the family was so deeply concerned. In this view, laying hold of the last words in his niece's letter, he intimated to some of her family, that *if her Highness would discharge Lady Marlborough, he was persuaded the Queen would in some time be prevailed upon to let her take that favourite again.* The Princess in compliance herewith, sent her uncle's proposal to the Queen, assuring her, that *from what his Lordship had said, she had been flattering herself, she had mistaken her Majesty's last words; and that if she might hope his Lordship had any ground for his opinion, she should be very ready to give her Majesty any satisfaction of that sort.* But we are told, that upon the delivery of this message,

the Queen fell into a great passion and said, *her sister had not mistaken her, for she never would see her upon any other terms, than parting with Lady Marlborough, not for a time, but for ever; adding, that she was a Queen, and would be obeyed* (29). So peremptory an answer put an end to all further thoughts of a mediation; wherein however, notwithstanding his Lordship's ill success, yet his sincerity and real affection for both the royal sisters, after what has been said, will I suppose be hardly called in question.

(29) Ibid.

[1] *He was removed from all his employments.* The last remark, discovered his Lordship's quarrel with the Marlborough family, and likewise the original cause thereof, viz. a rivalry in the affections of his niece. This disgrace was the effect of that rivalry, the weight of which his Lordship was made to feel on all occasions as long as it prevailed. Another remarkable instance of it, besides that mentioned above, was the refusing to make the Lady Dalkeith, his daughter, a lady of the bed-chamber, on the death of Lady Charlotte Beverwaert. Those places were in the disposal of Lady Marlborough, who had been made groom of the stole to the Queen upon her accession to the Throne. His Lordship therefore, out of that tender regard which he always shewed for his children, applied on this occasion to that Lady; who having observed, that the letter was (as she archly expresses it) *a very fine piece*, proceeds to express the greatness of her surprize; thanks God for her own proneness to forgive her enemies; renews her charge against his Lordship of having persecuted her without a cause; declares that want of bread could not have induced her to ask a favour of one she had injured; and having slid in by way of reflection—*But surely his Lordship had something very uncommon in his temper*, concludes thus: ‘As to my Lord Rochester's request in behalf of my Lady Dalkeith it could not be granted; because in reality there was no vacancy. The Queen had resolved to have no more than ten Ladies, and the number was complete. There had indeed been eleven for some short time, but this had been occasioned by the Duchess of Somerset's declining to accept one of these places, when it was offered her at the settling of the Queen's family, and soon after desiring to have it, when they were all filled. As she was the first Protestant Duchess of England, I persuaded the Queen to be pleased in compliment to her Grace, to have eleven ladies for the little time Lady Charlotte Beverwaert had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill; so that when her Majesty complied, it was, with full purpose, that the number of her Ladies should be only ten after Lady Charlotte's death (30).’ To this account it is replied on his Lordship's behalf in these terms. ‘Thus it appears, the Queen could recede from her system at your Grace's persuasion in favour of the first Duchess, but not in favour of your first cousin without it. But this, Madam, is only your way of telling your story. According to others, Lady Dalkeith was rejected for fear the Marlborough family should be opposed in the bed-chamber, as well as in the cabinet, by that of the Queen (31).’ The only general use that can be made of this detail, is to remind the reader of these two things, viz. That the Duchess of Somerset's husband had given his vote in Council, agreeable to the projects of Lord Marlborough, and Lady Dalkeith's father had opposed them (32). We shall conclude this remark with observing that the opposition continued as long as Lord Rochester lived, and thereby he acquired the title, as his father had done, of being The Guardian of the Church (33).

[K] *His character by Bishop Burnet.* This is as follows, that he was a man of great parts, and of a good head, but spoke not gracefully. He was thought the smoothest man in the Court, and during all the dispute concerning

(30) Ibid. § 2. p. 146.

(31) The other Side, &c. p. 180.

(32) His Lordship proposed to prosecute the war not by land but by sea, as our proper element. See the substance of his speech in the last cited piece, from p. 171 to p. 174.

(33) See a letter of the Duke's, dated Grametz, Octob. 1706, and another of the Duchess, in her Account, ubi supra, as also in the other Side of The Question, p. 273, & seq. and p. 279, & seq.



Richard Boyle Earl of Burlington and Cork, who dying April 12, 1687, was interred also in Westminster-abbey, having brought one son, Henry, who succeeded to the honour and estate, and four daughters (*dd*), of whom we shall give an account in remark [L].

(*dd*) Ibid.

cerning his father, made his court so dextrously, that no repentment ever appeared on that head. When he came to business and rose to high posts he grew violent, but was thought an incorrupt man. He had high notions of government, and thought it must be maintained with great severity, he delivered up his own sentiments to his party that he might lead them: he passed for a sincere man, and seemed to have too much heat to be false (34). Another author observes, that he was not only of the most refined judgment and capacity as a statesman, but otherways of great abilities and exemplary morals, which rendered him acceptable even to those of a contrary interest (35) [as for instance, to Bishop Burnet].

(34) History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 238.

(35) Collins, in the Peerage, under his article, edit. 1741.

[L] *An account of his children.* The names of his daughters were Anne, Henrietta, Mary, and Katharine. Anne the eldest, born in 1665, was married at seventeen years of age to James Earl of Ossory, grandson and heir to the Duke of Ormond. Her marriage being proposed by the Duke of York, was readily consented to. The young lady's fortune was 15000*l.* she was very pretty and agreeable in her person, had abundance of vivacity, a great deal of ready wit, and an excellent temper, and the marriage was solemnized on Thursday July 15, 1682, in Burlington-house chapel

(36) Carte's Ormonde, Vol. II. p. 520.

(36). The young couple were taken by the Duke of Ormond soon after to Ireland, where in the beginning of November 1684, the Countess began to be troubled with vapours and fainting fits, however she was not thought to be with child, but it proved so, and she died of a miscarriage, in January 1684, at Dublin, and was buried Jan. 27, at Christ-Church in that city. Some fancies might probably contribute to her miscarriage, for she was very superstitious, as to thirteen people sitting at table. A little before her death, Dr Hough [afterwards Bishop of Worcester] was going to sit down, when observing that he made the thirteenth, he stopt short, and declined taking his place †. She immediately guessed the reason, and said, *Sit down, Doctor, 'tis now too late, 'tis the same thing if you stay or go away.* The Doctor believed it affected her; as likewise another passage, which being related in a different manner, it may not be improper here to correct the mistake of that relation. About the time of the death of Mary Countess of Kildare, who was daughter to Katharine Baroness of Clifton, married first to Donald Lord O'Brian, and afterwards to Sir Joseph Williamson; the Countess of Ossory, then not above seventeen, dreamt, that this lady came and knocked at the door; and that calling to her servants to see who was there, and no-body answering, she went to the door herself, and opening it, saw a lady with her face muffled up in a hood, who drawing it aside, she perceived it was the Lady Kildare——Upon this she cried, *Sister, is it you? What makes you come in this manner?* don't be frightened, replied she, for I come on a very serious affair, and it is to tell you, that you will die very soon, such was her dream; and this is all the story, as the young lady related it herself to the Bishop of Worcester. What is added in the history of apparitions is all a fiction (37). In that history, the story is told from Aubrey's Miscellanies in the following terms: 'Two persons, ladies of quality, both not long since deceased, were intimate acquaintance, and loved each other intirely. It happened that one of them falling sick of the small-pox, desired mightily to see the other, who refused to come for fear of catching the distemper. The afflicted lady at last dies, and had not been buried very long before she appeared at the other's house in the dress of a widow, and asks for her friend, who being then at cards, sends down her woman to know her business, but was told by the other, she must impart it to none but her Lady. She hearing this answer, bid her woman have her into a room, and desire her to stay 'till the game was over, when she would wait on her. The game being done, down stairs she came to the apparition to know her business, *Madam*, says the ghost, turning upon her, with her face full of the small-pox, *You know very well that you and I loved intirely, and your not coming to see me, I took so ill at your hands, that I could not rest, 'till I had seen you; and now I am come to tell you, that you have not long to live, therefore prepare to die; and when you are at a visit, and make the thirteenth person, then remember my words;*

† Hence it appears that the doctor was in Ireland in 1684, a circumstance which is omitted in his article.

(37) Carte, p. 543.

and so the apparition vanished. To conclude, she was at a visit, where she made the thirteenth, and being afterwards asked by the deceased's brother, whether his sister did not appear to her, she made him no answer, but fell ill, and died in a little time after. The gentleman that told this story says, that there is scarcely a lady of quality but who knows it to be true (38). His Lordship's second daughter married James Earl of Dalkeith, eldest son of James Duke of Monmouth. This lady has been already mentioned (39). The third daughter Mary, was married Feb. 17, 1703, to Francis Seymour Conway, afterwards Lord Conway. Katharine, the fourth, was Lady of the Bed-chamber to Queen Anne, and died unmarried in 1737. The Earl's son and heir, on the death of his cousin Edward Earl of Clarendon in 1723, became Earl of Clarendon and Rochester; he married in the life-time of his father, Jane, daughter of Sir William Levison Gower, and aunt to the present Earl Gower. Her Ladyship was appointed of the Bed-chamber to Queen Anne, soon after her Majesty's accession to the throne; the Dukes of Marlborough, who misses no opportunity of shewing her wit upon the Rochester family, tells us, 'that she thought it reasonable to grant this favour, for in my life says her Grace, I never saw any mortal have such a passion for any thing, as she had to be in this post. While the thing was depending, she had so much concern upon her, that she never spoke to me without blushing; and after it was granted, she made me more expressions than ever I had from any body on any occasion'. In what manner this lady treated me afterwards, is not worth while to mention (40). Hereupon, the author of The other side of the Question, makes the following remark. An excellent picture of artless innocent feminine ambition, the effect of which, the simply grateful letter you expose from her Ladyship, cannot lessen, nor the reflection so haughtily insinuated at the end of it efface (41). She died May 24, 1725. His Lordship had issue by her one son Henry; and five daughters, Anne, Henrietta, Jane, Charlotte, and Katharine, of whom the two first were deceased in 1741. The 3d, Jane, married William Capel Earl of Essex, being his Lordship's first wife, she died January 3, 1723-4, having brought her husband four daughters. The Earl of Clarendon's fourth daughter, Charlotte, died at her father's house in St James's square unmarried, March 17, 1739-40. Katharine, married to the Duke of Queensberry, is still living \*; and, 'tis said, has in her possession a manuscript of her great-grand father the Chancellor, containing an account of his seven years administration, from the King's return to his own banishment. The Earl of Clarendon and Rochester's only son, Henry Viscount Cornbury, was born November 26, 1710, was some time a Member of Parliament for the University of Oxford (42), and was called by writ to the House of Peers, on Jan. 22, 1750, by the title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire; but going soon after to reside in France, was killed there by a fall from his horse, May 2, 1753, and his father dying November 10 the same year (43), the titles became extinct, and the son bequeathed the family estate, which had been settled upon him by his father, to Lady Charlotte, daughter to the abovesaid Earl of Essex †.

(38) History and Reality of Apparitions, &c. p. 185 and 186. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

(39) Viz. in remark [I].

‡ As a further confirmation, the Dukes insert a letter from Lady Hyde on this occasion, which is inserted below.

(40) The Dukes of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 145.

(41) The other Side of the Question, p. 118.

\* Peerage, under Hyde and Capel, Vol. II. edit. 1741.

(42) Gentleman's Magazine, for that month and year.

(43) Ibid. for November.

† This lady being married to the Hon. Thomas Villiers of the Grove in Hertfordshire, that gentleman, June 3, 1756, was created a peer, by the title and title of Baron Hyde of Hindon in Wiltshire, to descend to the heirs male begotten by him of the body of his wife the said Lady Charlotte, and, in default of such issue, to go to her Ladyship and the heirs male of her body.

(44) Dukes of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 133, 134.

Lady Hyde's letter just mentioned was as follows.

Madam,

Monday morning.

I have been three times in the drawing-room in hopes to meet your Ladyship there, that I might myself tell you, how extreme sensible I am of your Ladyship's favour to me. You will add another, if you will forgive my impatience that cannot stay longer, without thanking you myself, though Mr Lowther hath undertaken for me; I am very happy in my request's being granted, and your Ladyship may depend any command of your's shall be obeyed. For I will not, without your leave, brag even to my Lady Harriot, who did me the favour to speak to your Ladyship. I am not good at saying much, but am sure it will be a pleasure to me, to shew you in every thing I can, how faithfully and sincerely,

I am,

Your most humble servant,

J. HYDE (44).

P

JACKSON



## J.



**J**ACKSON [THOMAS], a very learned English Divine in the XVIIth century, was born December 21, 1579, at Witton upon the river Were in the bishopric of Durham; being descended from a very worthy family in those parts (a). His parents designed him at first to be a merchant at Newcastle, where many of his near friends and relations lived in great wealth and prosperity; but that temptation could not divert him from his natural inclination to learning. Therefore, at the instance of Ralph Lord Evre, he was sent to the university of Oxford [A], and admitted, in Midsummer term 1595, into Queen's-college; from whence, March 24, 1596, he was elected Scholar of Corpus-Christi-college: and though he had no notice of the vacancy of the place, 'till the day before the election, yet he answered with so much readiness and applause, that he gained the admiration as well as the suffrages of the electors, and was chosen with full consent, notwithstanding great interest was made for another person (b). The 23d of July, 1599, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and that of Master July 9, 1603 (c). And on the 10th of May 1606, was chosen Probationer-Fellow of his college (d), having then laid an extraordinary foundation of learning [B]. But he made all his knowledge subservient to the study of Divinity; which he applied himself to with great vigour and success. As an instance of which, he read a Divinity lecture in his college every Sunday morning, and another on a week day at Pembroke-college (then new founded), at the instance of the Master and Fellows there. Being also chosen Vice-President of his House for many years together; by virtue of that office, he moderated at the Divinity-disputations, not only with great depth of learning, but also with agreeable courtesy, gentleness, and humility (e). June 25, 1610, he took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and June 26, 1622, that of Doctor (f). In 1624 he quitted the college, being preferred to a living in his own native country [C]. From whence, shortly after, he was removed to the vicarage of St Nicolas in Newcastle, a very populous town, furnished with multitudes of men, and no small variety of opinions (g). In that large cure, he behaved in a very studious, humble, courteous, and charitable manner (h) [D]; and was much followed and admired for his excellent way of preaching. He was then a rigid Calvinist; but Dr Richard Neile, Bishop of Durham, taking him for his Chaplain, convinced him of the errors of Absolute Predestination. And through that Bishop's, jointly with Dr Laud's, interest, he was elected President of Corpus-Christi college (i); which office he was sworn into February 17, 1630 (k). In that station he acted with the utmost wisdom, modesty, candour, integrity, and faithfulness (l). Upon accepting of it, having resigned his living in Newcastle, he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, and collated to the Vicarage of Witney [E], and to a Prebend of Winchester (m), which

(a) Wood Athenæ. edit. 1721. Vol. I. col. 633. and the Life and Death of Dr Jackson, prefixed to a Collection of his Works, Lond. 1653, fol. p. 2.

(b) Life, &c. p. 2.

(c) Wood Fasti, Vol. I. col. 156, 165.

(d) Idem Athenæ ubi supra.

(e) Life, &c. ut supra, p. 5.

(f) Wood Fasti, Vol. I. col. 186, 223.

(g) Life, p. 6.

(h) Ibid.

(i) Wood, Athenæ. ubi supra.

(k) Idem, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. II. p. 232.

(l) Life, &c. p. 8.

(m) Life, &c. p. 10. and Wood Athenæ, ut supra.

[A] *At the instance of Ralph Lord Evre, he was sent to the University of Oxford.*] This he thankfully acknowledges, in the dedication of his two first books of Commentaries on the Creed to that noble Lord, in the following words. 'That being engaged unto a more gainfull, but not so good a course of life, and well-nigh rooted in another soil; I was by your Lordship's favourable advice and countenance transplanted to this famous nursery of good learning.'

[B] *Having then laid an extraordinary foundation of learning.*] For, he had carefully grounded himself in Arithmetic, Grammar, Philology, Geometry, Rhetoric, Logic, Philosophy, the Oriental languages, History, &c. with an insight into Heraldry, and Hieroglyphics (1).

[C] *Being preferred to a living in his own native country.*] Edmund Vaughan, the author of his life, says, That the living was in the donation of the college (2); and Ant. Wood, that 'he left his college

for a benefice in his own country, which the President and Society thereof had then lately conferred on him (3). But it doth not appear that Corpus Christi-college have any livings in that diocese

[D] *And charitable manner.*] When he went out, he usually gave what money he had about him to the poor; who at length flocked so about him, that his servant took care he should not have too much in his pocket (4).

[E] *And collated to the vicarage of Witney.*] The author of his life, just now mentioned, informs us, 'That he gave his vicarage in Newcastle to Mr Alvyne of Trinity-college, upon no other relation, but out of the good opinion which he conceived of his merits. The vicarage of Witney, after he had been at much pains, and expence, to clear the title of the rectory to all succeeding ministers, when he had made it a portion fitting either to give or keep, he freely bestowed it upon Mr Thomas White, then Proctor of

(3) Athenæ. ut supra.

(4) Life, &c. p. 6.

(1) Wood, Athenæ. as above.

(2) P. 6.



(n) J. Le Neve's  
Fasti, &c. p. 529.

(o) Survey of the  
Cathedrals, &c.  
by Br. Willis,  
Esq; Vol. II. p.  
512.

(p) Wood, A-  
then. ut supra,  
col. 636.

(q) Wood, col.  
633.

which last he was installed into June 18, 1635 (n). He was also promoted January 17, 1638, to the Deanery of Peterburgh, in the room of Dr Towers, advanced to the episcopal see (o). But he did not enjoy this dignity above a year and three quarters: for he died September 21, 1640, and was buried in the inner chapel of Corpus-Christi-college (p). His works are very numerous, and entirely theological [F]. With regard to his character, he was a man of a blameless life, studious, humble, courteous, and very charitable; pious, and exemplary both in his private and public conversation: so that he was respected and beloved by the most considerable persons in the nation. And tho' he was reviled as an Arminian, by the Puritans or rigid Calvinists [G], the plagues of his time, yet the greatest esteem was no more than his due, even on account of his learning. For he was well furnished with all the learned languages, arts, and sciences; especially metaphysics, which he considered as a necessary hand-maid to Divinity; profoundly read in the Fathers, and of a wonderful and deep judgment (q).

\* the University, late chaplain of his college.' But by those inaccurate expressions, he gave, and bestowed, the life-writer must mean, that he procured those two livings for them through his interest; for neither of them were in his own gift.

[F] His works are very numerous, and entirely Theological. The chief of them are a Commentary on the Apostles Creed, in twelve books; printed in the following order. The first book was published at London in 1613, 4to. The second in 1614, 4to. The third in 1614, 4to. The fourth in 1615, 4to. The fifth in 1625, 4to. The sixth (which is a Treatise of the Divine Essence and Attributes, in two parts) in 1628, and 1629, 4to. The seventh in 1624, 4to. The eighth in 1626, 4to. The ninth in 1628, 4to. The tenth in 1654, fol. The eleventh in 1657, fol. The twelfth in 1627, 4to. The three first books were collected together, and published in folio, (with a preface, and the author's life written by Edmund Vaughan) in 1653, by the pious Barnabas Oley (5). Who also first published, in folio, the tenth book, in the year 1654. And in 1657, the eleventh book, also in folio. The rest of his compositions are chiefly sermons. A complete collection of all his works was printed again at London, in 1672, and 1673, in three volumes folio. And, though they are so voluminous, they have kept up their reputation, and their price, much better than those of most of his contemporaries; a sure mark of their intrinsic value. They are frequently cited, with due commendation, by the learned Bishop Patrick, in his Commentaries on the Old Testament; and by other persons of the best judgment. He appears, through every part of them, to have been a zealous champion against the Church of Rome.

[G] However reviled as an Arminian, by the Puritans or rigid Calvinists. Especially by the troublesome and voluminous scribler William Prynne, who mentions him in several of his works. Thus, he saith of him, in one place (6), that 'he was convented in

the last Parliament (1628) yea openly accused in the last Convocation for his heretical Arminian books.' He saith elsewhere (7), That 'Dr Jackson of Oxon. is a man of great abilities, and of a plausible, affable, courteous deportment; till of late he hath been transported beyond himself, with metaphysical contemplations, to his own infamy, and his renowned mother's shame, I mean the University of Oxon. who grieves for his defection.' And again, 'he [Dr Jackson] is of civil conversation and learning, which made his errors and preferments more dangerous and pernicious; — it was his Arminian errors, not his learning or honesty, that were the ground of his advancement to his dignity (8); — Yea, he was by him [Laud] designed to be Doctor of the Chair (though he missed that preferment,) to poison the University of Oxford, with his Arminian druggs (9). — But, as the pious Mr B. Oley well observes (10), such trifling objections and ill-grounded calumnies are 'meer noise; the phantasie of a prejudicate mind.' — Dr Jackson, adds he, 'knew he might not strive, nor multiply questions to gender strife: therefore he demands but two postulata of the dissenting man. 1. That God hath a true freedom of doing good. 2. That man hath a true freedom in doing evil. From him that agrees with him in these two, he will not dissent in other points (11). But from such as teach, That all events are so irresistibly decreed by God, that none can fall out otherwise than they do; or, that nothing can be amended that is amiss; he plainly differs. For, besides that the tenets be Turkish (12), being pressed, they yield a morbid bitter juice, and put out a forked sting. Their consequent being, That, either, there is no morall evil under the sun; or, That the fountain of goodnesse (who is ultor & intentator malorum) his will is the cause of such evil.' — So that every judicious person may easily discern, whose learning, as well as understanding and honesty, is most justly to be called in question; Mr Prynne's, or Dr Jackson's. C

(7) Anti-Arminianism, &c. edit. 1630, p. 270.

(8) Canterbury's Doom, p. 532.

(9) Ibid. p. 166, 167.

(10) Preface to a Collection of Dr Jackson's Works, folio edit. 1653, p. 5.

(11) Epist. before the Attributes.

(12) See Busbequius, Ep. 4.

(4) Concerning whom see Wood's Athenæ, Vol. I. col. 635.

(6) Appendix to Anti-Arminianism, &c.

(a) The Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins, by W. Wynne, Esq; Lond. 1724, fol. p. 1.

JENKINS [Sir LEOLINE, or LIONEL], a very learned Civilian as well as able Statesman in the last century, was born in the parish of Llantrisant in the county of Glamorgan, in the year 1623 [A]; and was the son of Leoline Jenkins, or Jenkins Lluellin, of the same place (a) [B]. He laid the foundation of his future learning, and particularly of his great knowledge and accuracy in the Latin and Greek tongues, at Cowbridge-school, very near the place of his nativity; which school he afterwards liberally endowed. In 1641, he was admitted into Jesus-college in Oxford; where his regularity, condescension, modesty, and serious deportment, procured him the esteem of his fellow-collegians, and especially of Dr Mansell, then Principal of the college. The national troubles coming on soon after, Mr Jenkins took arms for King Charles I. but his military exercises did not

[A] In the year 1623. William Wynne, Esq; says, that it was in the year 1625; which seems to be confirmed by Ant. Wood's observation (1), that Mr Jenkins was sixteen years of age in 1641. But the same Mr Wood, and Sir Leoline's epitaph, informing us, that he was aged sixty-two at the time of his death, in 1685; consequently he must have been born in the year 1623.

[B] And was the son of Leoline Jenkins, or Jenkins Lluellin, of the same place. Mr Wynne, assures us, that the father was 'a man of about 40 l. a year, who left behind him in that neighbourhood the character of a very honest, prudent, and industrious man. There have been those, (adds Mr Wynne) who have insinuated a much meaner extraction, but

without any other reason, than as one of the usual artifices some men take, to render a great man despicable, when nothing more likely can be invented. But his father really was a person, that by his frugal and prudent method of living, was not only capable of bestowing, but also well understood the value of that liberal education, which he bestowed on his son; and whom Mr David Jenkins, one of the Judges of North-Wales, and the famous champion of the Royal cause, treated, if not as a relation of his ancient and honourable family, yet as a person worthy of his care; and, under that character, very early recommended him to the protection of Dr Wilkins, at that time Warden of Wadham-college, and afterwards Bishop of Chester (2).'

(2) Wynne, as above, p. 1.

[C] Served

(1) Fasti, Vol. II. col. 132, edit. 1721.



not so wholly take him up, as to occasion the utter neglect or interruption of his studies; for he continued them with all possible vigour (b). Upon the King's barbarous and tragical death in 1648, he left the university, and retired into his own country; where he prosecuted his studies with his wonted diligence, though he seemed now to be thrown out of the road of all advancement and success. But this seeming misfortune was abundantly made up to him, and proved as happy as possible in its effects. For it happened, that his place of residence was near Llantrythyd, the seat of Sir John Aubrey; which, having been left void by sequestration, served as a refuge to several eminent Loyalists [C]; so that he was soon taken notice of by one of them, his former Principal, Dr Mansell: who, from the experience he had of his behaviour in college, could well judge of his merit and growing capacity. Therefore, he not only invited Mr Jenkins to pass his time with him and the rest of his fellow-sufferers at Sir John Aubrey's house, but introduced him into the friendship of those eminent men his companions: which indeed proved the cause of his rise and of all his future preferments. The first employment they found Mr Jenkins for the exercise of his virtue and industry, was the tuition of Sir John's eldest son. Wherein he gave so much satisfaction, that he was soon after recommended, in the like capacity, to many other young gentlemen of the best rank and quality in those parts; whom, under the influence and example of those great men, he educated in the doctrine of the Church of England, and improved in just and virtuous principles, as well as learning. In this neighbourhood and employment he continued for some time, 'till at last the soldiers quartered in those parts took him prisoner, as the most effectual means of dispersing his scholars. Soon after, being indicted at the quarter-sessions for keeping a seminary of rebellion and sedition, he removed, in May 1651, with his pupils to Oxford [D]; where he settled in a house in the High-street, which from him was then commonly known by the name of little Welsh-Hall. And such great confidence had many eminent Royalists in him, that he was employed on several messages and correspondencies between Mr David Jenkins, Dr Sheldon, Dr Mansell, Dr Fell, and others. But, after Mr Jenkins had continued about four years at Oxford, he began to be publickly talked of as a dangerous and obnoxious man; and his new patron, Dr Wilkins, to whose protection he had been recommended, being about this time removed to the Mastership of Trinity-college in Cambridge, he was forced, in the year 1655, to withdraw beyond-sea with his pupils, for fear of some ill treatment. They continued three years abroad, during which time they travelled over a great part of France, Holland, and Germany; and sometimes resided at their famous seats of learning, that the young gentlemen might see, as much as they could by so weak a representation, the methods of a university life, which they were not permitted to enjoy at home. After their return from beyond sea in 1658, Mr Jenkins having delivered up his pupils to their respective parents and relations, and being now in a manner out of all employment, he was invited by Sir William Whitmore, a generous patron of the distressed Cavaliers, to live with him at Appley in Shropshire. Here Mr Jenkins continued 'till the year 1660, enjoying the opportunities of a well-furnished library, and of improving himself in his studies; which he followed with his wonted indefatigable diligence and application, for in this only he observed no moderation (c). Upon the Restoration, being now in the 37th year of his age, he returned to Jesus-college; and so considerable was his fame among his countrymen, that on the settlement of that Society he was chosen one of the Fellows (d). On the 16th of February 1660-61, he was created Doctor of Laws (e): and, March the first following, was unanimously chosen Principal of his college, upon Dr Mansell's resignation, which place he kept 'till the beginning of the year 1673 (f). He promoted the honour and advantage of the college to the utmost [E], and became a considerable benefactor thereto at his death, as will be seen in the sequel. His next preferment was the Commissaryship of the peculiar and exempt jurisdiction of the Deanery of Bridgnorth in Shropshire, given him by his friend Sir William Whitmore (g). In 1662, he was appointed Assessor of the Chancellor's court in Oxford,

(b) Ibid. p. 2.

(c) Life, &amp;c. 23 above, p. 4, 5, 6, 7.

(d) Idem, p. 7.

(e) Wood, Fasti, Vol. II. edit. 1721, col. 132.

(f) Idem ibid. &amp; Hist. &amp; Antiq. Univ. Oxon. Lib. II. p.

(g) Wynne, as above, p. 9.

[C] Served as a refuge to several eminent Loyalists: Particularly to Dr Francis Mansell, Principal of Jesus-college, Dr Accepted Frewin, Archbishop of York, and Dr Gilbert Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (3).

(3) Idem, p. 3.

[D] He removed, in May 1651, with his pupils to Oxford. They were, Sir Francis Mansell, the heir of the family; Sir Edward, and Arthur his brother, Sir Antony Mansell's two sons; Sir John Aubrey's son and heir; Stepney, and Vaughan, two other of Dr Mansell's nephews; Sir Sackvil Crow's son and heir; Sir Robert Moyle of Blackwell in Kent; Mr Walter Thomas of Swanzev, &c.—As to Mr Jenkins's method of education; his principal way was, to gain the good will of his pupils, to create a mutual confidence, and to convey his instructions without the severity of a master, and in such gentle and agreeable lessons as would become even an intimate friend. He was very sensible, that it was the early instilling of conscientious principles, and the seeds of virtue and religion, that must knit and consolidate all the rest; and therefore he endeavoured on all opportunities to set out to them the excellency of

virtue in its most lively colours, and the true delight which flowed from virtuous courses; and gave them to understand, that, as corrupt and degenerate as the practice of those times was, yet solid virtue, and true religion, would one time or other recover its proper place and esteem (4).

[E] He promoted the honour and advantage of the college to the utmost. That college had very much suffered, during the universal confusions in the nation, by the unskilfulness and dishonesty of Dr Michael Roberts, Principal of the same. But Dr Jenkins, at his coming into that station, restored the exercises, disputations, and habits, and reformed all abuses and irregular practices, which the general liberty and licentiousness of the late times had introduced. Then he revised, explained, and enforced the college-statutes; and reviewed the leases and estates of the college; set aside several illegal debts; recovered many of the revenues; and restored several benefactions that had been misapplied, to their proper and original uses. He also contributed largely to the building in the new quadrangle, on the west side of the college-hall (5).

(4) Wynne, as above, p. 6, 7.

(5) Wynne, as above, p. 7, 8, 9, 70.

[F] The



Oxford; the proceedings of which are chiefly according to the practice of the Civil Law, and the Statutes and Usages of the university. The same year Dr Sweit made him his Deputy-Professor of the Civil Law there, not being able to officiate, by reason of his great age and infirmities, and his attendance on the Court of Arches, whereof he was also Dean [F]. Preferments continuing to pour upon Dr Jenkins, he was, in 1663, made Register of the Consistory-court belonging to the collegiate church of St Peter Westminster; and, soon after, appointed by his friend Dr Sheldon (newly translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury) his Commissary and Official for that his peculiar diocese; and also his Vicar or Official general; at least his diocesan Commissary. He was very helpful to that prelate in the settlement of his Theatre and Printing-house; of which magnificent design, when finished, he was appointed one of the Curators; and was useful to that generous Archbishop upon many other occasions, relating both to Church and State (b) [G]. The university beginning to grow too narrow a field for the exercise of his abilities, he removed, through the Archbishop's encouragement, to London, in order to apply himself to the public practice of the Civil Law at Doctors-Commons; and was admitted, about the latter end of the year 1663, an Advocate in the Court of Arches. Here he was immediately made Deputy or Assistant to Dr Sweit Dean of this court, as he had been to him before in the office of Professor. And the first Dutch war breaking out, the Lords-Commissioners for prizes, by their order bearing date February 4, 1664, appointed Dr Jenkins, with some other the most eminent Civilians, to review the maritime laws, and compile a body of rules and ordinances, by which the Judge of the Admiralty for the time being should proceed in the adjudication of prizes: which being accordingly done, and approved by his Majesty in Council, became the standard of those proceedings. The vast increase of business in the Court of Admiralty during this war, and the great age and infirmities of Dr Exton, Judge of that court, soon obliged his Majesty to look out for a more able and active person. Whereupon, Dr Jenkins being recommended by Archbishop Sheldon, was made Judge-Assistant to Dr Exton, by patent bearing date March 21, 1664-5. And so well did he behave in that station, that, upon the death of Dr Exton, he was made sole Judge of the Admiralty of England and Ireland in his own right, and likewise Judge of the Admiralty of the Cinque-Ports (i). This eminent office he discharged with unwearied application, and with great abilities, reputation, and integrity [H]. But after three years service, finding the salary of 300 pounds a year allowed him by the King not to be a competent maintenance, nor any way proportionable to his expences and trouble, he petitioned his Majesty for an additional allowance of 200 pounds per annum, which was granted him on the 29th of January 1667-8. In 1668, he was appointed Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [I], at the King's own recommendation to the Archbishop (k). His next employment was of a more public nature.

For

[F] *The same year Dr Sweit made him his Deputy-Professor of the Civil-Law there, &c.* That is in Oxford: which deputation he filled with great applause. As long as Dr Jenkins continued in Oxford, he seems to have been a sort of oracle in all questions and matters of Law: and was also of singular use to the University, in maintaining their foreign correspondencies, by his skill in the French and other languages; and by his own generous and hospitable temper, which drew many foreigners of note to visit him. And when he was called away by his higher and more weighty employments, still the interest of the University, and their just and legal privileges, had a great share in his concern (6).

[G] *And was useful to that generous Archbishop upon many other occasions.* Indeed it was no more than a grateful and suitable return for the highest favours: since the Doctor's rise and good fortune was owing to the firm and happy friendship contracted with that reverend prelate, during the national troubles. Therefore, he always spoke of his Grace in the highest terms and accents of respect; and gave in his will 20 shillings a year, for an anniversary commemoration speech on the 9th of November, the day of that Archbishop's death (7).

[H] *This eminent office he discharged with unwearied application, &c.* During the continuance of the war, he was obliged to a constant attendance in that Court, which sat twice every week, or oftner, as occasion required, in vacation as well as in term time, for the dispatch of ships and goods brought up as prizes; and the increase of business was so great, that in less than two years time he gave 436 final sentences, according to the strict rule of proceedings, and the ordinary course of the Court. Besides which, the Lords Commissioners had from time to time a previous account in writing, by way of report, in most cases: so that by his dispatch, and industry, as well as by his exactness, and the impartiality of his proceedings, he advanced the honour and reputation of that court to a high degree.

He had so much integrity, as to withstand the importunity of the greatest men, though he was highly obliged to them; and could not be prevailed on, to stretch a law in complaisance to any one, or to give the least regard to private addresses and recommendations in matters of justice. And, withal, he was of a tender and compassionate nature; not only in the trying of criminals, but also in generously remitting his just and most legal fees. For, besides the strict regard he had to justice and the laws, he always expressed an unfeigned tenderness for a poor seaman; saying, there are no sort of people that gain a miserable small livelihood with more hardship and danger than they do; and none that venture their lives more freely for the honour and security of the Crown and nation (8).

[I] *He was appointed Judge of the Prerogative court of Canterbury.* In this station, 'It was always an established rule with him (as he declares himself) *Nulli negare nec deferre justitiam*; and ever since he had the honour to preside in that Court, he endeavoured by proper rules, as far as in him lay, and as he found necessary, to restrain all pretences and causes of unjust delays (9).' He also made it his constant endeavour to prevent all immethodical and frivolous pleadings, all clamorous and indecent practice, and to check the tedious fallies and excursions of the Counsel, but in the most mild and gentle manner, and always in terms of exact respect, unless where the matter justly deserved a more severe remark (10). — 'His sentences, both in this and the Admiralty-court, were esteemed so just and equitable, that all parties, more than could be expected, were satisfied with them; and there were but few, considering the number of causes, or the length of time he sat in both courts, appealed from; and of those, hardly any reversed. For his opinion, whether in the civil or canon laws, or that of nations, generally passed as an uncontrollable authority, being always thoroughly considered, and judiciously founded (11).'

[K] A

(b) Idem. p. 10, 21.

(i) Wynne, as above, p. 12, 13.

(k) Idem, p. 16, 17.

(6) Wynne, p. 11.

(7) Idem, p. 12, 69.

(8) See Wynne, as above, p. 13, 14, 15.

(9) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 711.

(10) Wynne, as above, p. 17.

(11) Ibid. p. 18.



For the Queen-mother, Henrietta-Maria, widow of King Charles I. dying in France August 1, 1669, a dispute had like to have risen about the succession to her real and personal estate [K]. Whereupon Dr Jenkins being commanded to give his opinion of the matter, and it being approved in Council, he was ordered to prepare a commission for himself to go to France; in which commission were joined Ralph Montague, Esq; then Ambassador at that court, and the Earl of St Albans, and Lord Arundel. Their business was, to demand and recover the Queen-mother's effects; to pay her servants and officers their arrears; and provide for her interment [L]. All which having performed to our Court's satisfaction, Dr Jenkins, at his return, received the honour of knighthood from his Majesty, on the 7th of January 1669-70 (l), together with a most gracious approbation of his services (m). Immediately after, Sir Lionel Jenkins (for so we must now call him) in consideration of his great abilities and experience, was nominated one of the Commissioners of the realm of England [M], to treat with those authorized from Scotland, touching an union between both kingdoms. He endeavoured to make himself master of the subject, as appears by a curious paper printed among his letters (n); but that project came to nothing (o). In 1671, he was chosen one of the representatives in Parliament for Hyth in Kent, one of the cinque-ports (p). Upon occasion of the fresh rupture between England and the States of the United Provinces, in 1672, he came again to be involved in great business by virtue of his office of Judge of the Admiralty; though he plainly appears not to have liked the manner of that rupture [N] But the English nation being soon weary of the war [O], and the Parliament apprehensive of the power and intrigues of France, by which it had been fomented and encouraged, and several encounters having passed at sea without a decisive action, both parties began to entertain thoughts of peace. So a treaty was proposed at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden, between the Emperor, Spain, and Holland, and some Princes of the Empire, on the one part; and England and France on the other. And, in May 1673, Sir Leoline was appointed Ambassador and Plenipotentiary for this treaty, together with the Lord Sunderland and Sir Joseph Williamson. Accordingly, Sir Leoline and Sir Joseph Williamson set out for the place of treaty, and arrived there the 13th of June following: the Lord Sunderland

(l) Wood, Fasti; ut supra, col. 132.

(m) Wynne, p. 18, 19, 20.

(n) Vol. II. p. 675, &c.

(o) Wynne, as above, p. 20. See Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, under the year 1669.

(p) Wynne, p. 20.

[K] *A dispute had like to have risen about the succession to her real and personal estate.* The ground of the controversy was this: Henrietta-Maria, widow of King Charles I, was youngest daughter of Henry IV. King of France, and sister to Lewis XIII. and had resided at Colombe in France, thirty leagues from Paris, ever since her departure from England in July 1644, being entertained there at the charge of the French King Lewis XIV. her nephew. Upon the Restoration, she came to London, and having settled her revenues here, went back into France, to bestow her daughter, the Lady Henrietta, in marriage to the Duke of Anjou. In July 1662, coming again into England, she settled her court at Somerset-house, where she resided 'till May 1665. But falling into a bad state of health, she returned to her native country, where she died. Under these circumstances it was pretended, that the said Queen-mother was not only a *native*, but an *inhabitant* of France; consequently that whatsoever estate she was possessed of there, ought to be subject to the laws and usages of that country: and that Madame Royale of France, the aforesaid Duchess of Anjou, was by those laws the only person capable of succeeding: King Charles II, and the Duke of York, as well as the Princess of Orange, her other children, being expressly excluded and disabled by the *droit d'aubaine*, because they were not born, nor inhabitants within the allegiance of the French King. But our Court's claim was admitted at length (12).

'hence;'—offering to lay down his charge at his Majesty's feet, rather than give a sentence he thought 'unjust upon that occasion.' And, when a commission was directed to him, as Judge of the Admiralty, by the Duke of York, to proceed to the adjudication of prizes taken from the Dutch in the encounter at Bergen, he prayed 'his Royal Highness still to continue all humanities to the persons of the Dutch, without putting them to hardships or ransom; that he would forbid hostilities, confiscation, imbezzlement, or ill treatment of all that should demean themselves respectfully, and not refuse to be brought up. He desired his Highness to consider, besides the fatal consequences such a precedent might one day or other produce to ourselves, that the most just war was the last necessity of good men, and that mercy and forbearance were worth a thousand victories. And therefore hoped his Majesty and his Royal Highness would be pleased to put their ships only *in deposito*, 'till justice were done them, or a more satisfactory answer given by the Dutch Ambassador; but if the detainment of their ships would not do, and such mild instances and applications proved ineffectual, then to make war in earnest — (16).'

(16) Wynne, as above, p. 21.

[O] *But the English nation being soon weary of the war.* Sir William Temple is not accurate, when he says, that it was 'after two summers spent in a war between England and Holland, that both parties began to enter upon thoughts of a peace.' For, in reality war had lasted not above twelve or fourteen months, before our Embassadors were empowered to treat of a peace: since the attack upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet was on the 13th of March 1671-2, and the Pleinpouvoir of the English Embassadors bears date May 5, 1673. However, Sir William's words are, — 'After *two* summers spent in a war between England and Holland, with several encounters at sea, but no decisive action; both parties began to enter upon thoughts, and indeed necessities, of a peace. The nations had been at war without being angry; and the quarrel had been thought on both sides, rather of the Ministers than the people's. The Dutch believed it at first intended only against De Witt's faction; in favour of the Prince of Orange; and in England, some laid it to the corruption of Ministers by the money of France; and some that pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper designs. The Lord Clifford's violence in beginning it, gave it an ill air in general; and the disuse of Parliaments, a cruel maim in the chief sinews of war (17).'

(17) Memoirs of what passed in Christendom, edit. 1692, 8vo. p. 1, 2.

[L] *And provide for her interment.* She was interred at St Denis, November the 25th. At which time Father Senault made a funeral oration, wherein enquiring into the causes which could move the divine Providence so grievously to afflict a Prince of King Charles's excellent moral endowments, he could assign no other but his *Infidelity*; i. e. because he was not a Roman Catholic. This passage Dr Jenkins took so heinously ill, that he would not let the Father rest, 'till he had made him promise, that those words should be expunged in the printed copy (13).

[M] *One of the commissioners of the realm of England.* The rest of the English commissioners were, Arthur Annesley Earl of Anglesey, and Sir William Jones, the Attorney-general (14).

[N] *He plainly appears not to have liked the manner of that rupture.* For, he represented in a letter to Sir Joseph Williamson (15), 'That the Dutch (though enemies) were enabled by the declaration, to make their retreat even after the war begun, and had four or five months still to withdraw their effects from

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[P] *What*

(12) Wynne, as above, p. 19. and Vol. II. p. 665, 667. See also Sandford and Stebbing's General Hist. of the Kings, &c. edit. 1707, p. 595.

(13) Wynne, p. 19.

(14) Ibid. p. 20.

(15) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 702.



(7) Wynne, p. 21, 22.  
Sir William Temple's Memoirs, edit. 1692, p. 1.

(r) Wynne, p. 23, and Letters, Vol. I. p. 353.

(s) See Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. I. p. 349, &c.

(t) Wynne, as above, p. 24.

Sunderland never acting in that commission (q). What their instructions were will be seen in the note below [P]. But, after several fruitless endeavours to bring about a general peace [2] between the Emperor, Spain, Holland, and some Princes of the Empire on the one part, and England and France on the other, Sir Leoline and his colleague returned to England in May 1674. As he was upon his return, near the Briel, on the 17th of May, he took an opportunity to assert the prerogative of the English Crown to the Flag, by making three Dutch men of war, with four Dutch Ambassadors on board, strike their sail to his single yacht. And the year following, in the very same place, he forced the like respect from two other men of war belonging to the States-General (r). At his return, he gave the Privy-Council an account of his negotiation, some extracts whereof are given in the note [R]. England continuing desirous of a peace, King Charles II. offered his mediation to the several parties at war in September 1674; which being accepted by them, Nimeguen in Gelderland was fixed for the place of treaty, about the month of February 1674-5. The English mediators, appointed under the Great-Seal the 13th of December following, were, John Lord Berkeley then Ambassador at Paris, Sir William Temple Ambassador-Extraordinary at the Hague, and Sir Lionel Jenkins (s). The latter set out for that honourable employment the 20th of December, in all the extremities of a hard winter; and arrived at Nimeguen the 6th of January (t). He was not only the first of our Ambassadors upon the place by several months [S], but resident there throughout the whole course of that long and laborious negotiation; and the chief part of the business, at least the drudgery of it, lay upon him [T]. We shall not swell this article

[P] *What their instructions were, &c.* The substance of their instructions and of their demands, was thus. 1. 'To have the honour for the future paid to the Flag of England, which had been practised and acknowledged by the Dutch in all former times. 2. 'A million of pounds sterling, to reimburse the English in some part the expences they had been at in making the war, &c. 3. Ten thousand pounds *per ann.* as an honorary acknowledgment for their fishing on our coasts, and 2000l. more for the like liberty they enjoy upon the coast of Scotland. 4. To suffer the English subjects to depart without delay out of the Colony of Surinam, where they were unjustly detained contrary to the peace at Breda. 5. A regulation of the trade in India, &c. wherein great violence and vexatious grievances were exercised by the Dutch upon the English. 6. The calling in and suppressing all libels, prints, &c. vended and dispersed in Holland, &c. reflecting on the honour of King Charles II. 7. The establishment of the Prince of Orange, as hereditary Stadtholder, General and Admiral of their State, to descend upon the heirs male of his body. 8. For the performance thereof, Flushing and Ramekins, or Helvoet Sluis and Goree, or the Brill and Goree, to be delivered into the King of England's hands, as cautionary—If the peace could not otherwise be made, 400,000l. to be abated upon the million first demanded, &c. (18).'

(18) See Sir Lionel's Letters, Vol. I. p. 4, &c.

[2] *But after several fruitless endeavours to bring about a general peace* Sir William Temple rightly observes, that 'there were two many parties engaged in this quarrel to think of a general peace.—For though all the confederates had a mind to the peace between England and Holland, yet none of them desired it with France: this made both the Dutch and the Spaniards set on foot all the engines they could, to engage King Charles II. in some treaty of a separate peace, to which the necessity of his affairs, the humour of his people, and the instances of his Parliament at last determined him towards the end of the year 1673 (19). Accordingly, under the mediation of Spain, a separate peace, between England and Holland, was concluded and signed at Westminster the 9th of February 1673-4, though the King of France made large offers to King Charles to prevent it (20). And the Bishop of Munster, and Elector of Cologne, returning to their duty, renounced their alliance with France, and concluded a peace with the States; the former on the 22d of April, and the latter on the 11th of May 1674.

(19) Memoirs, as above, p. 3, 4.

(20) See Collection of Treaties, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. III. p. 275. The offers made to King Charles by the King of France, were five millions and a half, and forty men of war. Bafnage Hist. Tom. II. p. 496.

[R] *He gave the Privy-Council an account of his negotiation, &c.* In this account he observes, that 'The Dutch in the whole course of that negotiation, were never real or in earnest for making a peace with England.' For which he assigns the several reasons. 'Then he goes on to observe, that 'The Allies are the sole arbiters of the peace. The Emperor hath a prospect of establishing his authority at home, and so will be glad to continue an army on foot, which he is not to pay. The Dutch, whose interest

is commerce, will go no further in this war, than the Prince of Orange will carry them. So that his Highness seems to be the only person to be taken off: but his inclinations are to be at the head of an army.—He hath some resentments that are personal against the French King, as well as some emulation for him.—He concludes in these words—'If it be considered, whether it be the interest of England to enter into a stricter amity with Holland and Spain, though to the dissatisfaction of France. It seems to my humble apprehension to be safest; 1. For so we shall make a sufficient counterpoize against France, whose puissance does every day threaten to turn the ballance, and who will be always embroiling us at sea with the Dutch, in order to weaken us. 2. France will not offer to invade us at any time, if we are strictly united with Spain and Holland, and so we shall have the less opposition in our trade. 3. The less danger of disturbance at home; for then it will not be the Prince's interest, or any of that countries, that we be embroiled. Whereas, if we continue in the interest of France, our reward can only be, either part of its conquests abroad, or maintenance of our peace and quiet at home. But as to the first, the share of the weaker ally is never so good in the dividend, as in the designation: and we have no reason to affect new acquisitions, unless we had the good fortune to make a better use of our present possessions. As for the maintenance of our peace at home, after the present disrelishes and jealousies, it is a thing that the Parliament will never fancy or expect from a friendship with France (21).'

(21) Letters, Vol. I. p. 343, &c.

[S] *He was not only the first of our Ambassadors upon the place by several months.* For, no other Ambassadors arrived at Nimeguen till the November following (22). The chaplains that attended him in his foreign employments, were Dr Henry Maurice, and Dr Richard Lucas; men of great learning, and of an excellent character (23).

(22) Temple's Memoirs, as above, p. 188.

[T] *The chief part of the business, at least the drudgery of it, lay upon him.* This is in effect acknowledged by his colleague Sir William Temple, though otherwise extremely assuming and conceited. Sir William's words are,—'where there were any Ladies in the Ambassadors houses,—the evenings were spent in dancing or play, or careless and easy suppers or collations. In these entertainments, as I seldom failed of making a part, and my colleague (24) never had any; so it gave occasion for a good word that passed upon it, *Que la Mediation estoit toujours en pied pour faire sa fonction*; i. e. That the Mediation was always on foot to go on with its business; for I used to go to bed and rise late, while my colleague was a bed by eight, and up by four; and to say truth, two more different men were never joined in one commission, nor agreed better in it (25). Sir William probably had the talking part; as Sir Lionel had the active; that is much the greatest share in managing the papers and the correspondence. So that, what he wanted of Sir William's vivacity and courtliness, he amply

(23) Wynne, p. 63.

(24) Sir Lionel.

(25) Memoirs, as above, p. 185.



ele with a particular detail of that treaty, as so many accounts of it are already in print; especially a most authentic one, in Sir Leoline's Letters, and Sir William Temple's Works. Therefore, we shall only observe, that the mediation of England was rendered ineffectual, and indeed unnecessary, by the separate articles concluded between France and the United Provinces [U], on the first of August 1678, O. S. (u). The French Ambassadors desired Sir Leoline, as mediator, to hand those articles to the rest of the confederates: but he utterly refused so to do, or to have the least part in a treaty of peace, so

(u) Coll. of Treaties, as above, Vol. I. p. 193.

hard

amply made up in the solidity of his judgment, and his indefatigable application and industry. This sufficiently appears from the two folio volumes of Sir Lionel's letters, published by William Wynne, Esq;—What figure each of them made in those important negotiations, will be more particularly evident from their respective characters, as given by Monf. de St Disdier (26). *M. Temple a beaucoup de belles lettres, il est singulier en ses manieres & en ses sentimens. Il a passé pour partial dans la fonction de la mediation. Beaucoup de personnes ont cru reconnoître de la vanité & de l'inegalité dans son humeur. D'ailleurs il est très habile & tout a fait Republicain, comme l'on peut voir, par les remarques qu'il a écrites sur l'Etat des Provinces Unies des Pais-Bas. M. Jenkins son collegue est honeste, civil, equitable, droit dans ses sentimens, attaché a sa religion; il a beaucoup de belles connoissances, & il a toujours paru bon Mediateur, i. e.* 'Sir W. Temple is 'a man of great learning, but singular in his manner 'and notions. He was looked upon as partial in the 'business of the mediation. Many persons thought 'they discovered both vanity and unevenness in his temper. Besides he is a man of great capacity, and a 'thorough republican, as may be seen by his observations upon the united Provinces of the Netherlands. 'Sir L. Jenkins, his colleague, is sincere, civil, just, 'upright in his sentiments, attached to his religion; 'he has abundance of useful knowledge, and all along 'discharged the part of a good mediator.' Mr Baillet's character of them (27) is much to the same purpose. His conclusion of Sir William's, and that which he gives of Sir Lionel, is in these words.—*Il étoit d'ailleurs grand politique, & très habile dans la connoissance des affaires, & avoit beaucoup de belles lettres. Jenkins n'en avoit pas moins. Il étoit outre cela honnête homme, & fort civil: il paroissoit droit dans ses sentimens, & bon Mediateur. i. e.* 'He (Sir William Temple) was however a great politician, and very 'skilful as well as knowing in the management of affairs, and a man of considerable learning. *Jenkins* 'was no less learned. He was besides a very honest 'and civil man: appeared upright in his sentiments, 'and a good mediator.'

[U] By the separate articles concluded between France and the United Provinces.] Various reasons are assigned by historians, for this hasty and indeed dishonorable conclusion of peace between the Dutch and French; the principal of which are these. 1. The Dutch began to be weary of the large subsidies they paid to so many Princes, their allies, for carrying on a war, which the allies pursued for their own separate interests or ambition; though entered into perhaps, at first for the defence of Holland, with whose safety theirs were complicated (28). 2. They had continued the war three years, only for the interests of Spain; and had engaged in it for one year longer, without the suitable help and concurrence of that nation (29). 3. The Dutch, so impatient as they were for a peace, found, they could have no dependance upon King Charles II. nor any effectual assistance from England. For King Charles was all the while a pensioner of France; and so violent were parties and jealousies grown in the kingdom, that he had no prospect of being effectually supported, if he had openly declared against France. The Parliament had indeed, in January 1677-8, granted him 1,200,000*l.* for carrying on a war against the French, in conjunction with the Dutch and their allies: and, in six weeks time, he had raised an army of about 20,000 men, the completest, and in all appearance the bravest troops that could be any where seen. Some of which were already transported into Holland (30). But our Councils at Court were so in balance, between the desires of living at least fair with France, and the fears of too much displeasing the Parliaments upon their frequent Sessions, that our paces upon this whole affair looked all like cross purposes, which no man at home or abroad could well understand, and were often mistaken by both parties engaged

in the war, as well as by both parties in the House of Commons, 'till the thing was wrested out of our hands. This is Sir William Temple's observation (31); who further relates, that Mr Van Lewen told him freely, 'That it was the most against their hearts in Holland 'that could be, to make a peace upon terms so low 'and unsafe for Flanders; and that if King Charles 'had gone into the war, as was promised upon France 'delaying or refusing to accept his scheme, they 'would certainly have continued it: but his Majesty's 'proceedings looked ever since so uncertain or unresolved, that it had raised jealousies in Holland of our 'measures being at bottom fixed and close with France; 'which made most of the towns in Holland think, 'they had nothing else left to do but to go in with 'them too, as fast as they could; and the approach of 'the French army to Antwerp left them now no time 'to deliberate: yet he professed to me in private, that 'if the King would immediately declare war, he 'believed the States would still go on with it, in pursuit of their alliance, and the terms therein contained. I made this report to the King, who seemed 'positive to declare the war, in case the Parliament 'advised him, and promised to support it; when an 'unlucky peevish vote, moved by Sir T. C. 'in spite to my Lord-Treasurer [Osborne] passed the 'House of Commons, *That no money should be given, 'till satisfaction was received in matters of religion.* 'This left all so loose and so lame, that the King was 'in a rage,—and asked me, when or how I thought 'he could trust the House of Commons to carry him 'through the war, if he should engage in it? and I 'had not much indeed to say, considering the temper 'and factions of the House; nor could I well clear it 'to myself by my observation, whether the King was 'firmly resolved to enter into the war; or if he did, 'whether the House of Commons would have supported him in it, or turned it only to ruin the Ministers 'by the King's necessities.—In short, there was 'such a fatal and mutual distrust both in the Court 'and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any 'sound measures between them.—But the turn that 'the King gave all this, was, That since the Dutch 'would have a peace upon the French terms, and 'France offered money for his consent (32) to what he 'could not help, he did not know why he should not 'get the money; and thereupon ordered me to treat 'upon it with the French Ambassador, who had 'orders to that purpose.' But Sir William excused himself (33). 4. Another reason assigned for this peace, is, That it was brought about by the Louvestein faction, which began to resume strength again. This is confirmed by Bishop Burnet (34). 'The States, says 'he, were resolved to have a peace. The Prince of 'Orange did all he could to hinder it (35). But 'Dewit's party began to gather strength again. And 'they infused a jealousy in all people, that the Prince 'intended to keep up the war for his own ends.' His marriage with the Princess Mary was also made use of by that faction, through the artifices of the Court of France; as Sir William Temple witnesses.—'While, 'says he, this game was playing in England, they [the 'French] had another on foot in Holland, especially 'at Amsterdam, by raising jealousies of the measures 'taken between the King [Charles II.] and Prince [of 'Orange] upon the marriage, as dangerous to the liberties of Holland, and making it there believed, 'That by the match, the King, and Duke [of York] 'had drawn over the Prince wholly into their interests 'or sentiments.—They proposed to the Dutch other 'terms of the peace, far short of the King's, and less 'safe for Flanders;—which would not have gone 'down in Holland, but for the suspicions raised by the 'Prince's marriage, among the people there, who had 'an incurable jealousy of our Court, and thereupon 'not that confidence of the Prince that he deserved ' (36).'

(31) Memoirs, as above, p. 233, 234.

(32) See these Memoirs, p. 312.

(33) Memoirs, p. 316, 317, 319, &c.

(34) Hist. of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 422.

(35) See Temple's Mem. p. 211, 221, 228, 230, 280.

(36) Memoirs, as above, p. 306. See also R. Coke, as above, p. 220, 222, 234.

[W] Whereupon

(26) Hist. des Negor. de Nimég. 12mo. p. 7.

(27) In his Hist. de Hollande, under the title of M. De la Neuville, edit. Paris, 1703, Tom. IV. p. 231.

(28) Temple's Mem. as above, p. 200.

(29) Id. p. 214. See p. 194.

(30) Idem, p. 197, 315, 333. and R. Coke's Detection of the Court and State of England, edit. 1718, Vol. II. p. 234.



(w) Temple's  
Memoirs, as a-  
bove, Part II. p.  
323, 341, 373.

(x) Sir Lionel's  
Letters, Vol. II.  
p. 437.

(y) Temple, as  
above, p. 378.  
and Wynne, p.  
27.

(z) Sir Leoline's  
Letters, Vol. II.  
p. 548. and  
Temple's Mem.  
p. 378—381.

(a) Sir Leoline's  
Letters, Vol. II.  
p. 548, 549,  
550, 552, 554,  
555, 564. and  
Temple's Mem.  
p. 374.

(b) From his  
Letters, Vol. II.  
p. 564, 565.

hard and injurious to the rest of the parties in war, so derogatory to the mediatorial right which had been generally accepted, and so different from what the King his master had proposed to obtain (w). He continued however at Nimeguen, in the form and quality, though not in the employment, of a Mediator. But a few weeks after, the conferences being renewed between the Empire and France, Sir Leoline received orders from our Court to resume his function of general mediator (x). Great part of the winter was taken up in these conferences between the Imperial and French Ambassadors, and they were solely managed by Sir Leoline, who went from the apartment of the one to that of the other, in the Stadt-house, with the alterations and amendments projected by the parties; addressing himself to, and debating with, the Imperialists in Latin, and with the French in their own language. After many months spent in this new and laborious method of treaty, which frequently engrossed the whole day, and held 'till midnight, and withal was attended with incredible fatigue and application; Sir Leoline gave notice both to the English Court, and to Sir William Temple at the Hague, that he looked upon the Treaty between the Emperor and France as good as concluded (y). Whereupon Sir William, according to his orders from England, returns to Nimeguen [W]: but when the respective parties came to sign, the French Ambassadors offering to yield the precedence in signing to Sir William and Sir Leoline as *Mediators* (which they had done very frankly in the whole course of the negotiation); and the Imperialists absolutely refusing it, or any other expedients proposed, our two mediators resolved to leave Nimeguen, in pursuance of King Charles's letters of revocation. Sir Leoline receiving his the 10th of February 1678-9 (z), quitted Nimeguen the 16th of that month publicly [X], and retired to Neerbos; where, three days after, he received a warrant from his royal master, dated February 14, appointing him Ambassador-Extraordinary at the Hague, in the room of Sir William Temple who had been recalled. Accordingly Sir Lionel arrived there March 1, but continued in that station no longer than the 25th of the same month. For, by a new commission dated February 20, and which came to his hands six days after, being authorized to resume his mediatorial function (a), he returned to Nimeguen, March 26, at the desire of the Prince of Orange and the States, and the earnest intreaty of the northern princes. His instructions left him in a great measure to himself, without other directions than to act as he should think most consistent with his Majesty's honour, and for the good of the general peace; which, as he was a modest man, and diffident of himself, put him into great anxiety (b) [Y]. However, he laboured to the utmost of his power to accommodate all remaining differences between the Imperialists and French, the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Elector of Brandenburg, and other parties interested. Which being at length effected about the beginning of July 1679, his Majesty sent him letters of revocation, dated the 11th of that month, determining his commission as

Embassador-

[W] Whereupon Sir William, according to his orders from England, returns to Nimeguen.] He declares, that he never did any thing so unwillingly in his life; for 'I knew, says he, it was neither at all material that the mediators should sign this branch of the general peace, having signed none of the other; nor that two should sign it, when one alone had assisted in the course of this negotiation, since it was renewed between the Empire and France; besides, I was very confident it would not at last be signed by either of us; for I could not believe, when it came to the point, the Emperor's Ambassadors should yield that of precedence to the mediators at the conclusion of the treaty, which they never consented to do in the whole course of it. So that I looked upon the favour of this journey as afforded me from the particular good-will of some of my good friends in the foreign committee, taking a rise from some instances of Sir Lionel Jenkins, who was in one of his usual agonies, for fear of being left in the way of signing alone a treaty which he neither was pleased with himself, nor believed many people in England like to be so (37).'

(37) Memoirs,  
as above, p. 379.

[X] Quitted Nimeguen the 16th of that month publicly.] Of his behaviour upon that occasion, he gave the following account to the Earl of Sunderland, the next day, in a letter from Neerbos in the Maes-Waal, an hour from Nimeguen.—'Upon the receipt of your Lordship's letter, which came to my hand yesterday at ten, I left the town between three and four, going through the heart of it (with my people about me) at the time the streets were full of people coming from church; it being, as I take it, the usual course, in case of such dissatisfactions his Majesty hath with a great part of this assembly, abruptly to go out, yet very openly, and about the middle of the day. I took leave of no Ambassador, nor public Minister; only I desired Mr Chudleigh (as Secretary of his Majesty's embassy) to acquaint the Northern Ministers with what your Lordship was pleased to di-

rect, notwithstanding some of them may be further advanced in their peace, than to deserve any complement for their regard to his Majesty's mediation (38).'

(38) Sir Leoline's  
Lett. Vol. II. p.  
550.

[Y] Which, as he was a modest man, and diffident of himself, put him into great anxiety.] His colleague, Sir William Temple, observes of him.—'He had ever so much distrust of his own judgment, that though he had the most great desire that could be to do well, yet he many times could not resolve how to go about it; and was often as much perplexed about the little punctilio's of visit and ceremony that were left to busy that embassy, as if greater affairs had still attended it (39).—In another place, he takes notice of Sir Leoline's great modesty (40),—and that he was bound by such strict orders in point of forms, that he did not see how he could possibly with them perform the part of a mediator (41). Upon which Mr Wynne makes this just reflexion. 'If Sir W. Temple means by this, a due deliberation, or a prudent precaution and behaviour in these matters, in expecting those regards which were justly due and incident to his character, he is not mistaken; or if he means an humble and modest way of expressing his sentiments of things, and that great deference which Sir Leoline always paid to his experience and abilities in these sorts of employments, he is certainly in the right of what he says. For in truth Sir Leoline was punctual in keeping to his instructions, where he was limited; wary and cautious, where he was left free. He was afraid of affecting novelties, or making any experiments where his orders were positive and express; which should they in the least have failed of success, must have forfeited his reputation and safety. And every one almost knows, how strict an account is exacted even in matters of ceremony (42).—Sir William himself gives, immediately after, an instance of the danger of failing even in those seemingly trifling points; when for an undesigned failure in them, Sir Leoline himself was forced to have a pardon (43).

(39) Memoirs,  
as above, p. 280,  
281.

(40) Temple's  
Letters, folio  
edit. p. 416.

(41) Id. p. 508.

(42) Wynne, as  
above, p. 30.

(43) Memoirs,  
ubi supra.

[Z] Sir



Embassador-Extraordinary; Mediator, and Plenipotentiary at Nimeguen. 'In which, says his Majesty, as you have served us to our entire satisfaction, so we cannot but give you this testimony of our gracious acceptance, and approbation of your services during your said ministry (c).' Sir Leoline returned to England towards the middle of August 1679 [Z], after having been employed about four years and a half in the negotiations at Nimeguen, and was very graciously received by his Majesty (d). Soon after his arrival, he was chosen one of the Burgesses for the university of Oxford, in the Parliament which met October 17 following. In which Parliament, a bill being brought in for the exclusion of the Duke of York, he opposed it to the utmost of his power [AA]. The 11th of February 1679-80, he was sworn a Privy-Counsellor, having been nominated to succeed Henry Coventry, Esq; in the place of Secretary of State (e). He received the Seals the 26th of April 1680, being at first Secretary for the northern province, and for the southern from the year 1681 to 1684. He entered upon this important office in critical and dangerous times, which continued so all the while he enjoyed it: and yet he escaped the then common fate of being addressed against, and of commitments, and impeachments; which he could hardly have avoided, if he had given the least ground for them, either in the course of his embassies, or in his other employments (f). Being chosen a second time one of the Burgesses for the foresaid university, in the Parliament which met at Oxford the 21st of March 1680-81; he opposed again earnestly the exclusion of the Duke of York [BB], and the printing of the Votes [CC]. And being commanded by the House

(c) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 631.

(d) Wynne, as above, p. 40.

(e) Wood Fasti, ut supra, col. 133.

(f) Wynne, as above, p. 43.

[Z] Sir Leoline returned to England about the middle of August 1679.] At his departure, through a most uncommon instance of generosity and self-denial, he absolutely refused to accept the presents offered him by the Emperor, the King of France, and other Princes and Potentates; though he was extremely importuned; and even had the King his master's orders, to receive them. The present from the King of France, was a very rich jewel of diamonds, rose and crown-wise; and from the Emperor, a rich jewel (44). For his refusal he gave the following reasons, in a letter to the Earl of Sunderland.——'I hope his Majesty will dispense with me, and not enjoin me to take any present from the French Embassadors, or any other in this place; for it is my humble opinion, that there hath not been right done to his Majesty in his figure of Mediator; and that I cannot receive any present, but my so doing will imply, that his Majesty is satisfied with the regard had to his mediation here; but that his Majesty is not so satisfied, appears by several occasions he hath taken to declare, that he hath had several causes of just resentment given him, but that he had sacrificed them all to his zeal for the peace of Christendom. So that I most humbly beseech your Lordship to intercede for me, that I may not be obliged, by any order or command from his Majesty, to receive this present; but that I be left to my own liberty; yet so, that what I do, may not in the least restrain my colleagues in their liberty to do otherwise: I have served here much longer than they have done, and therefore have greater obligations upon me to this strictness; nor should I desire this, but that I think it most suitable to the dignity of the character I have the honour to serve in (45).—Before Sir Lionel set out for England, he received a handsome letter of thanks from the Emperor Leopold, wherein are these compliments——*Omittere sane no-  
limum, pro eo ac diuturnus ille assiduusque in re omnium  
gravissimâ ac summè arduâ toti Reipublicæ Christianæ  
præclara cum vestrà quâ fidei, quâ prudentiæ, ac dexte-  
ritatis laude, a Vobis impensus labor & sollicitudo  
meretur, quin vobis benevoli & grati animi nostri tesse-  
ram hisce impertiremur; non felix modo iter in patriam  
comprecantes, sed benignas quoque gratias pro operâ tam  
sollicitâ in causâ omnium longè gravissimâ ac difficillimâ  
adeo indefessè ad gratam satisfactionem navatâ agentes* (46).

[AA] A Bill being brought in for the exclusion of the Duke of York, he opposed it to the utmost of his power.] Bishop Burnet tells us, that Sir Leoline 'was the chief manager for the Court.' And proceeds to give this character of him; 'He was a man of an exemplary life, and considerably learned: but he was dull and slow: he was suspected of leaning to Popery, though very unjustly: but he was set on every punctilio of the Church of England to superstition, and was a great assertor of the divine right of monarchy, and was for carrying the prerogative high: He neither spoke nor writ well: but being so eminent for the most courtly qualifications, other matters were the more easily dispensed with. All his speeches and arguments against the exclusion were heard with

indignation: so the bill was brought into the House (47). Two of his speeches, spoken upon that occasion, are printed at the end of his life (48): And five upon the same subject are printed in the 'Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, Oct. 21, 1680 (49). But these last appear only to be snaps of discourses maliciously patched together: not that they are entirely false, without any mixture of truth, but that truth in them is for the most part corrupted, transformed, and spitefully disguised, and appear quite another thing to the world, than what was delivered upon the place (50). Roger North, Esq; has an anecdote relating to Sir Leoline in this session, which we shall insert here. 'In the Westminster Parliament—this good Secretary was found fault with for something relevant he had uttered on the Court side. Divers members, from the humility of his manner in speaking, supposed him to be a mild yielding man, and, to expose him, consulted about censuring his words, and ordering him to the bar, and to ask pardon upon his knees.—But for fear this, in the execution, might have an unlucky return upon them, they resolved first to sound him.—Thereupon, some half-faced friends told him that he would be accused, and must kneel. He answered them in his formal way, that he was a poor creature, not worth the resentment of the house: he should be always submissive to such great men as they were, in every thing that concerned himself. But, as he had the honour to be his Majesty's Secretary of State, the case was not his, but his Master's, and, by the grace of the living God, he would kneel to, and ask pardon of, no mortal upon earth, but the King he served, and to him only would he give an account of any thing done with intent to serve him.' This shewed that the business was like to be too hot for that time, and the design of it like to fail; and so it was let drop (51).

[BB] He opposed again earnestly the exclusion of the Duke of York.] Two of his speeches upon that occasion are printed in the 'Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons,' abovementioned (52).

[CC] And the printing of the Votes.] On the 24th of March 1680-1, the following motion was made. 'Mr Speaker, What I am about to move concerns us all. The last Parliament when you was moved to print your Votes (53), it was for the security of the nation, and you found it so. It prevented ill representations of us to the world, by false copies of our votes.—And I am confident that this House will be no more ashamed of their actions than the last was. Printing our Votes will be for the honour of the King, and the safety of the nation. I am confident if it had been necessary, you would have petitions from the parts I come from, that your actions might be made publick.—I move therefore, that your Votes may be ordered forthwith to be printed, with the rest of your proceedings; and I shall only add, that yourself (54) has done so well in taking that care upon you the last Parliament, that the House will desire you to continue them in the same method.' But Secretary Jenkins opposed it in the following words. 'I beg

(47) History of his own Time, Vol. I. edit. 1724, p. 481, 482.

(48) P. xcix. &c.

(49) London, 1689, 8vo. p. 35, 51, 56, 87, 257.

(50) See Wynne, as above, p. 41.

(51) Life of the Lord Keeper Guilford, edit. 1742, p. 232, 233.

(52) P. 301, 351.

(53) The Votes of the Commons began first to be printed 21 Octob. 1680, as is undeniably evident from some now before me.

(54) W. Williams, then Speaker.

(44) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 628, 681.

(45) Letters, Vol. II. p. 630. See also his Life, p. 36, 37, 38. Sir William Temple accepted of the presents made him. Ibid.

(46) Letters, Vol. II. p. 682.



of Commons, on the 25th of March, to carry up to the Lords the impeachment of Edward Fitz-Harris, he refused; which had like to have brought him into trouble [D D]. When the corporations came to be new-modelled by the Court, and a Quo-warranto was brought against the city of London in particular [E E], Sir Leoline shewed himself averse to those violent proceedings; and was only for punishing the most obnoxious Members in their private capacities, and not for proceeding to the entire forfeiture of the city's privileges (g) [F F]. In many other instances did Sir Leoline differ from the general bent and humour of the Court: for, he was a certain enemy to all chimerical projects that came before the Privy-Council; and had resolution to dissent, and experience enough to distinguish between what was practicable and really useful from what was merely chimerical. He also constantly and timely declared against every irregular or illegal proceeding; and where it was not in his power to hinder or mitigate the violence of some prosecutions, yet it was contrary to his inclination and temper to heighten them. At length, after four years service in his high and laborious station, being oppressed with business, his constitution was so wasted by his zeal and application for the public service, that he became unable any longer to bear the fatigues of his office: so that he obtained leave of the King, on the 14th of April 1684, to resign his place (b) for a valuable consideration (i) [G G]. Thereupon

(g) See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 684, 685.

(b) Wynne, Life, as above, p. 48, 49.

(i) R. North's Life of Lord Guilford, p. 232.

'I beg pardon if I consent not to the motion of printing the Votes, &c. consider the gravity of this assembly. There is no great assembly in Christendom does it. 'Tis against the gravity of this assembly, and 'tis a sort of appeal to the people. 'Tis against your gravity, and I am against it (55).'

(55) Collection of Debates, as above, p. 297, 298.

[D D] And being commanded by the House of Commons to carry up to the Lords the impeachment of Edward Fitz-Harris.] The case of this Fitz-Harris is well known, and may be learned at large from our historians. And in two words, it was this: He was accused of writing a libel, greatly reflecting on the King and Royal Family for being Papists; and affirming a Popish possessor might be deposed, as well as a Popish successor. Which libel was industriously reported to be written with the King's and Duke's privy and consent, in order to be fixed upon the Dissenters, and the most noisy and discontented Members of Parliament, to render them odious. The Commons looking upon this affair as a sequel of the Popish plot, took it into their hands; and one moved, with a kind of sneer and ridicule, that the impeachment should be sent up to the Lords by Secretary Jenkins. Sir Leoline thereupon said, 'The sending me upon this message, &c. reflects upon the King my master; and do what you will with me, I will not go.' Thereupon many called, *To the Bar*; and moved, That his words should be written down, before he explained them. J. Trenchard in particular spoke thus. 'The House will be contemptible to the extreamest degree if this be suffered. Such a thing was never heard in Parliament before, That the whole House should reflect on the King; and for him to say, Do what you will, I will not go.' Sir Leoline replied, 'I said no such thing, that the House reflected on the King, but that I take it as a reflection upon the King my master.' J. Trenchard added, 'His words were, This had not been put upon me, but for the character I bear.' At last the Secretary's words were thus stated, 'This message is put upon me for the character I bear. I value not my life nor liberty, do what you will, I will not go.' And Sir Leoline explained himself in these words, 'I say this is put upon me, to my apprehension, for the character I bear, and do what you will with me, I will not go.' Thereupon Sir William Jones said, among other things,—'Let a man be of what quality he will, if he be too big to be your member, he is not to be chosen.—Secretaries are sent of messages every day, and is he too big a messenger to accuse a person of the Popish plot.'—Sir Leoline then replied, 'I am as ready, and think myself as much obliged to obey the commands of the House, as any man here. The office I have excludes me not from it; but the thing I stand upon is, that the motion was carried on in ridicule. I have an honour for this, and ever had for all Houses of Commons; but in this message I must and will be excused.' After two or three softening speeches, Sir Leoline went on thus, 'Since the House is so favourable as to hear me, I shall only say, that I did apprehend sending me with the message to the Lords, was a reflection upon the King; if I did apprehend it a reflection upon my master, I could not but resent it. I am heartily sorry I have incurred the displeasure of the House, and I hope they will pardon the freedom of the ex-

pression. I apprehended it a reflection upon the King, and no other consideration whatsoever induced me to say the words.'—A little after, he added, 'I am ready to obey the order of the House, and I am sorry my words gave offence.' So he went on the message (56).

(56) Collection of Debates, &c. p. 312—316.

[E E] And a Quo-warranto was brought against the City of London in particular.] Bishop Burnet tells us, that 'Jenkins managed the whole business of the city with so many indirect practices, that the reputation he had for probity was much blemished by it: he seemed to think it was necessary to bring the city to a dependence on the Court in the fairest methods he could fall on; and, if these did not succeed, that then he was to take the most effectual ones, hoping that a good intention would excuse bad practices (57).' But what those indirect practices were, 'the Bishop's own fruitful invention has not been able to inform us: nor, says Mr Wynne (58), am I able to discover. And therefore such general and groundless aspersions, without one degree of real evidence to support them, deserve no other answer but contempt.—Some of the city had that grateful sense of the part which Sir Leoline had acted in that affair [of the Quo Warranto,] that they conferred the greatest testimony of it in their power, by presenting him with his freedom, and afterwards choosing him Master of the Salters company.'

(57) Hist. of his own Time, p. 531.

(58) Life, as above, p. 47.

[F F] And was only for punishing the most obnoxious Members in their private capacities, &c.] That is in effect the most just and equitable method; though the contrary practice has generally prevailed: namely, to declare the privileges of a corporation forfeited, on account of some particular members offences, instead of punishing only the real offenders. Which is Custom against Equity.—However; as it is said above, when the bringing in of a Quo Warranto against the City of London was debated at Court, Sir Leoline, in order to soften matters; and, if possible, divert the blow; wrote a letter to the Duke of York, which concludes thus,—'Your Highness, I doubt not, will also consider the many mischiefs and inconveniencies that must necessarily follow, if this great body should be dissolved, for ever so small a time, even though his Majesty in his goodness should design it only in terror, and to awaken them into a due sense of their obedience; and when that gracious end is obtained, should be pleased to restore them to their former franchises. In a word, if such a rigorous course should be taken, I fear it may give room to malicious suggestions, and foment the present heats and distempers of the nation, and may (though without just reason,) alarm all other corporations. I cannot therefore conceive it advisable, or fit for his Majesty's present service, (all things considered) to proceed to such extremities against the whole body; but rather to direct proceedings against the most obnoxious members in their private capacities (59).'

(59) Letters, as above, Vol. II. p. 685.

[G G] For a valuable consideration.] This last particular we learn from Roger North, Esq (60); but Bishop Burnet, according to his partial custom, of giving invidious and bad characters to those that were called High-church-men in his time, tells us, that Sir Leoline was turned out, because he was no longer necessary. His words are, 'Jenkins had now done all the

(60) Ubi supra, p. 232.



Thereupon he retired to an house in Hammersmith, where learning and learned men continued to be his care and delight. In the middle of March 1684-5, King James II. being on the throne, Sir Leoline was sworn again of the Privy-Council, and at the same time elected Burgess for the university of Oxford. And, upon some little return of health and strength, fresh application was made to him to appear in business; but his indispositions of body soon returning upon him, he was never able to sit in that Parliament, but died the first of September 1685, in the 62d or 63d year of his age (*k*). His body being conveyed to Oxford, was solemnly buried the 17th of the said month, in the area of Jesus-college-chapel (*l*); and a marble stone was laid over his grave, with an epitaph [*HH*], supposed to have been made by his old friend Dr John Fell Bishop of Oxford. As to his character; besides what it hath already appeared from his actions, we are assured, that he was mild, courteous, benevolent, humble, and modest; sober, and temperate; of unwearied and most uncommon industry; just; grateful; charitable; a true member of the Church of England; conscientiously pious, and exemplary in all the duties of religion. But for a fuller view of him, see the account below in the note [*II*]. Having never been married,

(*k*) Wynne, as above, p. 49. See Wood, Fasti, ubi supra, col. 133. and Sir Leoline's Epitaph.

(*l*) Wood, *ibid*.

'the drudgery that the Court had occasion for from him: and being capable to serve them in nothing else, he was dismissed from being Secretary of State: and Godolphin, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, succeeded him.' — But soon after, Godolphin was weary of the *drudgery* that lay on a Secretary of State; and chose rather to be the First Commissioner of the Treasury (61). Different from this is the character of Sir Leoline given by Mr North (62), 'Sir Leoline Jenkins, saith he, was the most faithful *drudge* of a Secretary, that ever the Court had.—His learning and dexterity in business, was great; but his fidelity surmounted all.—After he retired, the King's affairs went backward; wheels within wheels took place; the Ministers turned formalisers, and the Court mysterious.' Before we dismiss Sir Leoline in his quality of Secretary, let us hear what Bishop Burnet says further of him when considered in that capacity. 'The King, says he, was the more desirous to have Lord Sunderland again near him, [*i. e.* as Secretary] that he might have somebody about him who understood foreign affairs. *Jenkins understood nothing*: but he had so much credit with the High Church party, that he was of great use to the Court (63). Now, is it really credible, That a man of good sense, such as Sir Leoline unquestionably was, who had spent near five years abroad in the most important negotiations, and conversed the greatest part of that time with Marshal D'Estrades, Monsieur Colbert, and other of the ablest politicians in Europe, should learn or know nothing of foreign affairs? therefore the accusation of *ignorance*, together with a very great plenty of malice, must return back upon the right Reverend Historian. And we cannot but bewail the unhappiness of this nation; in that, since parties have run so high amongst us, little or no regard is had to truth, but we are perpetually misled by false characters, and false accounts of men and things, in our English History.

[*HH*] *With an epitaph.* Which is in these words, Depositum Illustrissimi Viri Dni LEOLINI JENKINS L. L. Doctoris, et Equitis aurati, Admiralitatis Angliæ, et Curie Prærogativæ Cantuariensis Judicis, Et serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati à Sanctoribus Consiliis. Ille Lancrifiantiæ Silurum, Honestæ Familia natus, Literis a prima Juventute liberaliter imbutus, et Collegio Iesu, in Universitate Oxoniensi admotus, egregia illic edidit optimæ indolis Specimina; Donec ob fidem Regi præstitam Democraticorum furoribus proscriptus, solum vivere, et in Galliam secedere cogeretur. Academia vero una cum Principe restituta, Collegij Iesu Socius, mox Præfectus renunciabatur: Deinceps Legationes crebras Augustissimi regis CAROLI nomine, feliciter administravit, primum ad Regem Galliarum missus, postea Colonizæ, nec non Novomagi Pacis Europæ sequester, finitimorum undique Principum bella sopivit, Nec minus domi quam foris utilis: Secretarius Status primarius, Conjuratorum per Angliam molimina vigiliis suis detexit, consiliis dissipavit, demum missione honorifica ab indulgentissimo principe donatus, secessum petit, ut Deo & Æternitati unice vacaret: Viribusque in publica Commoda impenderat, exhaustis, et Morbo diutino confectus, sanctissimam Animam Deo reddidit Sept. 1. Ann. MDCLXXXV. Ætat. LXIII. Tumulum sortitus, ubi prima Literarum tyrocinia posuit, eo in Collegio quod vivus Patrocinio fovit, moriens vero hæredem Scripsit, et tantum non denuo fundavit (64).

[*II*] But for a fuller view of him, see the account below in the note.] We shall give it chiefly in the words of Mr Wynne, the ingenious writer of his life. 'He was by nature mild, affable, courteous; of unaffected goodness and benevolence; friendly and inoffensive to inferiors as well as superiors; and so humble in his carriage, that he was almost beyond example. His great modesty in his language and conversation, sometimes made a disadvantageous impression of him on those who judged altogether by outward appearances. For he was not one of those flashy men, who at first sight or at a distance appear best, and can exhibit the whole experience of their narrow lives at a single interview: but the longer he was known, the better he appeared; being like a piece of true architecture, which does not shew it perfectly at once, but will bear an agreeable view and review on all sides, and the more accurately it is considered by a skilful artist, the more perfect and satisfactory it appears. Though his deportment had much of a gentleman, it had more of a scholar, and most of a Christian. His civility did not consist only in words or courtly expressions, but he was strictly just in his words, as well as faithful in his promises; and had a real regard wherever he professed it. He was an enemy to flattery of any kind, and uneasy even at its first approaches. Of so grateful a temper to every one, that he never failed to express, in the most proper and becoming manner, the favours he had received. In his most scanty circumstances of life, he had an easy, patient, and contented mind; and in his greatest affluence nothing of pride and arrogance. As his first purposes were to be humble and just, the possession or acquisition of power did not in the least alter his manners: but, after his advancement, he behaved with the same decency, temper, and moderation, as in his lowest parts of life. He was frugal and temperate in the common management of his fortune, and an enemy to all sort of luxury and extravagance. His usual dress was of the best; but the emblem of his mind, grave, plain, and unaffected; and commonly black, which made some think, that he was in holy orders, though he was not: and in consequence of that, a report strongly prevailed, that he was to be advanced to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, upon the death of Archbishop Sheldon in 1677, though the report was without foundation (65). His life was, as it were, one continued course of labour and industry for the public good. His natural capacities for business were great, much improved by constant study, and indefatigable diligence and application. All the time he could safely borrow from the public service, was spent in study and reading, which he often professed to be his most agreeable entertainment; and which was the more so to him, by reason of a strong happy memory, and a regular method in reading. He was versed in many modern languages, which he spoke fluently; and had some gleanings in most parts of learning, even in those which gratify the curiosity more than the understanding of a man; but he had chiefly addicted himself to those of real and immediate benefit. He was not only eminent in his particular profession of the civil and canon laws, but had also a very great knowledge of the common and statute laws of the realm. He was a man of little leisure, and of no sort of pleasure, even to a voluntary abstinence from innocent and agreeable diversions; and in many things;

(65) See Wood Fasti, ut supra, col. 133.

(61) Hist. of his own Time, p. 592.

(62) Life of Lord Keeper Guilford, p. 229, 233.

(63) Hist. of his own Time, p. 531.

(64) J. Le Neve Monum. Angl. from 1650 to 1718, p. 139.



married, he bequeathed his estates, both real and personal, to charitable uses; and, in particular, he was so great a benefactor to Jesus college in Oxford, that he is generally looked upon as a second founder [K K].

' things of life exceeded the most rigid Stoick. To this he probably owed his great strength of body, and a constitution not only healthful, but also capable of the closest application; and always lived in a sparing, abstemious way, that he might be the fitter for business, and the duties of his employments. As he constantly went to rest early, so he rose early, and often before the sun, even in the midst of summer; nature exacting very little sleep of him. Finally, he was a man of excellent piety, and unaffected devotion; and, through the whole course and tenor of his life, was a serious, sincere Christian, of a strong and masculine piety, without any mixture of enthusiasm or superstition, and a hearty Protestant of the Church of England (66). See also notes [A A] and [G G].

(66) Wynne, as above, p. 53—59.

[K K] So great a benefactor to Jesus college in Oxford] By his will he gave to that college. 1. The manor of Molton, in the parishes of Llancarvan and Wenvo. 2. Lands and tenements, in Llantriffent. 3. Lands, &c. in the parishes of Eglwys, Ilan, and Caerphilli. 4. Cowbridge-school, which he purchased of Sir Edward Stradling. All in the county of Glamorgan.—5. Three acres of ground in the Archbishop of Canterbury's marsh in Lambeth; and seven acres near the same. 6. Lands, tenements, &c. in the parishes of Blakesley, Plumpton, Weston, and Weedon, in Northamptonshire. 7. Lands, tenements, &c. in the parishes of Dumbleton, and Wormington, in the county of Gloucester.—And also his personal estate, which after his decease, produced 4857 l. 15 s. 10 d. 2.

—The amount of the whole being upwards of 700 l. a year.

By his said will, he appropriated the following yearly payments out of his estates.—To the school-master of Cowbridge, so long as he doth not undertake any cure of souls, but keeps himself wholly to the business of his school, 10 l. a year: and, without such a limitation, 10 l. a year more.—To five pensioners in that school, (which the master is to teach gratis, as well as ten hopeful youths more) 6 l. a piece, for four years.—To three Exhibitioners in Jesus college, out of that school, 10 l. a year, for four years.—For binding poor children apprentices, or clothing old poor people in the parishes of Llantriffent, Llanblethian, the town of Cowbridge, and Ystrad Owen, 20 l. per ann.—To the Principal of Jesus college, for an augmentation of his maintenance, 50 l. a year, and the rectory of Rotherfield Peppard.—To make up the sixteen fellowships there, 20 l. per ann. a piece; and the sixteen scholarships, 10 l. per ann. a piece.—To two new fellows, 20 l. per ann. each; and, while they are either chaplains at sea, or missionaries abroad, which he intended they should, 20 l. a year more to each.—To two lecturers in the college, 15 l. a year each.—To the senior burfar, 8 l. per ann.—To four or five additional fellows, 8 l. or 10 l. a piece.—For the endowment of the Chapel Tal y garn, near the place of his nativity, which he had purchased and repaired, 10 l. per ann.—And to the rector of St. Bennet's Paul's-wharf, London, for his better encouragement in reading daily the service of the Church, 10 l. a year, &c (67).

(67) From a copy of his Will. C

JEWEL [JOHN], Bishop of Salisbury, in the XVIth century, one of the greatest ornaments and pillars of the Church of England since the Reformation, was born May 24, 1522 [A], at Buden in the parish of Berinerber in Devonshire (a), and descended from an honest and very ancient family [B]. At the age of seven, he received the first rudiments of learning from his uncle John Bellamy Rector of Hamton; and afterwards was at school, at Branton under Tho. Stotes; at South-Molton under Antony Simons; and at Barnstaple under Walter Bowin (b). When just turned of thirteen, being thought fit for the university, he was sent to Oxford, and admitted a Portionist, or Post-master, in Merton-college: where he was put under the tuition of Mr John Parkhurst, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. About four years after, namely August 19, 1539, he was elected Scholar of Corpus-Christi college in the foresaid university. October 20, 1540, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts. His usual method was, to rise at four o'clock in the morning, and to study 'till ten at night; by which indefatigable industry he rendered himself a compleat master of most branches of learning, but withal he impaired his health (c) [C]. After taking his degree, he became a noted tutor (d), and privately instructed his pupils in Protestant principles (e). Shortly after, he was chosen Rhetoric professor, or reader, in his college, which office he discharged for seven years with great applause [D]: and behaved in his whole conduct in a most amiable and exemplary manner (f). On the 9th of February 1544, he took the degree of Master of Arts (g). During King Henry the VIIIth's reign he was privately a Protestant, but he publicly declared himself such, after that Prince's decease in 1546. And, upon Peter Martyr's coming to be Divinity-Professor at Oxford, he became strongly attached to him; frequented his Lectures and Sermons; and, being very expert at short-hand (h), was Notary on that Professor's behalf, when he disputed (May 28, 1549) in the Divinity-school, with Dr Tresham, Dr Cheadsey, and Morgan Phillips, about the real presence (i). He took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1550, and frequently improved the university by his excellent sermons. Being also presented to the Rectory of Sunningwell in Berkshire; though he was lame

(a) J. Juelli Vita, autore L. Humfredo, Lond. 1573, 8vo. p. 14.

(b) Ibid. p. 17. At this last place he chanced to have for his school-fellow, his furious antagonist afterwards, John Harding, Fuller's Worthies, in Devonshire, p. 253.

(c) Humfr. p. 23—26.

(d) Ibid. p. 27.

(e) Wood Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721, col. 168.

(f) Humfr. ut supra, p. 25, 28.

(g) Ibid. p. 30. But A. Wood says, it was Jan. 28. Fasti, Vol. I. col. 69.

(h) Humfr. ut supra, p. 40.

(i) Ibid. p. 44, 45. Vide Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 268.

[A] Was born May 24, 1522.] Dr Fuller says, by mistake, that it was in the year 1552 (1).

(1) Worthies, in Devonshire, p. 253.

(2) L. Humfr. ut supra, p. 16.

(3) Ibid. p. 15.

(4) Ibid. p. 16.

[B] And descended from an honest and very ancient family.] *Ortus est honesta, sanè perantiqua, & haud ignobili familia* (2): which family had been then in possession of the estate at Buden, or Bowden, near 200 years (3). His father's name was John, a name almost hereditary in his family, it being also that of his grandfather, and great-grand father. On the mother's side, he was of the good family of the Bellamy's. Happily did they live fifty years together as man and wife; and were blessed with a numerous issue, leaving ten children behind them (4).

[C] But withal he impaired his health.] *Hunc ad modum in umbra, domi & privatim in musæo se gessit, legendo, studendo, scribendo, vigilando, ut valetudinem*

*suam non satis curavit. Etenim victus nimis scholasticus & simplex fuit, corpus macilentum & perimbecillum, ut mireris tot laboribus exhauriendis potuisse sufficere.* He retiring once to Witney. (on account of an epidemical sickness at Oxford) and pursuing there his studies with his usual avidity; and, without having proper accommodations, or due care taken, by himself or others; contracted such a cold, as fixed a lameness in one of his legs, which accompanied him to his grave (5).

(5) Ibid. p. 26.

[D] Which office he discharged for seven years with great applause.] His lectures were so much admired, that they drew many auditors to him from other colleges; and also engaged his former tutor, Mr John Parkhurst, to come out of the country, and hear him with great pleasure: upon which occasion he highly complimented him (6).

(6) Ibid. p. 29. See also our author's Life, prefixed to his Works.

[E] The



same, he went thither every other Sunday, and regularly discharged the pastoral office, both by preaching and catechising (k). During the whole reign of King Edward VI. he was a zealous promoter of the Reformation; in consequence whereof, he fell one of the first victims to Popish superstition and resentment, after Queen Mary's accession. For, before any law made, or order given by the Court, the rest of the Fellows expelled him from the college, by their own private authority (l) [E]. Whereupon he withdrew to Broad-gate hall (now Pembroke college) where many of his pupils, and other gentlemen, privately resorted to him for instruction (m). But he was soon extremely missed in his college; and so little could the university do without his assistance, that they chose him their Orator, and were forced to make use of his elegant pen to draw up their address to the new Queen (n). He seems to have been wavering about this time, and even was drawn in to subscribe to the errors of Popery [F]. But his compliance not being thought sincere, or deep and thorough enough, Dr Martial Dean of Christ-Church [G], was plotting how to deliver him up into Bishop Bonner's bloody hands; from whence, in all probability, he could not have got off without a great injury to his conscience and reputation, or perhaps the loss of his life. These snares he happily avoided; and escaped, on foot, and through by-ways, to London [H]: where concealing himself, first in Thames-street, and then in another place, for fear of being discovered; Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, a man of great distinction at that time, furnished him with money for his journey, and procured a ship to convey him beyond sea (o) [I]. He arrived at Francfort in the year 1554, the 2d of Queen Mary, where he had Dr Edwin Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, for his board- and bed-fellow. By his persuasion, and the joint-advice of his two intimate friends, Richard Chambers, and Thomas Sampson, he made, soon after his arrival, a public confession of his sorrow for his late subscription. For, on a Sunday morning, after having preached a Sermon to the English exiles there, he bitterly bewailed his fall, and heartily begged pardon of God, and of the Church, which he had offended (p). After a short stay at Francfort, he was invited to Strasburg by his intimate friend Peter Martyr; who kept a kind of college for learned men in his own house, and whereof he made Mr Jewel vice-master (q). The latter assisted him in the publication of his Lectures on the book of Judges; and attending him afterwards to Zurich, was very helpful to that great man, in the Lectures he read for Professor Conrad Pellican, who was grown extremely old and infirm (r). In 1558, upon the death of Queen Mary, and happy accession of Queen Elizabeth, the English exiles returned to England, and Mr Jewel among the rest. At his first coming over, he was entertained six months in the house of N. Culverwell, a citizen of London: and then the Lord Williams of Tame, being ill, sent for him, with whom he continued some time (s). The 31st of March following, he was one of the sixteen Divines that held a public Disputation in Westminster-Abbey, upon the chief controverted points between the Papists and Protestants (t). The substance and issue of this disputation may be seen in the authors referred to in the margin. Jewel wished that it had gone on, and that some such publick conference might have been appointed for the full satisfaction of people in those controversies, and making the truth more evident to all (u). But to proceed. July 19, 1559, he was appointed one of the Commissioners, by virtue of the Queen's letters patent, to visit the dioceses of Sarum, Bristol, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Gloucester; and to purge them, as much as possible, from Popery (w). As a reward for his great merit and learning, he was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury January 21, 1559-60 [K]; in which eminent station, he behaved

(k) Humfr. ut supra, p. 43, 44, 49.

(l) Prince's Worthies of Devon, &c. p. 419. Humfr. p. 74.

(m) Humfr. p. 77.

(n) See Fuller's Church History, b. viii. p. 6. and Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 274, &c.

(o) Humfr. p. 79-83.

(p) Ibid. p. 86.

(q) Fuller's Church Hist. b. viii. p. 36.

(r) Humfr. ut supra, p. 86, 87, 89.

(s) Ibid. p. 99.

(t) See J. Fox's Acts and Monum. Vol. II. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 414, &c. Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. Part II. Collect. of Records, p. 333, &c.

(u) Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 93. See the Appendix to that volume, No. 16, &c.

(w) Humfr. p. 107. and Strype's Ann. Vol. I. p. 167.

[E] *The rest of the fellows expelled him the college*

(7) Life prefixed to his Works, by D. Featly.

(8) Humfr. p. 74. and Fuller's Church Hist. book viii. p. 8.

(9) P. 80. See Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Part II. p. 245, 246.

(10) Humfr. p. 83, 84. and Wood, Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 276.

He was expelled by the seven seniors, and officers (7): and the reasons alledged for it, were: his having attended P. Martyr's lectures: preaching doctrines contrary to Popery: not being ordained by the ritual, but by the new form: And his refusal to be present at mass (8).

[F] *He seems to have been wavering about this time, and even was drawn in to subscribe to the errors of Popery* Dr Humfrey, the author of his life, imputes his wavering, to the specious promises made by Queen Mary, that she would force no man's conscience, and intended to make no change in religion (9). He adds, that if he could have consulted his old tutor Dr Parkhurst, he would not have been guilty of so great a weakness. He took a journey on foot to Cleve, of which he was Rector, for that purpose: but the Doctor, upon the re-establishment of Popery, was fled to London. Mr Jewel being thus disappointed, returns to Oxford, where he lingered, and waited, 'till he was suddenly laid hold on by certain Inquisitors; who pressing him, with threats, to subscribe, he took a pen in his hand, and, smiling said, 'Must I set down my name too: and, have you a mind to see how well I can write.' But he soon became sensible of his apostasy; and took the first opportunity to escape (10).

[G] *Dr Martial, Dean of Christ-church.* He was a very bad man, and a thorough complier with all

changes in religion. For he renounced Popery under King Edward; embraced it again with great zeal under Queen Mary; quitted it again under Queen Elizabeth; and turned again two or three times afterwards (11).

[H] *And escaped on foot, and through by-ways, to London.* He walked 'till he was forced to lie on the ground, quite spent, and almost breathless: in which condition he was found by one Augustin Bernher, a Swiss, first a servant to Bishop Latimer, and afterwards a minister; who setting him up on a horse, conducted him to the Lady Anne Warcop's, a widow, by whom he was entertained for some time, and then safely sent to London (12).

[I] *And procured a ship to convey him beyond sea.* His escape was managed by Giles Laurence, tutor to Sir Arthur Darci's children, living near the Tower of London (13). This Laurence was Mr Jewel's fellow-collegian; afterwards of All-Souls college; Greek Professor of the University; and made in 1564, Archdeacon of Wilts by Bishop Jewel, whose life he had saved, as is here related (14).

[K] *Was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, January 21.* He was elected Aug. 21, 1559, had the royal assent Dec. 27, was confirmed Jan. 18, consecrated Jan. 21, inthronized March 6, and had restitution of the temporalities, April 6, 1560 (15).

(11) Humfr. p. 81.

(12) Ibid. p. 82.

(13) Ibid. p. 83.

(14) Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 117.

(15) Rymer's Acta, &c. Vol. XV. p. 555, 578.



(\*) Humfr. p. 108. See also his Life, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1609, fol.

behaved in a most diligent and exemplary manner (\*) [L]. He distinguished himself at the same time, by preaching and writing in defence of the Church of England, and against the Errors of Popery. For, in 1560, on the second Sunday before Easter, he made a public challenge (in the Sermon he then preached at St Paul's cross) to all the Roman-Catholics in the world, to produce but one clear and evident testimony, out of any Father, or famous writer, who flourished within six hundred years after Christ, for any one of the many articles which the Romanists at this day maintain against the Church of England [M]. Two years after, he published his learned and excellent Apology for the Church

(16) Juelli Vita, &c. ut supra, p. 108.

[L] *In which eminent station he behaved in a most diligent and exemplary manner.* In hac Sarisburiensis Ecclesie specula constitutus, jam non obdormiscit, sed in excubiis est, & susceptam personam gravissime representat, as Dr Humfrey expresses it (16). He became most remarkable for his apostolic doctrine, holy life, prudent government, incorrupt integrity, unspotted chastity, and bountiful liberality. In his first visitation he began, and in his last he perfected, such a reformation, not only in the cathedral and parochial churches, but in all courts of his jurisdiction, as procured him, and the whole order of Bishops, due reverence and esteem. For he was a careful overlooker and strict observer, not only of all the flocks, but also of the pastors in his diocese: and he watched so narrowly upon the proceedings of his Chancellor and Archdeacons, and of his stewards and receivers, that they had no opportunities of being guilty of oppression, injustice, and extortion, nor of being a burden to the people, and a scandal to himself. To prevent these and the like abuses, for which the Episcopal courts are often too justly censured, he sat often in his Consistory-court, and saw that all things were carried rightly there: neither did he only sit as Judge in the Consistory, but also oftentimes as assistant on the bench of justice, [he being himself a Justice of the peace (17),] informing the Judges in such causes where the law of God and the law of the land seemed to clash, and exhorting the prisoners willingly and patiently to submit to the stroke of justice.—With regard to his more private conduct: he rose at four o'clock in the morning; and, after prayers with his family at five, and in the Cathedral about six, he was so fixed to his studies all the morning, that he could not without great violence be drawn from them. After dinner, his doors and ears were open to all suitors; and it was observed of him, as of Titus, that he never sent any sad from him. Suitors being thus dismissed, he heard, with great indifferency and patience, such causes debated before him, as either were devolved to him as a judge, or referred to him as an arbitrator; and if he could spare any time from these troublesome affairs, he reckoned as clear gain to his study. About nine o'clock at night, he called all his servants to an account how they had spent the day, and then went to prayers with them: from the chapel he withdrew again to his study 'till near midnight, and from thence to his bed; in which after he was laid, the gentleman of his bed-chamber read to him 'till he fell asleep. This watchful and laborious kind of life, without any recreation at all, except what his necessary refreshment at his meals, and a very few hours of rest in the night afforded him, wasted his precious life too fast, and undoubtedly hastened his end (18).

(18) His Life by D. Featly, prefixed to his Works; and in Fuller's Abel Redivivus, p. 307, &c. See also Humfr. p. 251, 252.

[M] *He made a public challenge (in the sermon he then preached at St Paul's cross) to all the Roman Catholics in the world, &c.* His text was 1 Cor. xi. 23. and the challenge he made, in these words.—“If any learned man of our adversaries, or if al the learned men that be alive, be hable to bryng any one sufficient sentence out of any olde catholike Doctour, or Father, or out of any old general Council, or out of the holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the Primitive Church, whereby it may clearely, and plainly be proved, that there was any private Masse in the whole worlde at that time for the space of fixe hundred yeres after Christe: or, that there was then any Communion ministred unto the people under one kynde: or, that the people had theire common praier then in a strange tongue that they understoode not: or, that the Bishop of Rome was then called an universal Bishop, or the head of the universal Church: or, that the people was then taught to beleve that Christes bodie is really, substantiallie, corporallie, carnallie, or naturallie in the Sacrament: or, that his bodie is, or may be, in a thousand places or mo at one time: or that the Priest did then holde up the Sacrament over

his head: or, that the people did then falle downe, and woorschip it with godly honour: or, that the Sacrament was then or now oughte to be hanged up under a canopie: or, that in the Sacrament after the woordes of consecration, there remaine onely the accidentes and shewes, without the substance of breadde and wyne: or that the Prieste then divided the Sacrament in three partes, and afterward received himself al alone: or, that whosoever had saide, the Sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token or a remembrance of Christes bodie, had therefore beene judged for an heretike: or, that it was lauffull then to have 30, 20, 15, 10, or 5 masses said in one church, in one daie: or, that images then were set up in the churches, to th intent the people might woorschip them: or, that the lai people was then forbidden to reade the woorde of God in their owne tongue: or, that it was then lawfull for the Priest to pronounce the woordes of consecration closely, and in silence to himselfe: or, that the Priest had the authoritie to offer up Christ unto his Father: or, to communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they doo: or, to applie the vertue of Christes death and passion to any manne by the meane of the Masse: or, that it was then thought a sound doctrine, to teache the people, that masse *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is saide and done, is hable to remove any part of our sinne: or, that then any christian man called the Sacrament his Lord and God: or, that the people was then taught to beleve that the bodie of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament, as long as the accidentes of the bread remaine there without corruption: or, that a mouse, or anye other woorme, or beaste, may eate the body of Christ (for so some of our adversaries have saide and taught): or, that when Christ saide, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This woord *Hoc*, pointed not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them saie: or, that the accidentes, or fourmes, or shewes of bread and wine, bee the Sacramentes of Christes bodie and bloudde, and not rather the very bread and wine itselfe: or that the Sacrament is a signe or token of the bodie of Christe that lieth hidden underneath it: or, that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion, and obedience.—I promise to yield unto him, and to subscribe.—I. This sermon was printed at London in 1560, 8vo. And the Catholics being thus vigorously attacked in it, mustered up all their forces to support their sinking cause. The foremost in the quarrel, was Dr Henry Cole, between whom and our learned Bishop, several letters passed upon that occasion, from March 18, 1559, 'till May 18, 1560 (19).—John Rastell a Jesuit, published likewise, *A Confutation of a Sermon pronounced by Mr Jewel, at Paul's cross*. Antw. 1564. As did Tho. Dorman, *A proof of certain Articles in Religion denied by Mr Jewel*, Antw. 1564. The former of which was answered by W. Fulke, and the latter by Dean Nowell.—Some time after, Thomas Heskyns, D. D. came out with a large book, intituled, *The Parliament of Christe avouching and declaring the enacted and receaved trutheth of the presence of his bodie and bloode in the blessed Sacrament, and of other articles concerning the same, impugned in a wicked sermon, by M. Juell*, Antw. 1566, fol.—But our Bishop's most considerable antagonist, was Thomas Harding, who put out, *An Answer to Maister Juell's Challenge*, Louvain 1564, 4to. reprinted in 1565, 8vo. with a preface by John Martiall. To which our learned author published a full answer, intituled, II. “A Replie unto M. Harding's Answer: By perusinge whereof the discrete, and diligent Reader may easily see, the weake and unstable groundes of the Romaine Religion, whiche of late hath beene accompted Catholique.” Lond. 1566, fol. It was translated into Latin by William Whitaker, Fellow of Trinity-college in Cambridge, and published at Geneva, in 1578, 4to. with our author's Apology for the Church

(19) Humfr. p. 113, 113.



Church of England [N]. On the 26th of May 1565, the university of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, though he was absent (y); and the year following, he attended Queen Elizabeth, in the visit she made to that noble seminary of learning, and moderated at the Divinity-disputations then held before her Majesty (z). He continued to defend and adorn the Church of England, during the remainder of his valuable life; which was but short: for he died, September 23, 1571, in the fiftieth year of his age, at Monkton Farley in Wiltshire, and was buried about the middle of the choir of Salisbury-cathedral (a). Two years after, Dr Laurence Humfrey, the author of his life, laid a marble-stone on his grave, with an inscription in his praise, which may be seen at the beginning of that life. Besides the books already mentioned, Bishop Jewel was author of several pieces, of which an account is given in the note [O]. His character is set out to great advantage, in the numerous copies of verses that are printed at the end of the forementioned life. By which, and all that hath been said of him, it appears, that he was pious, charitable, of a pleasant, and affable temper; modest, meek, temperate, and a perfect master of his passions (b). He was indefatigable in his studies; and by that means not only attained a thorough knowledge of most of the sciences, but also acquired a great skill in the Latin, Greek, and Italian languages (c). Though he was a constant preacher, yet he never attempted to do it extempore, and without due preparation (d). His memory was wonderful [P]. With respect to his person, he was of a thin habit of body;

(y) Humfr. p. 242. and Wood, Fasti, Vol. I. col. 96.

(z) Humfr. p. 245. and Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. L. i. p. 288.

(a) Godwin de Praefulibus, edit. G. Richardson, p. 355.

(b) Humfr. p. 28, 41, 247.

(c) Ibid. p. 110, 234.

(d) Ibid. p. 109.

Church of England. To this *Replie*, Mr Harding put out two *Rejoinders*, Antw. 1566, 4to. and Louvain, 1567, 4to.

[N] III. *Apology for the Church of England.* This most excellent Vindication of our Reformed Church, was written by the truly learned author in elegant Latin, and printed at London in 1562, 8vo. An English translation of it was printed the same year: another translation, made by Anne, (one of the six learned daughters of Sir Antony Cooke, and) wife of Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, was published in 1564, for common use, with the Queen's approbation, and the consent of the Bishops (20). It was also translated in several other languages, particularly in Greek; which last was printed at Oxford in 1614, 8vo. As it struck at the great Diana of the Papists, numbers of them undertook to confute it; viz. in Latin Alanus Copus, als Nicolas Harpsfield: and in English, Nicolas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton, John Raftall, Tho. Dorman, Tho. Heskyns, and Tho. Harding. This last being the most considerable, Bishop Jewel professedly writ a long and particular answer to him, lashing the rest only by the by. Harding had intitled his book, *A Confutation of the Apologie of the Church of Englande*, Antw. 1563, 4to. And the Bishop's answer was intitled, IV. "A Defense of the Apologie of the Church of Englande. Containing an Answer to a certaine Booke lately set forth by M. Hardinge, and entituled, *A Confutation of, &c.*" Lond. 1564, 1567. This defence was translated into Latin, by Thomas Bradoc, B. D. and Fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge: printed at Geneva, 1600, fol. And in so great esteem was it both abroad, and at home, that it was ordered by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles I. and by four successive Archbishops, to be read and chained up in all parish-churches throughout England and Wales (21).—Harding replying to it, in a book, which he named, *A Detection of sundrie foule Errours, Lyes, Sclaunders, Corruptions, &c. uttered and practised by Mr Jewel, in a Book lately by him set forth, intituled, A Defence of the Apologie, &c.* Lovain, 1568, 4to. The Bishop thereupon published, V. "An Answer unto a Book written by Mr Hardinge, entituled, *A Detection of sundrie foule Errours, &c.*" Lond. 1568, and 1570, fol.

[O] Besides the books already mentioned, Bishop Jewel was author of several pieces. Namely these; VI. *Exhortatio ad Oxonienses*. A Speech before the University. Of which the substance is printed in Dr Humfrey's life of our author (22). VII. A sermon preached 23 Dec. 1552, in the chapel of his college, being the commemoration-day of their founder, Bishop R. Fox. From Pf. cxii. 6. The substance of it is printed in the said life (23). VIII. *Concio in Templo D. Mariae, Oxon. A. D. 1550, ex 1 Pet. iv. 11.* A Latin sermon, preached in St Mary's Church Oxon. the Sunday after Ascension-day, for his Bachelor of Divinity's degree. Inserted in the same life (24): and translated into English by R. V. printed at London, 1586, 8vo. IX. *Oratio in Aula Collegii Corporis Christi*. His farewell speech to his fellow collegians, when they expelled him. The substance of it

is printed in the aforesaid life (25). X. *Epistola ad Scipionem patritium Venetum, de Causis cur Episcopi Anglicae ad Concilium Tridentinum non convenirent*, Ann. 1559. A Latin letter to Signor Scipio, a noble Venetian, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance at the time he went to study at Padua during his exile; wherein he assigns the causes, why none of the English Bishops went to the Council of Trent. Printed at the end of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, translated into English by Sir Nath. Brent, second edit. Lond. 1629, fol. The substance of it is also in Mr Strype's Annals (26). XI. A Letter to Henry Bullinger at Zurich; concerning the State of Religion in England, dated May 22, 1559 (27). XII. Another letter to the same, dated 8 Feb. 1566, concerning his controversy with Harding, &c (28).—The following were published by John Garbrand. XIII. "A View of a seditious Bull sent into England from Pius V. Bishop of Rome, An. 1569." Lond. 1582, 8vo. XIV. "A Treatise of the Holy Scriptures," Ibid. 8vo. Both gathered out of the Bishop's sermons, preached in the cathedral church of Sarum, in 1570. XV. "A Treatise of the Sacraments; gathered also out of his sermons." Lond. 1583, 8vo. XVI. "Certain Sermons preached before the Queen's Majesty at Paul's cross, and elsewhere." Six in number. Lond. 1583, 8vo. XVII. "An Exposition on the two Epistles of the Apostle St Paul to the Thessalonians." Lond. 8vo. All these his English works were printed together at London in 1609, fol. As was in 1641, under his name, "An Answer to certain frivolous Objections against the Government of the Church of England," in one sheet, 4to.—Besides which Mr Wood informs us, that the following pieces of his remain in manuscript. *A paraphrastical Exposition of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole Year. A Continue Exposition of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments. Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians; and upon that of St Peter* (29). Many of his letters are in the Collection of Records, in Part III. of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation.

[P] His memory was wonderful. It was naturally strong, but he very much improved it by art: so that he seldom forgot any thing he heard, that was remarkable, and entered it in his common-place-book. He could exactly repeat whatever he had written, after once reading. During the ringing of the bell, he committed to his memory a repetition sermon, and pronounced it without hesitation. His custom was, to write the heads of his discourses, and imprint them so firmly upon his mind, that he used to say, "If ten thousand people were quarrelling or fighting all the while he was preaching, yet they could not put him out." In order to try him, Dr Parkhurst having proposed to him, some of the most difficult and barbarous words out of a Calendar; and John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, forty Welsh, Irish, and foreign words; He, after once or twice reading, and a little recollection, repeated them all by heart, backward and forward. And, in the year 1563, Sir Nicolas Bacon, Lord-Keeper of the Great-Seal, having read to him, out of Erasmus's Paraphrase, the last clauses of ten lines, confused,

(25) P. 74, &c. There is also inserted in that life, a short Treatise of his *De Usurâ*, p. 217, &c.

(26) Vol. I. p. 416, &c.

(27) Ibid. Appendix, No. 20. p. 53.

(28) Ibid. No. 36, 37. p. 81, 82.

(29) See Wood Ath. Vol. I. col. 171, 241. and Humfr. p. 110, 111.

(20) See Strype's Annals, Vol. I. edit. 1725, p. 284, &c.

(21) Strype, *ibid.* p. 286. and Vol. II. p. 100. and L. Humfr. ut supra, p. 177, 187, 193, 194.

(22) P. 35, &c.

(23) P. 45, &c.]

(24) P. 49.



(e) Nunquam se magnopere recubabat, nisi ambulando. Humfr. p. 28.

(f) Ut erat corpus perimbecillum, ita tenui diæta u'us est—ad incredibilem maciem perductus, & vivum quasi cadaver effusus. Id. p. 251, 256.

(g) Ibid. p. 250.

body; which thinness was increased by his abstemious way of living, his want of exercise (e), and his hard studying; so that in his last days, he was quite emaciated (f). He built a Library at Salisbury, which he furnished with valuable books (g). Some have represented him as a favourer of the Puritans (b); and, indeed, he was a man of due moderation, and 'wished that All the remnants of former errors were taken away (i). But he soon found, that the opposers of the Church were in general persons of squeamish stomachs (k), who strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel. He therefore made it a rule to himself, to yield absolute obedience to his Sovereign, in all things of an indifferent nature (l). And, as for his refusing to admit Dr Humfrey to a living in his diocese, because he would not comply with the habits (m); it does not appear, that it was in the Bishop's power to dispense upon that point.

confused, and imperfect on purpose, he sitting silent a while, and covering his face with his hand, immediately rehearsed all those broken parcels of sentences, the right way and the contrary, without hesitation. He professed to teach others this art, and taught it his tutor Dr Parkhurst, at Zurich: who, in the space of

twenty-eight days, and only by spending an hour a day, learned all the twenty-eight chapters of St Matthew's Gospel, so perfectly, that he could repeat any verse; knowing at the same time what went before, and what followed (30).

(b) Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. I. edit. 2, p. 125.

(i) Ibid. p. 192.

(k) Ibid. p. 193. Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 556.

(l) Neal, ibid. p. 278.

(m) Strype, ibid. p. 464.

(30) Humfr. ut supra, p. 234, &c.

(a) Life of Dean Colet, by Dr Knight, p. 411. Lond. 1724, 8vo. In the Memorial of our author's Life, prefixed to his Works, edit. 1710, fol. p. iii. his birth is placed in Warwickshire.

(b) Ibidem ibid.

(c) Probably descended from an ancient family of his name in Staffordshire. Dugdale's Warwickshire, Vol. I. 2d edit. p. 34.

JOHNSON [SAMUEL], a Divine remarkable both for his writings and sufferings, was born in the county of Stafford (a) in the year 1649. Being at a proper age put to St Paul's school in London, he made an extraordinary proficiency in classical learning, and was removed thence to Trinity-college in Cambridge (b); where prosecuting his studies with distinguished application and success [A], he turned his thoughts after some time to Divinity; and entering into Holy Orders, was presented by Mr Robert Biddulph (c) to the rectory of Corringham in the hundreds of Essex, on the first of March 1669-70 (d). But he did not reside long upon his living; for the air of the place being found not to agree with his constitution, he provided a curate with a handsome salary (e), and settled himself in London, going occasionally thence to his parish as often as his health would permit\*. This situation proved the more agreeable, as the bent of his inclination led him strongly to political subjects [B]. The turn he took in this study, whereon his enquiries were principally directed to the history and constitution of his country, soon brought him into the acquaintance of those who opposed the measures of the Court; and in a few years, being recommended to the Earl of Essex [C] and the Lord Russel, the latter

(d) Newcourt's Repertorium, Vol. II. p. 193. If the date of his birth be not a mistake, he was now no more than 20 years of age, and therefore could not by the Canons be safely in Priest's orders. He seems also to have taken no degree in the university, his name being printed without any addition in the title-page of his Works.

(e) Viz. 40 l. a year, half the income of the living. Memorials, &c.

\* Id. ibid.

[A] He prosecuted his studies with distinguished application and success.] As soon as he was fit for the university, he was made Library-keeper of St Paul's school, in which station he studied the oriental languages with uncommon diligence, and made such a progress therein, as was afterwards of great use to him in the study of Divinity (1).

[B] His inclination led him to politics.] He had even made some progress in this study when he was presented to his living. This is more than probable from some words in his *Essay concerning Parliaments at a certainty* (2); where having quoted a passage out of Dr Heylin's *Observations upon Hammond L'Estrange's History of the Reign of King Charles I.* he expresses himself thus: 'I have not the book now by me, but I will be answerable for the substance of this quotation, having retained this passage in my head above these five and twenty years.' This essay being evidently levelled against the continuation of the same Parliament above three years, must be written not later than 1695, when the second Parliament of King William, which had continued five years, was dissolved, and a new one called (3). These words of our author are also a conspicuous proof of the strong bent of his inclination to the study of politics, a willing memory being always a good one. But there is a still clearer evidence of this early bent to that study. In another piece, printed in 1689, speaking of Bishop Burnet's famous pastoral letter, published a little before, he writes thus. 'I will presently join issue with this conquering Bishop, for I have not been afraid of a conqueror these eighteen years. For so long since I used to walk by the New-Exchange gate, where stood an overgrown porter with his gown and staff, which gave him a semblance of authority; whose business it was to regulate the coachmen before the entrance; and would make nothing of lifting a coachman off his box, and beating him, and throwing him into his box again. I have several times, continues he, looked up at this tall mastering fellow, and put the case: Suppose this conqueror should take me up under his arm like a gizzard, and run away with me, am I his subject; no, thought I, I am my own man and not his: and having

thus invaded me, if I could not otherwise rescue myself from him, I would smite him under the fifth rib. From that time I have had a clear idea of conquest; and no conqueror in the world can have any more right to me than that fellow (4). This turn of his genius was observed likewise by his patron, when he presented him to the living; at which time he warned him against the danger of it to one of his profession, and advised him to read Bracton, and Fortescue *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, &c. that he might be acquainted with the old English constitution, but by no means to make politics the subject of his sermons; because he had taken notice, that many clergymen had given their hearers bad impressions, and filled their heads with false notions of those things which they had a very imperfect knowledge of themselves, and that matters of faith and practice were more suitable entertainment from the Pulpit. Mr Johnson religiously observed this advice, as we are assured by one of his intimate acquaintance; who observes further, that tho' by applying himself to the study of the books abovementioned, he became as well versed in the English constitution as any man, he never meddled with politics in the pulpit, but made a more proper use of them: for no man (continues this friend) wrote with more boldness and zeal for the legal polity of his country, or suited his writings better to the circumstances of times and seasons (5).

[C] He was recommended to the Earl of Essex.] Mr Johnson was very sensible of this honour, and mentions a conversation, wherein that learned Nobleman (so he styles his Lordship) gave him a particular account of the arguments he made use of in the House of Lords for the bill of Exclusion. Our author having repeated these, concludes in the following terms. 'Thus that great man argued, but care was taken that he should argue for the good of his country try no more; and therefore we that are left behind, partly to bewail the loss of such great men, and partly to imitate them, ought to uphold their cause.' In proceeding, Mr Johnson relates the account given him by his Lordship, of the arguments urged at the same time against the said bill, and closes the whole with

(4) An Argument proving the Abrogation of King James, &c. in our author's Works, p. 267, 268.

(5) Memorials, &c. p. iv.

(1) Memorials of Mr S. Johnson, prefixed to his Works, p. iii.

(2) Printed in his Works, p. 279, & seq. Lond. 1710.

(3) Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the years 1689 and 1695.



latter of those noblemen took him into his family in the character of his domestic chaplain [D]. This appointment, which must needs be of great advantage to his reputation, furnished him some time after with an opportunity of increasing it by displaying his political talents: for while the bill of exclusion against the Duke of York was carried on by that Lord at the head of his party in the House of Commons, his Chaplain, to promote the same design, engaged the ecclesiastical champion of passive-obedience, Dr Hickes, in a book intitled *Julian the Apostate* [E]. An attack against the established doctrine of the time, executed with so much spirit as this was, did not fail to raise the attention of the world (f). It was published in 1682, and several answers to it appearing in that and the following year, the chief of them were taken to task the same year, in a reply to Dr Hickes and another gentleman, by our author, in a piece printed with this title, *Julian's Arts to undermine and extirpate Christianity, together with Answers to Constantius the Apostate and Jovian* (g). This treatise was printed and entered at Stationers-Hall, in 1683, in order to be published; but on the seizure of his patron \* in June, he yielded to the advice of his friends, in suppressing and concealing it (h); a caution which saved him for a while, and broke the force of a blow aimed against him by the Court about two months after the death of Lord Ruffel. For though, upon an examination before the Privy-Council, he was committed on the third of August to the Gate-house [F], yet he was presently

(b) It was probably by the same advice that he suppressed his Remarks on Dr Sherlock's Case of Resistance, which was wrote this year, though not published 'till after the Revolution. Preface to that piece, in his Works, p. 237. first edit. 1710, folio.

(f) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1002, where Mr Wood tells us, it was called by our author's party the impregnable bulwark of their cause.

(g) Id. ibid. col. 1003.

\* Lord Ruffel. See his article.

(6) Notes on the Phoenix edition of the Pastoral Letter, p. 313, 314. in Mr Johnson's Works.

(7) April 27, 1679, the Commons passed a vote against the Duke of York's succession, which was carried up by Lord Ruffel to the Lords for their concurrence. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1679.

(8) Argument to prove the Abrogation of King James, &c. Ibid. p. 265.

\* It is printed in his Works; the whole title is, *Julian the Apostate, being a short Account of his Life, the Sense of the Primitive Christians about his Succession, and their Behaviour towards him; together with a Comparison of Popery and Paganism.*

(9) Mr Edward Meredith was the supposed author of this piece. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1064.

(10) This treatise was supposed to be written by Mr John Dowell of Christ's college in Cambridge. Id. ibid.

(11) In his epistle to the reader, prefixed to his Vindication, &c.

(12) Both in the preface to Jovian, and in the body of the book.

† See rem. [I], in the article of Denzil Lord Holmes, whose first piece against the Bishops Right, &c. was published in 1679, under the title of *Reasons why Bishops are not to judge in Capital Cases.*

with this remark. 'If I have broke any rules in repeating that great man's private discourse, now it is done I cannot help it. But I say, let his integrity be known; and speak as loud as his blood cries. And I am sure they that would stifle that man's honour would stifle his death (6).'

[D] *He was made domestic chaplain to Lord Ruffel.* The exact time of this appointment, which we are told by our author's friend proved to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, is not mentioned by that friend. Perhaps it might be about the time of Mr Johnson's preaching his sermon against Popery before the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall-chapel, on Palm-Sunday 1679. This discourse was printed the same year, and appears again at the head of his Second five years Struggle against Popery, published in 1689, presently after the Revolution; whereby he plainly intimates, that his first five years struggle had its æra in that discourse (7). Accordingly, he tells us in another place (8), that he threw away his liberty with both hands and with his eyes open for his country's service, some years before it was taken away from him [in 1683].

[E] *Julian the Apostate.* The design of this piece \* in general was to expose the doctrines of Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, which were carried at this time to an extravagant height, and to shew the great difference between the case of the primitive Christians, who had the laws against them, and ours, who have the laws on our side. Dr Hickes, in a sermon preached before the Lord-Mayor in 1681, which was published this year, had inculcated the Court-doctrine in the strongest terms; and being reputed one of the most learned divines of the time, Mr Johnson thought proper to single out this champion in particular, and the last chapter in his treatise is employed in answering the Doctor's sermon. Besides the two persons mentioned in the text, our author's book was attacked, (1.) By Mr Tho. Long B. D. Prebendary of Exeter, in his *Vindication of Primitive Christianity in point of Obedience to their Princes, against the calumnies of a book intitled, The Life of Julian the Apostate, written by Ecobolius the Sophist.* Lond. 1683, 8vo. (2.) By an anonymous author, in *Some Remarks upon a late popular piece of nonsense, called Julian the Apostate, &c. Together with a Vindication of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, against many impudent Calumnies, foolish Arguments, false Reasonings, imposed upon the Public from several scandalous and seditious pamphlets, especially from one more notorious and generally virulent than the rest, intitled, A Tory Plot, Lond. 1682, in a thin folio (9). (3.) By the author of *The Triumph of Christianity: or, The Life of F. Julian the Apostate: With Remarks contained in the Resolution of several Queries. To which are added, Reflections upon a pamphlet called, Seasonable Remarks on the Fall of the Emperor Julian: And on part of a late pernicious book, intitled, A short Account of the Life of Julian, &c.* Lond. 1683, 8vo (10). The first of these answerers (11), as well as Dr Hickes (12), charged our author with receiving large contributions in the compiling of his book, from Mr Tho. Hunt, who published *An Argument for the Bishops Right in judging in capital Causes in Parliament* †: *With a Postscript* VOL. IV. No. 231.*

for rectifying some Mistakes in some of the inferior Clergy, mischievous to our Government and Religion. Lond. 1682, 8vo. This charge, which is nowhere denied by Mr Johnson, receives some countenance from a passage in one of his treatises, where he writes thus. 'Armorum quedam sunt tuitionis pacis, &c. says Bracton. The people of England have weapons for keeping the peace, but our peaceful clergy knew a better way, and beat all our weapons into ploughshares and pruning hooks: and when Mr Hunt and I endeavoured to restore them to their former lawful shape and use, they said we had been down at the forges of the Philistines, and dealt with Jewsuits; and Dr Pelling (13) could shew some pages, which Mr Hunt had plundered out of Doleman (14), though I verily believe what he told me, that he had never seen the book (15).

[F] *He was committed close prisoner to the Gate-house.* He was examined by the Lord-Keeper North upon these two points, (1.) Whether he was the author of a book called *Julian's Arts and method to undermine and extirpate Christianity?* To which having answered in the affirmative, he was interrogated, Why, after that book had been so long entered at Stationers-Hall, it was not published? To which he replied, That the nation was in too great a ferment to have the matter further debated at that time. Upon this he was commanded to produce one of these books to the Council, and if they approved it it should be published. But he answered, he had suppressed them himself, so that they were now his own private thoughts, for which he was not accountable to any power on earth. The Council dismissed him at that time, but sent for him twice afterwards, pressed the same thing upon him, and received the same answers; for which they sent him presently to the Gate-house by the following commitment.

\* Sir Leoline Jenkins, Knight, one of His Majesty's most honourable Privy-Council, and Principal Secretary of State.

'Whereas Samuel Johnson, Clerk, hath (as appeared by information upon oath) caused three thousand copies of a certain book, called Julian's Arts to extirpate and undermine Christianity, &c. to be printed, in order to the publishing thereof: and the said Samuel Johnson confesseth, that he was the author thereof, and had the said three thousand copies or thereabouts in his custody, and hath delivered the same to a friend to be kept, until he shall see it fit time for the publishing thereof; and refuseth upon his examination to produce any of the said printed copies, or to discover where and in whose custody the same are. And whereas it is justly suspected that the said book is a treasonable book, and intended to be published at such time or times as it shall be of dangerous consequence to the public peace to do it: These are therefore, in His Majesty's name, to will and require you to take the body of the said Samuel Johnson into your custody in His Majesty's prison of the Gate-house, and him safely to keep there, until he discover the said copies; to the end that if they be treasonable, they may effectually be proceeded upon and suppressed, or he the said Samuel Johnson be otherwise delivered by due course of law. 31 A And

(13) In his Protestant Apostate, &c. Lond. 1682. 4to.

(14) Parson's book of the Succession, &c. See his article.

(15) Notes on the Phoenix edition of the Pastoral Letter, in our author's Works, p. 310.



(1) Memorials,  
&c. p. 7.

(2) Ibid. p. 9.  
and Birch's Life  
of Tillotson, p.  
200. 2d edit.  
1753.

sently bailed thence by two of his friends (*i*), and all possible endeavours to discover and seize the copies of his book being frustrated, the Court was obliged to drop that prosecution [G]. But the matter did not rest here; every attempt upon the Duke of York's succession gave the King great uneasiness; a more effectual method was therefore taken with our author, and being brought to a trial in the King's-Bench for writing his book [H], he was there sentenced February 11, 1683-4. to pay 500 marks for a fine to the King; to find sureties for his good behaviour for a year; and to be committed to the prison of the King's-Bench, 'till this be paid and done; his book was also ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman (*k*). Not being able to discharge his fine, he continued a prisoner. However, he soon obtained the Rules by the assistance of his friends (*l*), who likewise both relieved his necessities [I], and enabled him to print some pieces which he wrote against Popery in 1685, and to disperse several of them about the country at his own expence (*m*). These were answered in three Observators by Sir Roger L'Estrange, who also discovering the Printer, seized all the copies that were found in his hands [K]. He persevered

(i) Two friends, probably the same as bailed him out of the Gate-House, gave a bond of 1000 l. and himself another of the same value. Notes upon the Phoenix edition of the Pastoral Letter, p. 209. in our author's Works, ubi supra.

(m) See the next remark [K].

\* And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Whitehall the 3d day of August, 1683, in the thirty-fifth year of His Majesty's reign.

(16) Memorials,  
&c. p. 6, 7.

To Anthony Church, Keeper of His Majesty's prison at the Gate-house. L. JENKINS (16).\*

[G] After the strictest search to no purpose, &c.] To this end a messenger was sent to search the house, where, by the information, the copies lay, but missed them; which was the more extraordinary, because, after the first search, his friends apprehending a further enquiry, and not thinking them secure enough, removed them; and when the messenger searched again, he found the first place but missed the second; after which they were removed to a third place in the same house, and upon a fresh search the messenger found the second place but missed the third. Thus disappointed, recourse was had to promises, and a considerable sum, besides the favour of the Court, was offered for one of the copies, to the person in whose hands they were supposed to be; which was refused (17).

(17) Ibid. p. 8.

[H] Brought to a trial for his first book.] The general proposition of this treatise, which has been already given, was certainly both defensible in itself, and might have been defended without any danger, by carefully keeping within the bounds there mentioned. But such a cautious proceeding neither suited Mr Johnson's temper in general, nor his particular design in this attack. On the contrary, he took care, at the entrance in the preface, to inform his readers, that the book was written purposely to promote the bill of Exclusion, and does not scruple to charge all the opposers of that bill with a design of introducing Popery through the door of Passive-Obedience. It may be observed, that the Life of Julian was the second attempt with his pen in his first five years struggle, as he terms it, against Popery and Tyranny, wherein we have already seen him declaring, that he even courted danger, and run after it with both hands and with his eyes open (18). No wonder then that he met with it at length, however righteous his cause may now be thought, and that the prosecution was begun and carried on, as we are told it was (19), by the interest of the Duke of York. Upon the trial, our author's Counsel, Mr Wallop (20), urged in his behalf, that he had offended against no law of the land; that the book taken together was innocent, but any treatise might be made criminal, if dealt with as those who drew up the information had dealt with this. However, the ordinary course of the law was observed, and the information grounded, as usual in such cases, upon some obnoxious passages extracted from the book. On the other hand, the Lord Chief Justice Jeffries upbraided Mr Johnson for meddling with what did not belong to him, and told him scoffingly, that he would give him a text, which was, *Let every man study to be quiet, and mind his own business*. To which Mr Johnson replied, that he did mind his business as an Englishman when he wrote that book (21).

(18) In remark  
[D].

(19) Memorials,  
p. 8.

(20) Our author always retained a grateful sense of this gentleman's kindness to him, and after the Revolution reproached the government for not making him a Judge. See preface to his Last Five Years Struggle, &c.

(21) Memorials,  
p. 9.

[I] His friends relieved him.] The Duke of Monmouth's rebellion proved of great service to Mr Johnson in this respect; several suspected persons being taken up and sent to prison on that occasion, brought him good company. This was a lucky incident; for it was reckoned criminal at that time to visit or shew him any kindness, so that few had courage to come near him or give him any relief, by which means he was reduced very low. About this time his mother, whom he had maintained for many years, sent to him

for subsistence; and such was his filial affection, that though he knew not how to supply his own wants, and those of his wife and children, and was told on this occasion, that charity begins at home, he sent her forty shillings, though he had but fifty in the world, saying, that he would do his duty and trust Providence for his own supply (22). The event shewed, that his hopes were not in vain; for the next morning he had ten pounds sent him by an unknown hand, which he afterwards knew to have come from Dr Edward Fowler, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester. And we shall see presently (23), that, during this imprisonment, he received a much larger sum from Dr Tillotson. But the greatest relief was supplied by Mr Hampden, who was in the same prison the whole time of his confinement (24).

(22) Ibid. p. 10.

(23) In remark  
[U], note \*.

(24) See the article HAMPDEN [JOHN].

[K] Sir Roger L'Estrange seized all the copies, &c.] The first piece in this collection was written in the beginning of the year 1685, when there was a project on foot for reconciling of the two Churches [of Rome and England]; but by this standard of the true Protestant doctrine of the latter, any such accommodation was shewn to be impossible. So far the advertisement prefixed informs us. The title is, *The Church of England as by Law established: Being the very Doctrine and express Words of the Homilies against Popery*. This was presently followed by *Godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these Times: being the second part of the Homily concerning the Holy Ghost, dissolving this doubt, whether all Men may rightly challenge to themselves the Holy Ghost or no?* The occasion of writing this paper is likewise given in an advertisement in these terms. 'I found it necessary to add this whole sermon out of the Homilies to the former collection, lest any Papist should say that the former was weeded out of the Homilies, and that the tenor of them is not so opposite to Popery as the former collection would persuade us.' The third piece, intitled *A Short Dissuasive from Popery, and from countenancing and encouraging of Papists*, was published immediately after the overthrow of the Duke of Monmouth, when the Protestant interest was at a very low ebb, and the Papists so insolent with that success, that there was great reason to use the utmost endeavours to hinder all unsteady and wavering Protestants from joining and complying with the then prevailing interest (25). Here, says Mr Johnson, the Observer gave me a cast of all his offices at once; for after (as superintendant of the press) he had made a discovery where these three last papers were printed; in the second place, as Justice of Peace, he forced James Astwood the Printer to take the oath *ex officio*, and to accuse both himself as the Printer of them, and me as the author, who paid for printing of five thousand of each, which he did by menacing him with going [being sent] to Newgate; and by a horrid oath that he was the King's subject, and therefore he would make him to swear (26); and lastly, as the mercenary scribbler of the Popish faction, who, under the countenance of a Church of England champion, was hired to prepare the way twice a week for Popery and slavery, he spent three virulent Observators upon them. The papers, continues our author (27), are able to speak for themselves; and as for his awkward way of wresting and perverting them, it was sufficiently exposed by the following paper, which for that reason I took care to have every where posted up. This last paper carried the following title, *A Parcel of wry Reasons and wrong Inferences, but right Observator*.

(25) This account, as well as the two former, is given in an Advertisement prefixed by our author to the edition of them in his Second Five Years Struggle, &c.

(26) The oath *ex officio* was abolished by a statute in the preceding reign. See the General Histories of England.

(27) See his Works, p. 143.

[L] Several



persevered in printing occasional pieces against the designs of King James II. to introduce Popery the following year [L]; and, upon the encampment of the army upon Hounslow-heath, he drew up *An humble and hearty Address to all the English Protestants in the present Army* [M]. He had dispersed about 1000 copies of this paper, when the rest of the impression was seized, and himself put into close custody in order to his second tryal at the King's-Bench [N]; where he was condemned to stand in the pillory in Palace-

[L] *Several pieces against the measures taken to introduce Popery the next year* These were, (I.) *An Oration of John Hales \* to the Queen's Majesty* [Queen Elizabeth], and delivered to her by a certain Nobleman at her first entrance into her reign. This paper was published when the second session of the Packed-Parliament approached, which (says Mr Johnson) was so unduly elected and returned, and had done and omitted such things in the former session, when the Popish party was not as yet so victorious and triumphant as now, that all manner of mischief might reasonably be expected from this session. But in order to shew them the invalidity of their proceedings, in case they should be to the prejudice of their country; and withal to give them a looking-glass of our own times, as well as to revive the memory of a Popish reign, to which misery and calamity is always inseparably united; I thought it much better to reprint this oration of Mr Hales, which answers all these purposes, than venture to write any thing of my own (28). At the opening of this session it was imperiously demanded, that the standing army should be established, and the militia dissolved; the immediate consequence whereof was the disarming the nation, and exposing it naked and defenceless to this army, which had then been our masters by law. The Parliament, to their honour, continues Mr Johnson, refused their concurrence to so destructive a design, though I had sent very many members the best reasons I could think of for their compliance with that demand; which are these that follow (29). (II.) *Several Reasons for the Establishment of a Standing Army, and dissolving the Militia*. As this paper is short, and undoubtedly paved the way for Mr Johnson's third prosecution, we shall lay it before the reader as follows. (1.) 'Because the lords-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and the whole militia,

\* Who had been Attorney General to King Henry VIII. and presented the information in the King's-Bench against Cardinal Wolsey in 1539. Herbert's Hist. of Hen. VIII.

(28) Johnson's Works, p. 144.

(29) Ibid. p. 151.

† This piece was printed in a single sheet, and was commonly called *The Chapters*. Ibid. p. 257.

that is to say, the lords, gentlemen, and freeholders, of England, are not fit to be trusted with their own laws, lives, liberties, and estates; and therefore ought to have guardians and keepers assigned them. (2.) Because mercenary soldiers, who fight for twelve pence a day, will fight better, as having more to lose than either the nobility or gentry. (3.) Because there are no Irish Papists in the militia, who are certainly the best soldiers in the world; for they have slain men, women, and children, by hundreds of thousands at once. (4.) Because the dragoons have made more converts than all the bishops and clergy of France. (5.) The Parliament ought to establish one standing army at the least, because indeed there will be need of two, that one of them may defend the people from the other. (6.) Because it is a thousand pities that a brave Popish army should be a riot, (7.) Unless it be established by Act of Parliament, the Justices of Peace will be forced to suppress it in their own defence; for they will be loth to forfeit a hundred pounds every day they rise, out of compliment to a Popish rout. 13 Hen. IV. c. 7. 2 Hen. V. c. 8. (8.) Because a Popish army is a nullity. For all Papists are disabled (and punishable besides) from bearing any office in camp, troop, band, or company of soldiers; and are so far disarmed by law, that they cannot wear a sword, so much as in their own defence, without the allowance of four Justices of Peace of the county: and then upon a march they will be perfectly enchanted; for they are not able to stir above five miles from their own dwelling-house. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 8, 27, 28, 29. 35 Eliz. c. 2. 3 Jac. c. 5. Sect. 7. (9.) Because persons utterly disabled by law are utterly unauthorized; and therefore the void commissions of killing and slaying in the hands of Papists, can only enable them to massacre and murder. After the Parliament was prorogued for their address of the 17th of November, lest all English principles should be forgotten in the intervals of Parliament, our author published a paper upon the following subjects. (III.) *Of Magistracy. Of Prerogative by Divine right. Of Obedience. Of Laws* †. About this time, Mr Johnson

not approving the method, taken by his brethren, in entering into the Popish controversy, which he thought an ill judged submission, seeing Popery was proscribed by the laws of the land upon the justest reasons, he therefore published those reasons in a paper, intituled, (IV.) *The Grounds and Reasons of the Lawes against Popery*.

[M] *An humble and hearty Address to all the English Protestants, &c.* This address, which had so remarkable an effect upon that army, as well as upon the author of it, runs thus.

'Gentlemen,

'Next to the duty which you owe to God, which ought to be the principal care of men of your profession (because you carry your lives in your hands, and often look death in the face). The second thing which deserves your consideration is the service of your native country, wherein you drew your first breath, and breathed a free English air. Now I would desire you to consider how well you comply with these two main points, by engaging in this present service.

'Is it in the name of God and for his service that you have joined yourselves with Papists, who will indeed fight for the Mass book, but burn the Bible, and who seek to extirpate the Protestant religion with your swords, because they cannot do it with their own? And will you be aiding and assisting to set up Mass houses, to erect that Popish kingdom of darkness and desolation amongst us, and to train up all our children in Popery? How can you do these things, and yet call yourselves Protestants?

'And then what service can be done your country, by being under the command of French and Irish Papists, and by bringing the nation under a foreign yoke? Will you help them to make forcible entry into the houses of your countrymen, under the name of quartering, directly contrary to *Magna Charta* and the *Petition of Right*? Will you be aiding and assisting to all the murders and outrages which they shall commit by their void commissions? Which were declared illegal, and sufficiently blasted by both Houses of Parliament (if there had been any need of it); for it was very well known before, that a Papist cannot have a commission, but by the law is utterly disabled and disarmed. Will you exchange your birthright of English laws and liberties for martial or club-law, and help to destroy all others, only to be eaten last yourselves? If I know you well, as you are Englishmen, you hate and scorn these things. And therefore be not unequally yoked with idolatrous and bloody Papists. *Be valiant for the truth, and shew yourselves men.*

'The same considerations are likewise humbly offered to all the English seamen, who have been the bulwark of this nation against Popery and Slavery ever since eighty-eight (30).

[N] *He was put into close custody in order to a tryal.* About three or four days after Whit Sunday, there came an order, which our author read, and saw was signed, to make him a close prisoner, though he was in *arcta custodia* before, wrongfully as he says, having purchased the rules, and given two thousand pounds security. The Marshal pursued this order, in removing him from one close hole to another 'till he had almost stifled him, and perhaps, continues he, they intended to murder me by a side wind. 'I sent him word by his Steward, who is still living (31), that I had rather be shot than be so used. It cost me two or three fees in motions at the King's-Bench-bar to have the liberty of the prison, and that Counsel might come to me, because I had likewise notice of a tryal. But my friends above and the Court of King's-Bench were at that time of a mind, for the oppression they laid on, the other would not take off (32). At his tryal, he made some exceptions against the information, and, among other things, that there was no averment of an army in it, and said there could be no such thing, because it was contrary to the law of England. Whereupon,

(30) That is 1588, which year the Invincible Spanish armada, sent to invade England, was destroyed by our fleet. General History of England.

(31) This was written in the year 1694.

(32) Notes on the Pastoral Letter, in his Works, p. 299.



(n) Or the Royal-Exchange according to Dr Birch, *ubi supra*.

(o) Memorials, p. 11. and Tilton's Life by Birch.

lace-yard Westminster, Charing-cross, and the Old Exchange (n); to pay a fine of 500 marks, and to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn (o). This sentence was rigorously put in execution on the first of December, after he had been degraded and deprived by the Ecclesiastical Court [O]. He went through the whipping not only with firmness but alacrity [P]; and his degradation not being duly performed, he still kept his Living [Q]; and his resolution also to oppose the measures of the Court, against which he continued to exercise his pen, 'till the Revolution put an end to those measures [R], and to his sufferings. And presently

(33) *Id. ibid.* and p. 312.

(34) For disobeying the King's orders to suspend Dr Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, for a sermon preached by him at his parish church of St Giles's in the Fields. General histories of England under the year 1686.

(35) Memorials, p. 12.

Whereupon, both the Attorney-General Sawyer and the Court of King's-Bench said, that the camp at Hounslow-heath was not an army, but only the King's guards. I replied, says he, that I thought they were too far off for guards, and in too great a number. To which the Lord Chief-Justice Herbert answered, that the King wanted a greater number to defend him from my papers. Our author observes also, that the Five dispensing Powers were first published at this trial (33).

[O] After he had been degraded by the Ecclesiastical Court] The Bishop of London, Dr Compton, who was Mr Johnson's diocesan, being himself then under a suspension (34), Dr Crew Bishop of Durham, Dr Sprat Bishop of Rochester, and Dr White Bishop of Peterborough, Commissioners for the diocese of London, performed this ceremony on the 2d of November, in the Chapter house of St Paul's church, where Dr Sherlock and other clergymen attended. But Dr Stillingfleet, then Dean of St Paul's, refused to have any hand in it. Mr Johnson's friend already mentioned tells us, that his behaviour on this occasion was so becoming that very character his enemies would have deprived him of, that it melted some of their hearts, and forced them to acknowledge there was something very valuable in him. Among other things which he said to the divines then present, he told them in the most pathetic manner, *It could not but grieve him to think, that since all he had wrote was designed to keep their gowns on their backs, they should be made the unhappy instruments to pull off his; and begged them to consider, whether they were not making rods for themselves.* When they came to the formality of putting a Bible in his hand and taking it from him again, he was much affected, and parted from it with difficulty, kissing it, and saying with tears, that they could not however deprive him of the use and benefit of that sacred depositum (35).

[P] He bore the whipping with firmness and alacrity.] He observed afterwards to one of his most intimate friends, that this text of scripture, which came suddenly into his mind, *He endured the cross and despised the shame*, so much animated and supported him in his bitter journey, that had he not thought it would have looked like vain-glory, he could have sung a psalm while the executioner was doing his office, with as much composure and cheerfulness as ever he had done in the church, though at the same time he had a quick sense of every stripe, which was given him with a whip of nine cords, knotted to the number of 317. This was the more remarkable in him, because he had not the least tincture of enthusiasm. There is no good reason to call in question the testimony here given of Mr Johnson's fortitude on this occasion by his intimate acquaintance; and the observation is very consistent therewith, that he was endued with a natural hardness of temper to a great degree, which being inspired by an eager desire (as appears from his own account) to suffer for the cause he had espoused, seems to be the ground-work of that Christian-like behaviour; neither does this truth furnish any excuse for the scoffs which were thrown upon him by his enemies, and even by the King himself, at this juncture. Of which we have the following story. A Popish Priest, 'tis said, made an offer, for two hundred pounds, to get the whipping part of the sentence remitted: the money was lodged by one of Mr Johnson's friends for the Priest, if he performed what he undertook. The man used his endeavours, but to no purpose, for the King was deaf to all intreaties; the answer was, *That since Mr Johnson had the spirit of martyrdom, 'twas fit he should suffer* (36).

[Q] His degradation not being duly performed, he still kept his living.] The defect lay in omitting to strip him of his cassock. So that when Mr Berrow, who was presented February 4, 1686-7, by his Majesty to the living, applied to the forementioned Bishops for institution; they being sensible of the omis-

sion, told him he should have it, if he could get two Common Lawyers and two Civilians to give it under their hands that Mr Johnson was legally degraded, and thereby deprived. The Clerk brought them the hand of one inconsiderable Common-Lawyer, that the degradation and deprivation were both good. But the Civilian to whom he applied was more modest, and only signed a paper with his opinion, that if Mr Johnson was legally degraded, he was *ipso facto* deprived. But this not proving satisfactory to the three Bishops, Mr Berrow was obliged to give them a bond of 500 l. to indemnify them, before they would grant him institution. Having received it, he went to Corringham for induction; but Mr Johnson's parishioners opposed him, so that he could never get entrance, and was obliged to return *re infecta*. This was very extraordinary in his parishioners, considering the violence of the times. But it proceeded from their great respect to him, and experience of his goodness; for no minister was ever more obliging to his people than he, who was so far from exacting upon them, that he would rather quit his own right, than be any ways grievous to them: of which there is one remarkable instance among many others. One of his neighbours owing him 20 l. upon bond, and falling afterwards into low circumstances, Mr Johnson was advised to put the bond in execution, while something was to be had; but he absolutely refused it, and chose rather to lose the money, saying, *That no man's ruin should lie at his door* (37). In confirmation of what is thus alleged by his friend, we shall insert the following passage from his notes on Bishop Burnet's Pastoral Letter. When our author's prosecution lay before the Parliament after the Revolution, that prelate, it seems, sent to him not to name persons. 'I know, says Mr Johnson, the language of that day was don't smut, that is, let the oppressors of your country and of you escape scot-free. I gave an English reply to that message, *Let him mind his business, I will mind mine.* His Bookseller, Mr Chiswell, by whom I had the message, seemed loth to carry him that blunt answer. Oh, said I, he has got the title of a Lord lately, I must qualify my answer; *Let him please to mind his own business, I will mind mine.* But, continues he, the Bishop was mistaken in his man all over, for it was always in my nature, even to a fault, to spare every body; Sir Roger L'Estrange knows it, and many a man besides, notwithstanding very great provocations. And I have been so far from rigour all my life, that I never sued any man, though I have lost scores of pounds by it, which I have since known the want of (38).'

[R] He continued to write 'till the Revolution put an end to those measures.] Before he was out of the Surgeon's hands for the wounds in his back, he reprinted three thousand copies of his comparison of Popery and Paganism (39); however, these were not then published (40). But not long after, the smart of his whipping being over, about the time of the general Toleration, he published, *The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, entitled, A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; with some Reflections upon the additional Libel, entitled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.* This was followed by *The Absolute Impossibility of Transubstantiation demonstrated*; and in April 1688 came out a third piece, intitled, *The Way to Peace amongst all Protestants. Being a Letter of Reconciliation sent by Bishop Ridley to Bishop Hooper* †; with some Observations upon it. This paper was licensed in July following, but the impression seized soon after, by an order from Lord Sunderland Secretary of State. However, he went on; and upon issuing out writs in September for a new Parliament, he wrote a paper, which was published and dispersed by the care and at the charge of his good friend (so he calls) Mr Gee \*, under the following title: *A Letter from a Freeholder to the rest of the Freeholders of England, and all others who have Votes in the choice of*

(37) *Ibid. p. 13.*

(38) Notes to the Pastoral Letter, *ubi supra*, p. 318.

(39) They had been printed before at the end of Julian the Apostle.

(40) His Works, p. 169.

† This letter is transcribed from the Book of Martyrs, Vol. III. in Hooper's Life. In the Observations, Mr Johnson's opinion coincides with that of Archbishop Sancroft in the expediency of making some concessions to the Nonconformists. See Sancroft's article.

\* *Ibid. p. 210.*

Parliament.



presently afterwards, he collected all the papers he had published during his last imprisonment of five years and ten days, and republished them under the title of *A second five years Struggle against Popery and Tyranny*. This was followed by two pieces in vindication of the resistance used in bringing about the Revolution [S]; and the proceedings against him in the preceding reign being reversed by Parliament, June 11, 1689 [T], the House of Lords presented two addresses to King William the same year, recommending our author to preferment (p). Accordingly the rich deanery of Durham was offered him not long after, but he refused it, as an unequal reward for his services; and finding himself unable to obtain his expectations of an English bishopric, he changed his solicitations that way into one for a pension [U]. Whereupon the King granted him 300 l. a year out of the

(p) The votes passed unanimously, and in their address it was said, that his paper to King James's army was a public service, which the nation enjoyed the benefit of to that day. Notes on the Phoenix edition of the Pastoral Letter, ubi supra.

Post-

*Parliament-Men*. This year he likewise wrote the two following practical discourses, of which the latter was then published, under the title of *Religion founded upon a Rock, or the eternal Obligation of being religious. In a Discourse on 1 Tim. i. 17*. The other intitled, *The True Mother-Church, or a short Practical Discourse upon Acts ii. concerning the first Church at Jerusalem*. To these he afterwards added a paper, shewing that *Resistance may be used, in case our Religion and Right should be invaded* (41), the whole impression of which had been seized, together with that of his *Humble and Heartly Address &c.* And, soon after the Revolution, collecting all that he had written from the time of his imprisonment in 1683, he published the whole under the title mentioned in the text, and dedicated it to King William.

[S] *Two pieces in vindication of the Resistance, &c.* These were, (1.) *Remarks upon Dr Sherlock's book, intitled, The Case of Resistance of the Supreme Power stated and resolved, according to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture*. This piece was written in the year 1683, soon after Dr Sherlock's book came out. But Mr Johnson now prefixed a preface †, wherein, among other things, he maintains that King William was not only a *rightful* King, but the *rightfullest* King that ever sat upon the English throne; and in the conclusion he animadverted upon a piece intitled, *The Magistracy and Government of England vindicated*, then lately published, in defence of the proceedings against Lord Russell; wherein he observes, from the instance of Lord Delamere ‖, that a consult to levy war is not an overt-act of compassing the King's death, as that author had asserted. (2.) *Reflections upon the History of Passive Obedience*. Some Remarks having been published upon the preface to his former piece, he takes notice of them in the conclusion of this, but treats them with contempt, declaring they were not worthy of an answer.

[T] *The proceedings against him in the preceding reign were reversed.* The Parliament taking Mr Johnson's case into consideration, resolved, June 11, 1689, 'That the judgment against him in the King's-Bench, upon an information for a misdemeanor, was cruel and illegal.' A committee was at the same time appointed to bring in a bill for reversing that judgment; and being also directed to enquire how Mr Johnson came to be degraded, and by what authority it was done, Mr Christy the Chairman, some days after, reported his case to this purpose. 'That in Trinity-term 1686, an information was exhibited against Mr Johnson, in the name of Sir Robert Sawyer Attorney-General, for writing a scandalous and seditious libel, intitled, *An humble and hearty Address, &c.* That the same term they forced him to plead, got a jury to find him guilty, and Sir Francis Withens pronounced the following sentence upon him: *To pay five hundred marks to the King, and to lye in prison till it was paid; to stand thrice in the pillory, in the Palace-yard, at Charing-cross, and at the Old-Exchange; and to be whipped by the common hangman from Newgate to Tyburn*. That the Judges then in Court were the Lord Chief-Justice Herbert, Sir Francis Withens, Sir Robert Wright, and Sir Richard Holloway. That apprehending it would be a scandal to have so infamous a punishment inflicted on a minister, they desired Mr Johnson might be first degraded: in order to which, being a prisoner in the King's-Bench in the diocese of the Bishop of Winchester, he was summoned to appear the 20th of November in the Convocation-house of St Paul's, in the diocese of London, his living being within that diocese, and brought thither by *habeas corpus*, where he found the Bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, Commissioners to exercise the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London during his suspension, with some clergymen and many spectators: a libel was exhibited against him, charging him with great misbe-

haviours, though none were specified or proved. That Mr Johnson demanded a copy of the libel and an advocate, both which the Bishops denied him, and immediately proceeded to sentence; *That he should be declared an infamous person; that he should be deprived of his Rectory; that he should be a meer layman and no clerk; and be deprived of all right and privilege of priesthood; that he should be degraded thereof, and of all vestments and habits of priesthood*. Against which proceedings Mr Johnson protested, as contrary to law and the 13d canon, not being done by his own diocesan; but his protestation was refused, as was also his appeal to the King in Chancery. After which they proceeded to degrade him, by putting a square cap on his head, and then taking it off; by pulling off his gown and girdle, which he demanded as his proper goods bought with his money; and they promised to send them to him, but he could not get them till he paid twenty shillings. Then they put a Bible into his hands, which he not parting with readily, they took it from him by force. That on the 22d of November, the judgment in the King's Bench began to be executed with great rigour and cruelty. That Mr Rouse the Under-Sheriff tore off his cassock (42) on the pillory, and put a frize coat upon him. That he was whipped with a whip of nine cords knotted, which was shewn to the Committee. That Mrs Johnson had also an information exhibited against her for the like matter as that against her husband. On all which the committee came to the following resolutions, which, on the report, were all agreed to by the House. *That the judgment against Mr Johnson was illegal and cruel: that the Ecclesiastical Commission was illegal, and consequently the suspension of the Bishop of London, and the authority committed to the three Bishops null and illegal: that Mr Johnson not being degraded by his own diocesan, if he had deserved it, was illegal: and that an address be made to his Majesty to recommend Mr Johnson to some Ecclesiastical preferment suitable to his services and sufferings*. The House likewise ordered, that in the said bill the proceedings upon the Ecclesiastical Commission should be declared void (43).

[U] *He turned his solicitations into one for a pension.* He found a friend on this occasion in Lady Russell, who made use of the influence she had with Dr Tillotson; whereupon, the Dean having spoken to the King about it in the beginning of September this year, acquainted her Ladyship therewith, informing her at the same time how it was received by his Majesty, 'who, says he, seemed well inclined to what I moved for Mr Johnson, but did not positively determine to take that course (44).' Not satisfied with this attempt, the result of which was not indeed very hopeful, he resolved to make a second push; to which purpose he writes again to her Ladyship in a few days, as follows (45). 'I was not at Hampton-Court last Sunday, being almost tired out with ten weeks attendance, so that I have had no opportunity to try further in the business I wrote of in my last, but hope to bring it to some issue the next opportunity I can get to speak with the King.' The Dean proceeds in these terms. 'I am sorry to see in Mr Johnson so broad a mixture of human frailty with so considerable virtues. But when I look into myself, I must think it pretty well, when any man's infirmities are in any measure overbalanced by his better qualities. This good man I am speaking of has at some times not used me very well\*, for which I don't only forgive him, when I consider for whose sake he did it, but do heartily love him.' According to his promise, the Dean applied again to his Majesty the Sunday following, the success of which he acquainted Lady Russell with in a letter dated September 24, 1689 (46). 'I mentioned Mr Johnson again, says he, but his Majesty put on other discourse; and my Lord Privy-

(42) He had still a right to wear this. See remark [2].

(43) Memorials, p. 15, 16.

(44) This letter of the Dean to Lady Russell is dated at Edmon-ton September 10, 1689.

(45) In a letter dated London September 19, 1689.

\* The Dean sent him 30 l. while he was a prisoner, and tho' his necessities forced him to accept the money, yet he did it with an air of the utmost contempt. Life of Tillotson, p. 201.

(46) This, as well as the two preceding letters, were in the possession of Dr Gibbon late Bishop of London, and communicated to Dr Birch. See his Life of Dr Tillotson, p. 198, 203, and 209. 2d edit. 1753.

Seal

(41) This was wrote in defence of Lord Russell's opinion against Dr Tillotson's paper, delivered to that Lord after his condemnation. See Tillotson's article.

† And a dedication to his late patron's son, Wriothesly Lord Russell.

‖ Who, when by levying war he had the late King [James] in his power at Whitehall, was so far from compassing his death, that he only delivered him a message to remove in peace.



(q) Memorials,  
p. 17.

Post-office, for his own and his son's life, with 1000 l. in money, and a place of 100 l. a year for his son (q). Thus gratified, he continued to employ his pen in defence of his Majesty's title to the Crown, and in 1692 published his famous tract, intituled, *An Argument proving that the Abrogation of King James by the People of England from the Royal Throne, and the Promotion of the Prince of Orange, one of the Royal Family, to the Throne of the Kingdom in his stead, was according to the Constitution of the English Government, and prescribed by it. In opposition to all the false and treacherous Hypotheses, of Usurpation, Conquest, Desertion, and of taking the Powers that are upon content [W]*. His enemies were so much enraged at this piece, that presently after the publication of it, an attempt was made

(47) That is, not to avoid the archbishopric of Canterbury. Concerning which see his article.

(48) That the address to King James's army was seized.

(49) Johnson's Works, p. 161.

\* Dr Birch thinks it probable that neither of them then understood the case of Resistance so well as Mr Johnson did. Life of Tillotson, p. 114.

(50) Ibid. p. 319.

Seal told me yesterday morning, that the King thought it a little hard to give pensions out of his purse instead of Church preferments; and tells me Mr Johnson is very sharp upon me; his Lordship called it railing; but it shall not move me in the least. His Lordship asked me, whether it would not be well to move the King to give him a good bishopric in Ireland, there being several void? I thought it very well, if it would be acceptable. His Lordship said, that was all one, the offer would stop many mouths as well as his, which I think was well considered. In the postscript to this letter he writes thus. 'If Mr Johnson refuse this offer, and it should be my hard fortune not to be able to get out of this difficulty (47)—I know one that will do more for Mr Johnson than was desired of the King, but still as from the King for any thing that he shall know. But I hope some much better way will be found, and that there will be neither occasion nor opportunity for this.' We have observed above, that he had raised his expectations to a bishopric in England, and this last letter of Dr Tillotson's confirms it; and all the three letters shew, that his ambition therein was neither favoured by Lady Russel nor the Dean. With regard to the Dean's ill usage by Mr Johnson mentioned in these letters, it must be observed, that our author at this very time had published his *Five Years Struggle, &c.* wherein having inserted a piece in answer to Dr Tillotson's paper delivered to Lord Russel a little before his death, prefixed to it an advertisement, which begins thus. 'At the same time (48) almost the whole impression of the following paper fell into their hands, which was not intended to be published at that time, but was laid up against a time of need. It was written long before, in vindication of Lord Russel, of ever blessed memory, whose opinion it was, and from whom it could not be wrested at his death. The wretched author of all our miseries, and the everlasting enemy of his country, knows very well at what disadvantage that great lord was taken, when he was practised upon to retract that opinion, and to bequeath a legacy of slavery to his country. But they made their assaults against a rock, and there were no earnings made of that state-trick to uphold their bloody tyranny (49).' In these last words Dr Burnet is coupled with Tillotson, both being employed on that occasion \*; and the former seems to have been the chief instrument of our author's disappointment in his views of a bishopric. At least Mr Johnson lays it at that Bishop's door, in his notes on the *Phoenix* edition of the *Pastoral Letter* (50); where, after having handled him very severely in the coarsest language, he proceeds thus. 'I have taken this freedom with the Bishop of S—, because he has taken a great latitude with me, and has given me out for a madman above these four years.—It is an ugly imputation if it be but laid upon a dog, because of the ill consequence of it, for it amounts to the knocking out of his brains; but it is still worse to place it upon a man, because it makes a fool of all his wisest discourse; for if they dislike any thing he says, they have authority to call it raving; and if they like it, it shall only have the allowance of lucid intervals. Besides, it effectually ruins all a man's preferment, because it unqualifies him, whereby his posterity suffers for it to the end of the world. So that the mad man fares worse in that case than the mad dog, because the imputation never affects his breed.' After all, our author's chief enemy was himself; to give him a cast of his own language, 'he stood in his own light with his eyes open.' Accordingly, his disappointment is observed to be the effect of his own temper and conduct. For with very good abilities, considerable learning, and great clearness, strength, and vivacity of sentiment and expression, of

which his writings are a sufficient evidence, whereof his few sermons are equal in their kind to his other performances; and with a firmness of mind capable of supporting the severest trials for any cause, the truth or importance of which he was convinced of; he was passionate, impatient of contradiction, self-opinionated, haughty, and apt to over-rate his own services and undervalue those of others, whose advancement above himself was an insupportable mortification to him. The roughness of his temper and turbulency of his genius rendered him also unfit for the higher stations of the Church, of which he was immoderately ambitious; as well as his freedom in delivering his sentiments with relation to all subjects and persons without management or decorum, a liberty which he often exercised even in the Court itself; where he publicly said, that upon the principle of Kings being accountable only to God, the Rump-Parliament had done right to send King Charles I. to him. Thus writes Dr Birch (51). But the remark bottoms upon a better authority. We have Mr Johnson's own word for it. Speaking of the times immediately after the Revolution, 'I was so intent, says he, upon the public welfare, and ever inclined to give that the precedence, that I could not snatch and catch at the advantages of a Revolution, as others did, to whom they were not due; but when my friends urged me to mind my own business, my constant answer was, that it would keep cold: I have reason to remember it, continues he, because an honest yonker in my own house has since upbraided me, that my business has caught cold (52).'

[W] *An argument proving that the abrogation of King James, &c.* Mr Hampden's account of this piece has been already taken notice of in another place (53). That gentleman highly extols the learning and strength of reasoning therein; and after him, Mr Johnson's other friend, so often mentioned in this memoir, asserts the same thing (54), both deservedly enough. But neither of them thought fit to take notice, that their common friend charges all those who differed from him with being influenced by self-interest against the dictates of their conscience, in taking the oaths to the new government, which he even insinuates, was done with a treacherous design to undermine it, and reinstate King James. So severe a reflection must unavoidably create him numerous enemies; and as the opinions, which he sets himself so rudely to expose, were maintained by several divines of the first class, it is the less wonder that he never got any preferment in the Church. His last mentioned friend indeed, willing to throw a veil over his other foibles, puts this as the only block that lay in his road thereto, and tells us withal, that these enemies represented him as a republican, for maintaining that King James was de-throned for male-administration, and that King William and Queen Mary were set up in his stead by authority of Parliament (55). If so, he was evidently misrepresented; for the argument, which stands at the head of the rest in this treatise, is built upon a declaration of the Lords and Commons, 10 Rich. II. in their message to that King then at Eltham; wherein having put the case of the sovereign's arbitrary government in violation of the laws and statutes, they conclude in the following terms, that *Ex tunc licitum est eis, communi assensu & consensu populi regni, ipsum Regem de regali solio abrogare, & propinquiores aliquem de stirpe regia loco ejus in regni solio sublimare*. From thenceforward it is lawful for them, with the common assent and consent of the people of this realm, to depose the King from the regal throne, and to promote some kinsman of his of the royal family to the throne of the kingdom in his stead. Accordingly, we find our author both here and elsewhere careful not to omit King William's claim by propinquity of blood, in conjunction with his parliamentary right.

(51) Life of Tillotson, p. 201, 202.

(52) Notes on the *Pastoral Letter*, p. 319.

(53) In the article of John Hampden, remark [K].

(54) Memorials, p. 16, 17.

(55) Ibid.



made to murder him [X]. But he escaped, though narrowly, with his life, and continued writing in the same cause as long as his health would suffer him [Y]. However, he grew uneasy at some measures taken by the administration, became a grumbler toward the latter end of his life [Z], and concurred with the Tories. His last things were published in

1697

[X] *An attempt to murder him.* To this end seven assassins broke into his house in Bond-street very early in the morning, and five of them, with a lanthorn, got into his chamber, where he, with his wife and young son, were in bed. Mr Johnson was fast asleep, but his wife being awaked by their opening the door, cried out thieves, and endeavoured to awake her husband. The villains in the mean time threw open the curtains; three of them placed themselves on that side of the bed where he lay with drawn swords and clubs, and two stood at the bed's feet with pistols. Mr Johnson started up, and endeavouring to defend himself from their assaults, received a blow on the head, which made him fall backward. His wife cried out with great earnestness, and begged them not to treat a sick man with such barbarity; upon which they paused a little, and one of the miscreants called to Mr Johnson to hold up his face; which his wife begged him to do, thinking they only designed to gag him, and that they would rifle the house and be gone. Upon this he sat upright, when one of the rogues cried, Pistol him for the book he wrote, which discovered their design; for it was just after the publishing of the book concerning the abrogation of King James. Whilst he sat upright in his bed, one of them cut him with a sword over the eye-brow, and those at the bed's feet presented their pistols at him; but upon Mrs Johnson's passionate intertreaties they went off, without doing him further mischief, or rifling the house. A Surgeon was immediately sent for, who found two wounds in his head, and his body much bruised. However, with due care he recovered (56).

[Y] *He continued writing as long as his health permitted.* These are, (1.) *An Essay concerning Parliaments at a certainty; or the Kalends of May.* This tract is addressed to the Parliament; which having been then continued above three years, our author puts them in mind, was not agreeable to the old constitution of the realm, and that intermissions by prorogation were inconsistent therewith. A new Parliament was anciently called every year upon the kalends of May. In the conclusion, he makes the following pathetic complaint of the ill state of his health. And thus, says he, I have finished what I at first propounded; but under such difficulties and disadvantages of a broken health, as I do verily believe never book was written. Upon which account he recommends the further prosecution of this subject to the learned and curious in antiquities. (2.) *Notes upon the Phoenix edition of the Pastoral Letter.* The book signified by this description was published about a week after the Pastoral Letter was burnt by order of Parliament (57), January 24, 1692. Mr Johnson, in his preface, gives the following account of it, and of his motive for answering it. 'When I understood, says he, that by the author's direction the Pastoral Letter was to be reprinted in the self same session of Parliament which censured it, partly out of a just disdain that an English Parliament should be treated with such contempt by an inmate, and partly out of an indignation that that phial of mischief should be again poured forth upon the nation, I promised that if it were reprinted, I would bestow notes upon it, hoping thereby to put a stop to that intended insolence. But a week after, out comes the fly counterfeit, as like the other as they could make it, with a false date and a dead man's name to it; and I have in part been as good as my word.' (3.) *A Confutation of a late pamphlet, intituled, A Letter, ballancing the Necessity of keeping a Land-force in time of Peace, with the dangers that may follow it.* The argument urged for keeping a standing army being grounded upon the danger of an invasion, our author observes, that this argument is fitted only to arbitrary government, where the people have no liberties to defend. And, says he, though the English have now squabbles and differences among themselves, yet a common cause and a common enemy always reconciles and unites them, and as loose as the stones may seem to be, let but an invasion come, and that will find mortar. This was first printed in 1697; and several answers to it presently appearing, our au-

thor replied in a piece, intituled, *A Second Part of the Confutation of the Ballancing Letter, being an occasional Discourse in vindication of Magna Charta.* To this treatise the editor has added in an appendix, the Capitula, or articles on which the Magna Charta of King John was formed, the original of which, with King John's seal to it (58), was found in the study of Dr Warner Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards came into the hands of Dr Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, at the time of this publication. A copy in French, or old Norman, of the Magna Charta of King John complete, which agrees with the Latin one, printed in Matth. Paris. Both the Capitula and Charter at large are likewise translated into English.

[Z] *He was a grumbler to the latter end of his days.* Mr Johnson began to express his private resentments so early as the first year of the Revolution, when he thought himself injured by not being the first prisoner that felt the fruits of it, as he was the eldest of all those that lay upon a public account in England; and I thought, says he, a thanksgiving deliverance from Popery and Slavery would have reached me in the first place by seniority (59). We find him afterwards upon the same topic expressing himself thus. 'Perhaps it may be thought, that in these papers I have mingled very much of my own private resentments together with public matters; to which I have only this to say, Is there not a cause (60)?' And what that cause was appears in the body of the piece, where, having made very free with his antagonists, especially Burnet and Sherlock, he proceeds to defend that freedom as follows. 'Perhaps, says he, some of our fools think that great men ought not to be so treated, but let them and their great men know, that I am in the way of writing; and there, he is the greatest man that has the best arguments; and besides, that greatness does not lie in actual preferments (for that is still but like usurpation), but in having most right to them; and in doing (for I will not mention my sufferings by their barbarous hands) more for my country than they were able to do against it. But I will recount no more of their merits, least I should make them still greater men, which is no part of my intention.' He concludes with applying the story of the contest between Moses and the Magicians of Egypt to his own case, as follows. 'In short, says he, the Magicians of Egypt were in Pharaoh's project for the perpetual slavery of the Israelites, and used all their skill for that purpose; but Moses's serpent was the mastering serpent, and destroyed theirs; and therein, though not in places, he was greater than all the Magicians of Egypt; and again he was the greater in this, that what he did tended to the deliverance of an injured and oppressed people, which likewise ensued; whereas, their business was to lock them fast in the house of bondage (61).' But these clamorous railings, on account of his personal disappointments, are not intended by the character of a grumbler, so much as his murmurings against the administration with regard to the public, which had as early an epocha as the former. The truth is, they seem to be joint-twins born together, and nourishing each other. Thus, for instance, we find him complaining of the long continuance of King William's second Parliament in these terms. 'I was afraid, says he, that this government would float and move upon the face of the waters, till we were at a certainty about our Parliaments; and therefore, when I waited upon my Lord Devonshire before the coronation, I said that we were never the better for this revolution till we had a settlement of Parliaments; and our ancient right was anniversary Parliaments, and that nothing else could set the government to rights.' He afterwards observes, that when Mr Johnson, the then present Secretary of State for Scotland, told him in the Court of Requests, that the bill of Rights was going up to the House of Lords, he wished at that time that all our rights were reduced to one line, which was our right to have a Parliament every kalends of May. 'I tell these old stories, continues he, to shew that I was always of the same mind, and that no Court neglects nor disappointments have altered me. For I am sure

(58) It is cited by our author in his first Confutation, p. 333. in his Works.

(59) An Argument to prove the Abrogation of King James &c. In his Works, p. 265.

(60) Preface to Notes on the Pastoral Letter. Ibid. p. 295.

(61) Notes on the Phoenix edition of the Pastoral Letter, ubi supra, p. 311.

(56) Ibid. p. 18.

(57) See Bishop Burnet's article.



(r) See remark [r].

(s) See remarks [X] and [Y].

(t) Salmon's History and Antiquities of York.

1697 (r). He had been declining several years before (s); and at length, sinking under his disorder, he gave way to fate about the month of May 1703 (t). In 1710, the pieces already mentioned were published in one folio volume, under the title of *The Works of the late Reverend Mr Samuel Johnson, some time Chaplain to the Right Honourable William Lord Ruffel*. This collection contained also *Several Discourses upon Practical Subjects*; preached no doubt at his rectory of Corringham, that being the only Church preferment he ever had (u). The 2d edition of his Works came out in 1713, in folio.

(u) Memorials, p. 3.

(62) Essay concerning Parliaments at a certainty. In his Works, p. 293.

(63) An Argument proving the Abrogation, &c. p. 270.

(64) Notes on the Phoenix edition, &c. passim.

'sure I laid the bridge that brought them over, and am pretty certain they did not come hither in virtue of Passive Obedience (62).' Notwithstanding what is here insinuated, we have already shewn in this remark, that one of these Court neglects was actually put upon him as early as his first conference here mentioned with my Lord Devonshire, and that he then repented it. Accordingly, we find him a few years after complaining, that men of no principles at all, and such also as had voted against the Convention-bill for placing King William in the throne, were preferred and employed in the administration (63). Presently after this, we find him in the same strain, murmuring against the continuation of the war, especially by land, and taking the Dutch to our assistance against the French, and particularly against a standing army; whereupon he observes, that the fourth part of the Petition of Right was spent against billeting of soldiers (64). In the same spirit we see him pouring forth all his artillery in 1697 against a standing army, and

the great favours shewn to the Dutch. Upon which subject, speaking of the scheme for a general naturalization of that people, in answer to the several arguments produced for it, he takes notice of that drawn from gratitude to the Dutch in two express treatises, who, it was urged, ought to share in the advantages of England, since they bore so great a share in preserving them for us, and in giving us, says he, our present King. That is a debt I confess, continues he, which will be always paying and never paid, though the people have requited him with three kingdoms, the greatest recompence upon earth! He maintains also, that the grant of this privilege to any foreigners was against *Magna Charta*, the great charter of our rights and liberties, which every man ought to know, and which, upon that account he suggests, ought (as by several statutes it was first ordered) to be publicly read in all Cathedrals twice a year, and then the breakers of it to be excommunicated, and their excommunication denounced in all parish churches (65).

(65) Confutation of the ballancing Letter, p. 336, P 338.

(a) This name being in Spanish the same with Ignatius in Latin, has occasioned a conjecture, that, as his father was a considerable dealer in the woollen manufacture, some Spanish merchant might probably be his godfather. Life of Inigo Jones, prefixed to his *Stone-Henge* restored. Lond. 1725, 2d edit. folio.

(b) Ibid. N. B. His Lordship was a great patron of all liberal sciences; besides our author, he supported in his travels, in 1626, Mr (afterwards Sir) Tho. Herbert, who attended King Charles I. in the last two years of his life. Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 690, & seq.

(c) Webb's Vindication of Stone-Henge restored, p. 119. edit. 1725, folio.

JONES [INIGO (a)], the celebrated Architect, was born about the year 1572, in the neighbourhood of St Paul's in London, of which city his father, Mr Ignatius Jones, was a Citizen and Clothworker. Nothing certain being delivered concerning his education, some very different conjectures have been advanced upon that subject [A]. But in whatever way he was bred, his natural inclination leading him to the study of the arts of drawing and designing, he distinguished himself early by the extraordinary progress he made in those polite and useful arts, and was particularly taken notice of for his skill in the practice of Landskip painting. These admirable talents introduced him to the knowledge of William Earl of Pembroke (b), who, admiring his genius, took him into his patronage, and sent him abroad with a handsome allowance, in order to perfect himself, by viewing and studying the works of the best masters ancient and modern, in Italy and the politer parts of Europe. Thus supported, he spent many years in completing his education; to which end, chusing the city of Venice for the chief place of his residence, he suffered nothing of real value or merit any where to escape his industry; and the improvements he made thereby gave such an eclat to his reputation all over Europe, that Christian IV. King of Denmark sent for him thence, and appointed him his Architect-General (c). He had enjoyed this post some years, when that prince, whose sister Anne had married King James I, made a visit to England in 1606 (d). Mr Jones took this opportunity of returning home; and expressing a desire to continue in his native country, the Queen appointed him her Architect; and being not long after taken in the same character into the service of Prince Henry, he discharged his trust with so much fidelity and judgment, that the King gave him the reversion of the place of Surveyor-General of his Works (e). After the death of Prince Henry in 1612, our architect made a second tour to Italy, and continued some years there, improving himself still further in his favourite art (f), till the Surveyor's place fell to him. He then returned to England to enrich his country with the fruits of his studies (g). Soon after his arrival, the office of Works being found several thousand pounds in debt, he voluntarily gave up his own dues, and prevailed with the Comptroller and Paymaster to do the like, whereby the whole arrears were absolutely cleared (h). In 1620, by the King's command, he took an accurate survey of the surprising group of stones upon Salisbury-Plain, commonly called Stone-Henge, and drew up an account with his opinion of that famous monument of antiquity, which he presented to his royal master [B]. And on the 16th of November the same year, he was appointed,

(d) His Majesty arrived here July 7th that year. Salmon's Chronological Hist. p. 52. col. b. edit. 1723, 8vo. He made a second visit in July 1614. Ibid. p. 55. col. b.

(e) Webb's vindication, ubi supra.

(f) See Notes to Palladio's Architecture, printed in Leoni's edition of that work in 1742. Mr Webb tells us, that our architect spent his estate as well as his time among the Romans [in Italy]. Vindication, p. 120.

(g) Ibid. p. 119.

(h) Ibid. The debt was contracted through extraordinary occasions in his predecessor's time, and the Privy-Council acquainted him that the Exchequer was empty and the workmen clamorous.

among

[A] *Different conjectures about his education.* The author of his life says, it had been suggested, that his education was liberal, and that he laid the first foundations of his future knowledge in the university of Cambridge; but, continues he, there seems to be no other ground for this supposition, than a bare conjecture (1). On the other hand, Sir Christopher Wren used to say, he was bound apprentice to a Joiner; which is the more probable, as his vindicator Mr Webb had thought proper to throw a veil of absolute silence over this part of his life.

[B] *He presented his opinion of Stone-Henge to his Majesty.* The King, in his progress this year, called at Wilton, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke; which being near Stone-Henge (2), the discourse, among

other things, turned upon that famous relique of antiquity. Hereupon, our architect, who was well known to have searched into antique buildings and ruins abroad, being sent for, received his Majesty's commands, to produce, out of his own practice in architecture and experience in antiquities, what possibly he could discover concerning this of Stone-Henge. In obedience to this command, he presently set about the work; and having, with no little pains and expence, taken an exact measurement of the whole, and diligently searched the foundations, in order to find out the original form and aspect, he proceeded to compare it with other antique buildings which he had any where seen abroad; and after much reasoning and a long series of authorities, he concludes at last, that this

(1) Life of Inigo Jones, prefixed to his *Stone-Henge* restored, fol. 1.

(2) This seat is four miles both from Salisbury and Stone-Henge.



among others, a Commissioner for repairing the cathedral of St Paul in London (i). Upon the demise of King James, he was continued in his posts by King Charles I.

whose

(i) Dugdale's History of St Paul's Cathedral, p. 135, 136. first edit. in 1638. folio.

this ancient and stupendous pile must have been originally a Roman temple, inscribed to *Cælus* the senior of the heathen gods, and built after the Tuscan order. That it was built when the Romans flourished here in peace and prosperity in Britain, and probably betwixt the time of Agricola's government and the reign of Constantine the Great, about 1650 years ago. The reasons upon which he endeavours to support this opinion are these:

First, That the Romans were, and no other nation could be, founders of Stone Henge, he argues from, 1. The magnificence. 2. The order. 3. The architectural scheme. 4. The double portico in the greater circle of stones, and another portico in the cell or hexagon. 5. The manner and position of the columns of the building. And 6. From the Roman reliques frequently found near the place.

Secondly, that it was a temple, he infers from, 1. The interval or spacious court round about. 2. The cell and it's porticoes. 3. The altar, and it's position eastward. 4. The intermixture of orders. 5. The aspect of the whole fabric. And 6. From the skulls of beasts, as bulls, &c. digged up in the circumjacent ground.

Thirdly, That this temple was inscribed to the God *Cælus*, he concludeth from, 1. The situation, in an open plain country. 2. The aspect *Hypæthros*, i. e. roofless. 3. The manner or form, viz. a circle surrounding a hexagon. 4. The order. 5. The decorum or structure. 6. The pyramidal figure of the stones. 7. From the kinds of beasts customarily offered in sacrifice to that deity.

However, upon the whole, he pretends not to any absolute decisive evidence, but leaves the matter as a subject worthy of further enquiries. This opinion of our author lay by him in rude notes, imperfectly methodized, 'till his death; when, coming into the hands of his relation Mr John Webb, of Botleigh in Somersetshire, that gentleman, at the desire of Dr William Harvey the celebrated Physician, Mr Selden, and other learned Antiquaries, perfected and published them a few years afterwards in folio, under the following title, *The most notable Antiquity of Great-Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng on Salisbury-Plain, restored.* Lond. 1655. This book, of which only a few copies were printed (3), was generally approved by the Antiquaries. But Dr Walter Charlton, Physician to King Charles II. being dissatisfied with it, sent it to the famous Olaus Wormius in Denmark, who returned his sentiments in several letters to his correspondent. The doctor, being persuaded that the antiquity was of Danish extraction, attempted a refutation of Mr Jones's opinion, which he printed in 1663 in 4to. intitled, *Chorea Gigantum, or the most famous Antiquity of Great-Britain, vulgarly called Stone-Heng, standing on Salisbury-Plain, restored to the Danes.* This discourse was generally exploded by the learned in these things, and Mr Webb published, in answer to it, *A Vindication of Stone-Heng restored; in which the Orders and Rules of Architecture observed by the ancient Romans are discussed: together with the Customs and Manners of several Nations of the World in matters of building of the greatest Antiquity; as also an Historical Narration of the most memorable Actions of the Danes in England.* Lond. 1655, in folio. These three discourses of Mr Jones, Dr Charlton, and Mr Webb, being grown very scarce, were reprinted together at London, 1725, folio. The two last pieces are both addressed to King Charles II. who, as Dr Charlton there observes, after his defeat at Worcester, while he lay concealed at Heale near Salisbury, made a visit to this monument, and spent many hours together in viewing it. His Majesty, however, was not satisfied, it seems, with any of these accounts; and in his return from Bath in 1665, happening to meet Mr Aubrey at Stone-Henge, and conversing with him upon it, was better pleased with his opinion in ascribing it to the Druids. In confirmation whereof, that gentleman receiving, 'tis said, the royal commands for the purpose, wrote his *Monumenta Britannica: or, A Discourse concerning Stone Henge, &c.* and this sentiment has been since embraced and further confirmed by Dr William Stukely, who, having very diligently examined this and other works of the like nature in

the island for many years together, published a treatise, entitled, *Stone Henge, a Temple, restored to the British Druids.* Lond. 1740, in folio. That learned author observes, that the utmost account we have in writing of these temples, of which Stone Henge is the latest, comes from the ancient Britons, the remains of the people who lived here at the times of the Roman invasion; that the oldest Britons speak of it only by tradition, far above all memorial; and wondering at the stupendous work, were as far to seek about the founders and intent of it then as we are now; and therefore (as was usual with them) had recourse to magic for it's original. After the Reformation, the curious began to consider it more intimately, though not successfully. Mr Camden expressly declares he was able to give no good account of it. After him Mr Jones gave, in 1620, his opinion of it as a Roman work, and left, 'I suppose, continues this author, some few indigested notes in writing thereupon. From which his son-in-law (4), John Webb, composed an entire treatise, endeavouring to prove it. But they that are acquainted with Roman architecture, or have considered Stone Henge, must needs be of a different opinion. And as my Lord Bp of London well observes (5), It cannot be safe to close with Mr Jones, 'tho' his book otherwise be a learned and ingenious piece.' Inigo Jones lived 30 years after this, and yet Mr Webb makes an apology for his work, that if he had survived to have done it with his own hand, it would have been better. But 'tis very reasonably believed, that though Inigo Jones was an extraordinary genius in architecture, yet he wanted many qualifications for an author, especially in such a work as Stone-Henge. 'Tis my opinion, that had his architectonic skill been united to Mr Camden's learning, he could never have demonstrated Stone-Henge to be a Roman work. Afterwards, Dr Charlton published a piece against Webb's performance, and certainly has said enough to overthrow it, though he could not with equal success establish his own opinion, that it was the work of the Danes. Whereas, Olaus Wormius finds no such monuments among the Gothic nations, which, as Mr Toland (6) observes, is answer sufficient to his allegation. Webb answered the doctor's book, and by turns effectually demolished his opinion, but could not still vindicate his own. Yet from all their disputations, no spark was struck towards a discovery of the real truth. What is the worst part in both performances of Mr Webb, his representation of the real monument in his drawings is fictitious; and, as Mr Aubrey rightly observes, in endeavouring to retrieve a piece of architecture in Vitruvius, he abuses the reader with a false representation of the whole. It requires no great pains to prove this, nor need we take much time to be satisfied in it: the work is still extant. As soon as a judicious eye comes upon the spot, it sees that Webb's equilateral triangles forming the cell are imaginary; that his three entrances a cross the ditch are so too, and that he has turned the cell a sixth part from it's true situation, to favour his imaginary hypothesis. That the cell or adytum, instead of a hexagon, forms a beautiful oval, and consists of 40 stones, and not 30, as Mr Webb has given them, whose calling it a Roman work, composed from a mixture of the plainness and solidness of the Tuscan order with the delicacy of the Corinthian; that in aspect they are *dipteros hypæthros*; and that in manner 'tis *pychostoiles*; when applied to our antiquity, is no better than playing with words (7). The doctor proceeds to support his own opinion by the following arguments. (1.) From the prodigious number of these kind of buildings, from the Land's end in Cornwall to the utmost northern promontory in Scotland, where the Roman power never reached. That they are to be found in all the islands between Scotland and Ireland, Isle of Man, all the Orkney islands, &c. and numerous in Ireland itself (8). (2.) Whatever is dug up in or near these works, are manifestly remains of the Druid times, urns, bones, ornaments of amber, glass beads, snake-stones, amulets, celts, flint-hatchets, arrow heads, and such like. (3.) That there are many barrows or graves about them, over one of which runs the *Via Iceniana* (9), and consequently was raised before that

(4) This is a mistake, for he was no more than a distant cousin. See remark [C].

(5) In his notes on Camden's Britannia,

(6) In his History of the Druids.

(7) Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p. 2, 3.

(8) Toland, p. 23. relates, that in Gealopa's mount in Inisfen in the county of Donnegal, a Druids of that name lived; it signifies white-legged; on that hill is her grave and her temple, a sort of diminutive Stone-Henge, which the old Irish at this day dare not any way profane.

(9) A similar proof to this is fetched by him from the Roman road from Marlborough in Wiltshire to Bath. See his Abury, &c. Lond. 1723, folio.

Several of them were also destroyed in the Fire of London. Jones's Life, ubi supra.



\* Webb, where left cited.

(k) The order for it was sent to him June 26, 1633, and it was begun soon after at the east end, the first stone being laid by Dr Laud then Bishop of London, and the fourth by Mr Jones. Dugdale's History of St Paul's, &c. p. 142. 2d edit. 1716, folio.

(10) This cubit was the same with the Hebrew and Egyptian, containing 20  $\frac{1}{2}$  inches English measure. See Greaves's Roman Foot, &c. and Arbutnot of Coins, &c.

(11) It is so called by Cæsar in his Commentaries, B. G. VI. 13.

(12) Our author raises this opinion upon the rule of the variation of the compass, laid down by Dr Halley, who visited Stone-Henge in 1720, and brought a piece of the stone to the R. S. which was examined by our author; to whom the doctor gave it as his opinion, that Stone-Henge might be 2 or 3000 years old. Stone-Henge, a Temple, p. 5 and 65.

(13) This view is what is called a bird's eye prospect, or as it is seen by a bird in flying over it; by which artifices all the parts are brought distinctly into view.

(14) At the other end the oval is not enclosed with stones.

whose consort also entertained him in the like station \*. And he soon after formed that most stately and elegant pavilion, the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, which was at first designed for the reception of foreign Ambassadors [C]. Several other designs of his, executed in this reign, are taken notice of below [D]. In 1633, he began the reparations of St Paul's cathedral (k); and, in carrying them on, he added a magnificent portico at the west end, which excited the envy of all Christendom on his country, for a piece of architecture not to be paralleled in modern times (l) [E]. While he was raising these

(l) Webb, ubi supra, p. 27.

Roman road. (4.) That Stone-Henge was built before the boundary called Wansdyke was made by the Belgæ, and probably before the Belgæ set footing in Britain; as appears from the barrows, which no doubt were the burial places of Kings and great men. (5.) That the proportions of Stone-Henge falling into fractions, when measured by the English, French, Roman, or Grecian foot, shew, that the architects were neither English, French, Romans, or Greeks; and that the same proportions, when measured by the Phœnician cubit, producing always whole numbers, is an undeniable proof that it was built by that cubit (10). Upon the whole, he concludes, from the elegant and magnificent structure of Stone-Henge, that it was the temple of the Arch-Druid, as the metropolitical church of the chief Druid of Britain; the *Locus Consecratus* (11), where they met at some great festivals in the year, as well to perform the extraordinary sacrifices and religious rites, as to determine causes and civil matters. That it was built by the descendants of those Phœnicians, who probably came hither under the conduct of the Tyrian Hercules, in or about the time of the Patriarch Abraham, and built this temple about the year of Rome 280, that is, about 460 years before Christ, and 420 years before Cæsar invaded Britain. Whence he observes, that as the Wansdyke north of Stone-Henge was made about 100 years before Christ by Divitiacus, who drove the possessors of this fine country of the Wiltshire-Downs northwards; so the Druids enjoyed their magnificent work of Stone-Henge but about 360 years (12). To conclude, it is remarkable, that almost all the different inhabitants of our island have had their advocates in claiming the honour of this antiquity. Mr Samms, in his *Britannia*, will have the structure to be Phœnician; Mr Jones and Mr Webb believe it to be Roman; Mr Aubrey thinks it to be British; Dr Charleton derives it from the Danes. And yet, if the true old writing of the name be S T A N - H E N - G E S T, as the Monasticon seems to tell us, I cannot see, says Bishop Nicholson, why the Saxons may not have as just a title as any. At last, Dr Stukely begins the round again, and maintains with Mr Samms that it is of Phœnician original.

[C] *The Banqueting house at Whitehall.* The cieling was painted some years after with the felicities of King James's reign by Sir Peter-Paul Rubens, and prints from these by Simon Gribelin were published in 1724. The late Lord Burlington, about the year 1740, published *A North-west View of the Palace designed for Whitehall by Inigo Jones* (13) where this pavilion appears in it's proper place as part of that palace. In which, among other most beautiful drawings, there is seen a noble circular portico, the first hint whereof might perhaps be suggested by the circular portico in Stone-Henge. But to understand this, it must be observed, that Stone-Henge consists of an outward circle, 60 cubits in diameter, wherein are set 30 stones, each 9 cubits high and 4 cubits broad, with an interval of two cubits between; and over each upright stone lies another of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cubit thick. At 5 cubits distance from this exterior circle within, there is another, whose radius from the common center of the work is 24 cubits, wherein are placed 40 stones at equal distances, each a cubit thick, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in height; so that between these two circles there is a circular walk 300 foot in circumference. Whence it appears, that the circular portico in the design for Whitehall bears a resemblance to this. But to finish the description of Stone-Henge. Within the portico, i. e. within the inner circle, at 10 cubits distance, stand 5 *trilithons*, i. e. a compages of 3 stones, two uprights, with a third upon the top as an impost. These are set with suitable intervals between them, nearly in the form of a semi-oval, and by Dr Stukely called the *cancelli*, because within them, at a lesser distance, stand 19 lesser upright stones, nearly in the same oval form, but lesser; within which, near the upper end, lies a large single stone, flat, supposed to be the altar; the whole being

called by Webb the *cell*, by Stukely the *adytum*, or the *sanctum sanctorum*; and from this adytum the Doctor imagines, that Inigo Jones projected the plan of the Surgeons theatre in London, a fabric for seeing and hearing, continues he, much admired by all good judges, and which my Lord Burlington, out of a spirit truly noble, and a great love for the architect's memory, has lately repaired at his own charges and with excellent skill. I find the Surgeons theatre, or rather amphitheatre, is formed from the same proportions as our adytum, the transverse and conjugate diameters being as 4 to 3, viz. 40 foot and 30 foot. And this appears to me a strong presumption that Inigo Jones did not make the ground-plot of Stone-Henge published under his name (15).

[D] *Several other designs are taken notice of below.* Besides Surgeons-Hall already mentioned, we owe to Mr Jones the Queen's Chapel at St James's palace, and her Majesty's new buildings fronting the gardens at Somerset-house in the Strand (16). The church, and piazza of Covent-Garden; the first of which is universally allowed to be a master piece of the Tuscan order, the portico at the west end, majestic in it's plainness, and the roof so happily contrived, by extending itself beyond the wall, as both to cast a shade, which adds to the solemnity of the sacred edifice, and at the same time serves to strengthen the wall, by resting thereon in it's center of gravity. In the last performance he had in view the piazza of Leghorn, but has vastly surpassed the original in the beauty and largeness of his pillars. Our architect also laid out the ground-plot of Lincoln's inn-fields (17), and designed the Duke of Ancafter's house, which stands on the west side of that noble square, and which is no inconsiderable instance of the *softness* and *sweetness* of his touches. The royal chapel at Denmark-house, and the King's house at Newmarket, and the Queen's buildings at Greenwich, were also of his design (18). But it is not in our power to describe the number, or form a judgment upon the excellence of all his buildings; views of several of them may be seen in Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, to which we must be content to refer the reader.

[E] *Portico at the west end of St Paul's.* This portico consisted of solid walls on each side, with rows of Corinthian pillars set at distance from the walls within to support the roof (19). The whole was built at the expence of King Charles I (20), who adorned it also with the statues of his royal father and himself. The intention of it was to be an ambulatory for such as usually, by walking in the body of the church, disturbed the solemn service in the choir (21). Mr Jones was not a little proud of this portico, at least if those are indeed his words which we read in his *Stone-Henge restored*; where, in answer to Mr Camden's wonder by what means such huge stones as those of Stone-Henge were set up, having mentioned much larger stones raised by the Ancients, he closes the paragraph as follows: 'Had I not been thought worthy (by him who then commanded) to have been sole Architect thereof, I would have made some mention of the great stones used in the work and portico at the west end of St Paul's church London, but I forbear; though in greatness they were equal to most in this antiquity [Stone-Henge], and raised to a far greater height than any there (22).' To this we shall add a remark of Mr Webb's, which may help to form some idea of the extraordinary expence and magnificence of this portico. He is handling the objection of his antagonist, that Stone-Henge could not be a Roman work, because the diminishing of the stones was not equal in all as in Roman columns. Mr Webb admitting that inequality, answers thus, 'Do not we find that the Romans upon occasion, in one and the same temple, sometimes diminished the pillars, sometimes the pylasters, not in regard of the thrust at the angles? and might not these then in our antiquity be diminished more or less in regard of some pressing necessity, some vent

(15) Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p. 25.

(16) See a description of them in Mr Waller's poem to the Queen on that subject.

(17) Dr Stukely says this was laid out by the Egyptian cubit. Stone-Henge, a Temple, &c. p. 6, 7.

(18) Webb's Vindication, &c. p. 119.

(19) Ibid. p. 59.

(20) The King built all, but CHARLES built the west end. Waller, in his poem on his Majesty's repairing St Paul's.

(21) Dugdale's History of St Paul's, p. 143.

(22) Stone-Henge restored, &c. p. 24.



the noble monuments of his extraordinary genius as an Architect, he employed his leisure hours in designing decorations for dramatic entertainments; and there appeared a fine intermixture of fancy and judgment in his pompous machinery of masques and interludes, which were the vogue in his time [1]. By these means he acquired a handsome fortune

or flaw in an architrave, or the like? Stones, I will tell you, for such use, which in all columnations is the principal bearing, and of such mighty scandlings, are not easily to be come by; a crack in an upright stone may be of no imminent danger, when a vent in an architrave may ruin the whole pile, and bring down all on a sudden. *Had he known what search was made in the royal quarries of Portland, for to find out an architrave for the middle inter-column of the portico at the cathedral of St Paul, which is in length not fully twelve foot, he would never have made this objection* (23). And (continues this author) I wish it may not be found; that by the thrusting up of those sacrilegious buildings, to obscure purposely that kingly work (24), that architrave is prejudiced; which if it be, such a sound and solid stone, for that use, will scarcely, without much sweat and treasure, be procured again in all the quarries of this kingdom and the next (25).

[F] He showed fancy and judgment in the machinery of masques and interludes.] Several of these representations are still extant in the Works of Chapman, D'Avenant, Daniel, and particularly Ben. Jonson. The subject was chosen by the poet, and the speeches and songs were also of his composing; but the invention of the scenes, ornaments, and dresses of the figures, were the contrivance of Mr Jones. An instance will make the distinct province of each clearly understood. Jonson's masque of Queens begins thus. 'His Majesty being set, and the whole company in full expectation, the part of the scene which first represented itself was an ugly hell, which, flaming beneath, smoked unto the top of the roof (26). And, in respect, all evils are morally said to come from hell; as also from that observation of Torrentius upon Horace's Canidia, *Quæ tot instructa venenis, ex Orci faucibus profecta videri possit. Who being fraught with so many kinds of poison, might seem to come from the jaws of hell.* These witches, with a kind of hollow and infernal music, came forth from thence; first one, then two and three, and more, till their number increased to eleven, all differently attired, some with rats on their heads, some on their shoulders; others with ointment-pots at their girdles; all with spindles, timbrels, rattles, or other venefical instruments, making a confused noise with strange gestures. The device of their attire was Master Jones's, with the invention and architecture of the whole scene and machine; only I [Jonson] prescribed them their properties of vipers, snakes, bones, herbs, roots, and other ensigns of their magic.—These eleven witches beginning to dance, on a sudden one of them missed their chief, and interrupted the rest with this speech.—Here follow the several speeches made by Jonson; and, after the last speech, they fell into a magical dance.—In the heat of their dance, on a sudden was heard a sound of loud music, as if many instruments had made one blast; with this, not only the hags themselves, but the hell into which they ran, quite vanished, and the whole face of the scene altered, scarce suffering the memory of such a thing. But in the place of it appeared a glorious and magnificent building, figuring the house of Fame. In the top of which were discovered the twelve masquers (27), sitting upon a throne triumphal, erected in form of a pyramid, and circled with all store of light. From whence a person by this time descended in the furniture of Perseus, and expressing heroic and manly virtue, began to speak. The speech ended, the throne whereon the masquers sat, being *machina versatilis*, suddenly changed; and in the place of it appeared *Fama bona*, good Fame (as she is described in *Iconolog. di Cæsare Ripa*), attired in white, with white wings, having a collar of gold about her neck, and a heart hanging at it, which Orus Apollo, in his *Hierogl.* interprets the note of a good Fame. In her right hand she bore a trumpet, in her left an olive branch; and for her state, it was as Virgil describes her at the full, her feet on the ground, and her head in the clouds. She, after the music had done, which waited on the turning of the machine, called from thence to

Virtue, and spake this following speech.—At the end the loud music sounded as before, to give the masquers time of descending. Next follows the poet's description of the several personages represented by them, which is closed by these words. 'There rests only, that we give the description we promised of the scene, which was the house of Fame. The structure and ornament of which (as is professed before) was intirely Master Jones's invention and design. First, for the lower columns, he chose the statues of the most excellent poets, as Homer, Virgil, Lucan, &c. as being the substantial supporters of Fame. For the upper, Achilles, Æneas, Cæsar, and those great heroes whom these poets had celebrated. All which stood as in massy gold. Between the pillars, underneath, were figured land-battles, sea-fights, triumphs, loves, sacrifices, and all magnificent subjects of Honour, in brass, and heightened with silver. In which he professed to follow that noble description made by Chaucer of the place. Above were sited the masquers, over whose heads he devised two eminent figures of Honour and Virtue for the arch. The friezes, both below and above, were filled with several-coloured lights, like emeralds, rubies, sapphires, carbuncles, &c. the reflex of which, with our lights placed in the concave, upon the masquers' habits, was full of glory. These habits had in them the excellency of all devise and riches, and were worthily varied, by his invention, to the nations whereof they were queens. Nor are these alone his due; but divers other accessions to the strangeness and beauty of the spectacle: as the hell, the going about of the chariots\*, and binding the witches, the turning machine, with the presentation of Fame. All which, continues Jonson, I willingly acknowledge for him; since it is a virtue planted in good natures, that what respects they wish to obtain fruitfully from others, they will give ingenuously themselves.' From these last words especially it appears, that, at the time of celebrating this masque [Feb. 2, 1609 †], there subsisted a good harmony between our architect and Father Ben. But it did not continue long uninterrupted. We find the poet ridiculing his associate under the character of *Lantern Leatherhead*, a hobby-horse-seller, in his comedy of *Bartholomew fair*, acted in 1614. And the rupture seems not to have ended but with Jonson's death. A very few years before that happened, he wrote a most virulent coarse satire, which he called *An Expofultation with Inigo Jones*. The time when this was written is ascertained by Howell's Letters, among which there is one, dated May 3, 1635, addressed to his friend and father Ben. Jonson, concluding in these terms:

'I heard you censured lately at Court, that you have lighted too foul upon Sir Inigo, and that you write with a porcupine's quill dipped in too much gall. Excuse me that I am so free with you; it is, because I am in no common way of friendship.

'Your's,

'J. H. †'

But the poet, it seems, was too much incensed, and too vain withal to listen to the first advice of his friend, Whereupon Mr Howell addressed the following letter to him entirely upon this subject, assuring him that the King was much offended, especially with the coarseness of his abuse.

'Father BEN,

'The fangs of a bear, and the tusks of a wild boar, don't bite worse, and make deeper gashes, than a goose-quill sometimes; no, not the badger himself, who is said to be so tenacious of his bite, that he will not give over his hold, till he feels his teeth meet and bone crack. Your quill hath proved so to Mr Inigo; but the pen, wherewith you so gashed him, was made rather of a porcupine than a goose-quill, it is so keen and firm.

'Anser.

(23) Those in the outward circle of Stone-Henge are 16 feet, according to Dr Charlton. See Stone-Henge restored to the Danes.

(24) These were raised during the usurpation.

(25) Stone-Henge, a Roman Work, &c. p. 44, 45.

(26) It was, perhaps, this scene, that furnished Milton with the first hint of his Hell, drawn in his *Paradise Lost*; as there is a tradition that he conceived the first idea of that hell from some theatrical representations, invented by Inigo Jones. And this, by the bye, will possibly be recollected by the reader of the new *Complete History of England*, &c. in perusing § xv. p. 162. Vol. III. of that work. edit. 1757, 4to.

(27) These were, the Queen, the Countesses of Arundel, Derby, Huntingdon, Bedford, Essex, and Montgomery; the Viscountess Cranbourne; the Ladies, Elizabeth Guilford, Anne Winter, Windfore, and Anne Clifford.

\* The masquers, on their descent from the temple of Fame, mounted into three triumphant chariots, respectively drawn by eagles, griffons, and lions, attended with torch-bearers, and four hags bound before each. After which, a full triumphant music singing a song, while they rode in state about the stage.

† Jonson's Works, Vol. V. p. 316. edit. 1756.

† Howell's Letters, Vol. I. §. 6, No. xx. edit. 1650.



(\*) Ibid. p. 129. fortune (*m*). But his loyalty, the effect both of his integrity and gratitude, exposed him to considerable losses; and he bore a part in the ruins of his royal master. Upon the opening of the Long-Parliament in November 1640, he was called before the House of Lords, upon a complaint of the parishioners of St Gregory's in London against him, for damages done to that church [G]; and afterwards, during the usurpation, he was constrained

*Anser, apes, vitulus, populos & regna gubernant.*

' The goose, the bee, and the calf (meaning wax, parchment, and the pen), rule the world; but of the three, the pen is most predominant. I know you have a commanding one; but you must not let it tyrannize in that manner, as you have done lately. Some give out there was a hair in your pen, and that your ink was too thick with gall; else it would not have bespattered and shaken the reputation of a Royal Architect; for reputation, you know, is like a fair structure, long time a raising, but quickly ruined.—— If your spirit will not let you retract, yet you shall do well to repress any more copies of the satire; for, to deal plainly with you, you have lost some ground at Court by it; and as I hear from a good hand, the King, who hath so great judgment in Poetry as in other things else, is not well pleased therewith. Dispense with this freedom of your respectful son and servant,

Westminster,

3 July, 1635. ||

• J. H. •

|| Ibid. Vol. 2.  
No. 11, p. 2, 3.

After the Expostulation just mentioned, Jonson added another piece, intitled, *To a Friend. An Epigram of him*. And also a third, inscribed *To Inigo Marquis Would be. A Corollary*. Howell, in his first letter, plainly points to the epigram, which runs thus:

Sir Inigo doth fear it, as I hear,  
And labours to seem worthy of this fear;  
That I should write upon him some sharp verse,  
Able to eat into his bones, and pierce  
The marrow. Wretch! I quit thee of thy pain,  
Thou 'rt too ambitious, and dost fear in vain:  
The Lybian lion haunts no butterflies;  
He makes the camel and dull ass his prize.  
*If thou be so desirous to be read,*  
Seek out some hungry Painter, that for bread,  
With rotten chalk or coal upon the wall,  
Will well design thee to be view'd of all  
That sit upon the common draught or strand;  
Thy forehead is too narrow for my brand.

Father Ben. seems at length to have followed his son's advice, finding it necessary, perhaps, to comply thereto, and accordingly suppressed the whole. Whence it happened, that the contents were little known; and this occasioned the confusion in a story which we see in print, *That Jonson wrote a severe satire against Inigo Jones, in which he stiled him Sir Lantern Leatherhead* §, but that it was forbid by the King to be printed at that time, and is still extant in manuscript †. The reader will be beforehand with me in observing, that the ninth line in this epigram alludes to some attempts of our architect in the poetical way, either in the business of masques † or otherwise, or perhaps both. There is a copy of verses by him, published in the *Odombian Banquet*, prefixed to *Tom. Coryat's Crudities*. London, 1611, 4to. And to that the line here mentioned seems most directly to point. This intrusion into the poet's province had raised Ben's spleen; and, in the beginning of the quarrel, one principal stroke of the ridicule bestowed upon Lantern in *Bartholomew Fair*, consists in the title there given him of *Parcel-Poet* \*.

[G] *A complaint of the parishioners of St Gregory's, &c.* The quarrel which occasioned this complaint, seems to have commenced at least soon after the order mentioned in note (k) above. The first part of Jonson's satire, which has been said was written in 1635, concludes with these lines:

Live long the feasting room, and e'er thou burn  
Again, thy Architect to ashes turn;

Whom not ten fires, nor a Parliament, can,  
With all remonstrance, make an honest man.

If these last words refer to this quarrel, the point is clear. But it cannot be denied, there is some difficulty in that supposition; for, though we should allow that the quarrel commenced in 1635; yet 'tis notorious, no remonstrance could then have been made to Parliament, none being called in the interval between the order for repairing St Paul's, and the writing of this satire; nor, indeed, at any time afterwards, during Jonson's life. This passage therefore of the satire, if understood to refer to a remonstrance of the parishioners of St Gregory's upon this occasion, must mean an intended or threatened remonstrance only; which, indeed, might not improbably be the case, since the quarrel had certainly begun some time before the order was made out for pulling the church down, as may be unquestionably inferred from the tenor of the remonstrance or complaint of the parishioners to the House of Commons in 1640; the substance of which was contained in the paper sent up by them to the Lords, in these terms:

The Declaration of the Commons upon the complaint and in the behalf of the parishioners of St Gregory's London, against Inigo Jones, Esq;

' The parish church of St Gregory's, adjoining to the cathedral church of St Paul's in London aforesaid, is, and from the time whereof the memory of man is not to the contrary, hath been the parish-church for the inhabitants of that parish, lately computed to be 3000 persons, for the administration of divine service and sacraments. The said Inigo Jones, Esq; being Surveyor of his Majesty's works, and particularly those designed for the re-edifying the said church of St Paul's, would not undertake the work, unless he might be, as he termed it, the *sole Monarch*, or might have the principality thereof, and conceiving the said work would not well be done without pulling down the said church of St Gregory's, presented a plot to his Majesty accordingly. The said Inigo Jones having presented the said plot, his Majesty thereupon signified his pleasure, and in pursuance thereof, several orders were also made at the Council-board, that the said church should be taken down by the parishioners, for the more convenient repairing of the cathedral church of St Paul's; which the parishioners refusing to obey, as was lawful for them to do, the said Inigo Jones, in execution of the plot and design by him presented as aforesaid, and of his Majesty's signification, and the orders at the Council-board thereupon had, in or about March 1639, did pull down, and cause to be pulled down, part of the said church; and did also threaten, *That if the said parishioners would not take down the rest of it, then the galleries should be sawed down, and with screws the materials of the said church should be thrown down into the street*. And the said Inigo Jones did further threaten the said parishioners, *That if they did not take down the said church, they should be laid by the heels*. Whereby the parishioners being thus affrighted, and to save the materials, which not long before had cost them 1500 l. were informed to take down some part of the said church, inasmuch, as thereby it was made altogether useless, and the said parishioners, to that great number, have been wholly destitute of any place within their own parish for the public exercising of religion. The damages the parishioners have hereby sustained are very great, and the charge of re-edifying the said church, and restoring it to as good plight as it was in before it was so wrongfully taken down, will amount at least to 3000 l. All which the said parishioners are ready to prove and maintain. For remedy therefore and redress herein, and chiefly to the end that the said church of St Gregory's may be fully repaired and restored to the plight and condition wherein it formerly was, by and at the charge of him and them,

§ This abusive title does not where occur in any of the three pieces of which the satire consists.

† It has been printed since, from a MS. of the late Mr Ver-tue the Engraver, and inserted among the epigrams, in the 6th volume of Jonson's Works, edit. 1756. in 7 vols 8vo.

† See Sir Will. Davenant's article, remark [D], No. x.

\* Act II. scene ii.



(A) David Lloyd's M-moirs. and Martyrology of the Royalists, p. 577. Lond. 1668. folio.

(o) W-bb, where last cited, and our author's life, ubi supra.

(p) Wood's Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 113. note

(b). That author's information from Mr Webb's son James, that our architect died July 21, 1652, seems to be a mistake; though as to his age, viz. about 79 years, not unlikely. Ibid. col. 423.

(q) Vindication, p. 119.

(28) Nalson's Collections, Vol. II. p. 728.

(29) Ibid. p. 729.

(30) Ibid. p. 771.

(31) Dugdale's History of St Paul's, &c. second edit. 1716, p. 146.

(32) Memoirs of the Life of Inigo Jones, ubi supra.

(33) They are intitled, The Designs of the late Inigo Jones, Esq; &c. by Mr Kent, in 2 vol. 1727, fol.

(a) Drummond of Hawthornden's Works. Edinb. 1711. fol. p. 222.

(b) See the text at note (w).

(1) Several instances of this may be seen in the preface, p. xxvii and xxviii. to his Works, edit. 1756. to which we shall add another or two in remark [KK].

(2) See remark [T].

strained to pay 400 l. by way of composition for his estate as a Malignant (n). After the death of King Charles I. he was continued in his post by King Charles II. But grief in one of his years for the fatal calamity of the former, prevented him from doing the latter any actual service, by cutting him off many years before the Restoration (o). He died most probably about Midsummer 1652, and was interred June 26, in the chancel of St Bennet's church near St Paul's wharf London, where there was a monument erected to his memory upon the north wall, at some distance from his grave; but it suffered greatly in the Fire of London, September 1666 (p). Our author left several manuscripts, which have been published since his death, and there is some account of them below [H]. With respect to his character, we are told by Mr Webb, that his abilities in all human sciences surpassed most of his age (q). However that be, 'tis certain he was perfectly well skilled in the Mathematics, and had some insight into the two learned languages, Greek and Latin, especially the latter (r); and we have already taken notice of his taste for Poetry (s). However, these accomplishments were no more than the decorations and counterpart of his proper character, which was, indeed, that of an Architect the most eminent in his time. Accordingly, he was then, and is still, generally stiled the *British Vitruvius*; and it is observable, that the art of design, little known in England before, was brought into use and esteem by him, under the patronage of King Charles I. and Thomas Earl of Arundel (t). In short, Mr Jones was generally learned, eminent for Architecture, a great Geometrician, and, in designing with his pen (as Sir Anthony Vandyke used to say), not to be equalled, by whatever great masters in his time, for the *boldness, softness, sweetness, and sureness* of his touches (u).

by whose undue means it was in part taken down, or caused to be taken down as aforesaid, it is desired, that such proceedings may be used and had against the said offenders herein, as to right and justice doth appertain (28).

This being read, the said Inigo Jones, Esq; desired he might have some time to answer by his Counsel; whereupon it was ordered, that he have a copy of the declaration against him, and shall put in his answer thereto on Tuesday come se'ennight (29). Accordingly he did put in his answer, and appearing the same day before the Lords in Parliament, and being demanded what he could say in answer to the Declaration, &c. he the said Inigo Jones, for answer thereunto saith, that he is not guilty of the offence charged in the said Declaration, in such manner and form as therein is expressed. Whereupon, Friday fortnight was ordered for hearing the cause (30). How this matter ended does not appear in Nalson, but we have it in the Continuation of Sir William Dugdale's History of St Paul's, where we are assured, that when the repairing of that cathedral ceased in 1642, some part of the materials remaining, were, by order of the House of Lords, delivered to the parishioners of St Gregory's, towards the rebuilding of that church, which being old had been pulled down, in regard it was thought to be a blemish to this stately cathedral, whereunto it so nearly adjoined (31).

[H] Some account of his manuscripts.] The author of Mr Jones's Life, wrote in 1725, intimates, that some noble persons had then been at the labour and expence of procuring the plans of his designs. And, continues he, as the public is now to be obliged with a view of them in sculpture, the reader may expect a finished discourse upon their nature and value. And thus there will be raised a monument to Mr Jones's memory, even more lasting than his own great performances (32). Accordingly, the principal of these designs were published two years afterwards (33) by

Mr Kent; and the same gentleman published some of our author's lesser designs in 1744, folio. Others of these have been published also by Mr Isaac Ware \*. Our author left in manuscript likewise some very curious notes upon Palladio's Architecture, inserted in a copy of that book; which coming to the hands of George Clerke, Esq; Fellow of All-Souls college in Oxford, and Member of Parliament several years for the university, that gentleman gave it to the library of Worcester-college there; and a few years ago, Mr Leoni, an Italian, went to Oxford, and took a copy of the said notes, which he inserted in an edition of Palladio, published by him in 1744, and which he observes, raises the value of his edition greatly above all that had been published before. Our author was a great admirer of antiquities, and we are assured by Mr Webb, that he had in his possession the chiefest of all Christendom, designed by his relation (34). That gentleman also observes, that Mr Jones was not only the Vitruvius of England, but of all Christendom; and that it was *vox Europa* that named him so; being, much more than at home, famous in remote parts; where he lived many years, designed many works, and discovered many antiquities, before unknown, with general applause (35). To conclude, Mr Webb, who appears to have been our architect's heir, was born in London, bred at Merchant-Taylors school, afterwards resided in Mr Jones's family, married his kinswoman [the daughter of his cousin-german], was instructed by him in Mathematics and Architecture, and designed by him for his successor in the office of Surveyor-General, but was prevented by Sir John Denham (36). That he published an *Historical Essay, endeavouring to prove, that the Language of China is the primitive Language* (37). He also translated, from the Italian into English, *The History of the World*, written by George Tarfagnola; which came to the hands of his son James. And lastly, dying at Butleigh, his seat in Somersetshire, October 24, 1672, was buried in that church (38). P

JONSON [A] [BENJAMIN], the renowned father of the poets in the beginning of the last century, was the fruit of a posthumous birth, and came into the world about a month after the death of his father (a) in 1574 (b). Being born in Westminster, he was put first to a private school in the church of St Martin's in the Fields (c); but removed thence, at a proper age, to that of the royal foundation, where Camden became his master (d) [B].

[A] *Jonson.*] It was thus Father Ben constantly spelt his name (1). upon all occasions, at least after he began to have a name in the learned world. Yet we find it usually wrote Johnson by all others, not excepting even his best friends and fondest sons; nay, what is still more, it is so wrote in the instrument for raising his salary as Poet Laureat (2). The late editor of his works plainly agrees with the general opinion, that this was one instance, among innumerable others, of that affection, which so strongly marks the character of our poet; and it is observable, that tho' his descent was far

from being a discredit to him (3), yet we never find him (as I remember) once mentioning his family upon any occasion: an enquiry, which that might produce would perhaps have discovered his singularity in this respect. So much at least is certain, that Drummond of Hawthornden, himself a Scotchman, writes the name *Johnson*, in the usual way. However, as we have not seen proof sufficient absolutely to decide the question against his own practice, it would not be doing him justice to reject his authority; and, for that reason, we have accordingly complied thereto.

(r) This appears from his Works, especially Stone-Henge restored, if that be his in substance.

(s) In remark [F].

(t) Webb, p. 19.

(u) Ibid. p. 11.

\* In 1743, 4to.

(34) Vindication, p. 119, 120.

(35) Ibid. p. 8.

(36) Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1113.

(37) There is an account of this book in Phil. Trans. No. 48.

(38) Ath. Ox. Vol. II. col. 1113, 1114.

(c) Sir Thomas Pope Blunt's Censura Authorum, &c. p. 105. edit. 1694. 4to.

(3) See remark [C].



(d) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 608.

(d) [B]. As his father was a gentleman and a clergyman [C], this step seems to have been taken in the view of breeding him to the Church. But the widow being left in narrow circumstances, thought fit not to refuse an offer of marriage, which was made to her by a Bricklayer; and, after her son had continued some years at Westminster-school, and made an extraordinary progress in classical learning, she took him away, and obliged him to work under his step-father [D]. This was nipping the first sprig of his dawning hopes in the bud; his spirit was not of a temper to take the bent to so mortifying a change. In the depth of his resentment, he left his mother; and inlisting himself a soldier, was carried to the English army, then engaged against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. Here he acquired a degree of military glory, which rarely falls to the lot of a common man in that profession. In an encounter with a single man of the enemy, he slew his opponent; and stripping him, carried off the spoils in the view of both armies (e) [E]. Upon his return home, he followed the bent of his inclination; and resuming his studies (f),

(e) Drummond's  
Works, ubi su-  
pra.

[B] *Camden was his master.* As this method of breeding was suitable to his birth, so it was very agreeable to his genius and inclination, and he retained the highest esteem and value for his master ever after, which he took the first opportunity he had of showing in the dedication of *Every Man in his Humour*; where having declared, that he had always desired to present his master with the first effects of his education as should bear any worth proportionable to that benefit, he begs his acceptance of this; 'Such,' says he, wherein neither the confession of my manners shall make you blush; nor of my studies repent you to have been the instructor: And for the profession of my thankfulness, I am sure it will, with good men, find either praise or excuse.

'Your true lover,

'BEN. JONSON.'

We likewise find the same master among those good and great names, which this scholar resolved to consecrate to posterity in his epigrams; and which therefore may well claim a place in these memoirs, as follows:

'Camden, most reverend head, to whom I owe  
'All that I am in arts, all that I know;  
'(How nothing's that?) to whom my country owes  
'The great renown and name wherewith she goes.  
'Than thee the age fees not that thing more grave,  
'More high, more holy, that she more would crave.  
'What name, what skill, what faith hast thou in things!  
'What sight in searching the most antique springs!  
'What weight, and what authority in thy speech!  
'Man scarce can make that doubt but thou canst teach.  
'Pardon free truth, and let thy modesty,  
'Which conquers all, be once o'ercome by thee.  
'Many of thine, this better could, than I;  
'But for their powers, accept my piety (4).'

(4) Epigram xiv.  
at p. 228, 229.  
in Vol. VI. of  
Jonson's Works,  
edit. 1756.

[C] *His father being a gentleman, &c.* The family was originally of Annandale in Scotland, whence our author's grand-father removed to Carlisle, in the time of Henry VIII. under whom he held some post or office. But his son being deprived both of his estate and liberty in the reign of Queen Mary, perhaps on account of his religion, afterwards went into holy orders, and leaving Carlisle, settled in Westminster, where he died

(5) Drummond of  
Hawthornden's  
Works, ubi su-  
pra, in note (a)  
in the text.

(5). [D] *Obliged to work under his step-father.* It is not certain how long he continued in this situation. We are told by one writer, that he soon left his father, and went to Cambridge; but that the want of a maintenance there forced him back to his father in a few weeks; and that he worked in the New Building, at Lincoln's Inn, with a trowel in his hand, and a book in his pocket (6). This may pass well enough. But not so the account given by Mr Wood, who having told us first, that when Ben worked with his father, he was pitied by some generous gentlemen, asserts farther, that he was recommended by Camden to Sir Walter Raleigh, whose son he attended in his travels abroad; that on his return to England he and his pupil parted, not in cold blood; that Johnson then went to Cambridge, &c (7). This story is inconsistent both

(6) Fuller's  
Worthies, &c.  
under London.

(7) Ath. Oxon.  
Vol. I. col. 608.

with the age of Sir Walter's sons, and the incidents of Johnson's life; and indeed to do Mr Wood justice, the manner of his narrative plainly implies some distrust of his voucher for it.

[E] *He carried off the spoils in the view of both armies.* He was not a little elated with this incident of his life. He took occasion early to touch, by the way, upon it in the apologetical dialogue, which was once spoken by way of epilogue to, and is now printed at the end of his *Poetaster* (8); and he afterwards gave it a place in his collection of epigrams (9). It is addressed in these terms,

To true Soldiers.

'Strength of my country, whilst I bring to view,  
'Such as are miscalled captains, and wrong you;  
'And your high names: I do desire that thence  
'Be not put on you, nor you take offence.  
'I swear by your true friend, my muse, I love  
'Your great profession, which I once did prove:  
'And did not shame it with my actions then,  
'No more than I dare now do with my pen.  
'He that not trusts me having vow'd thus much,  
'But's angry for the captain still, is such (10).'

We find him again alluding to it with the same elation of heart several years afterwards, when King Charles, then Prince of Wales, was in Spain on the business of the Spanish match. He writes thus to a friend:

'Whether the dispensation yet be sent,  
'Or that the match was never meant?  
'I wish all well, and pray high heaven conspire,  
'My prince's safety, and my king's desire:  
'But if for honour we must draw the sword,  
'And force back that which will not be restor'd,  
'I have a body yet that spirit draws  
'To live or fall a carcase in the cause (11).'

The glory of this action receives a particular heightening from the reflection, that he thereby stands singularly distinguished above the rest of his brethren of the poetical race, very few of whom have ever acquired any reputation in arms. On the contrary, it may be observed that Jonson's favourite author Horace in particular, thought the essential part of his character so little concerned therein, that he has not spared to introduce a most shameful instance of his own cowardice, as a heightening incident into one of his Odes, addressed to Pompeius Varus, upon the safe return of that general from an unsuccessful expedition against Caesar (12). The second stanza of which is thus translated by Mr Francis:

'With thee I saw Philippi's plain,  
'It's fatal rout, a fearful scene,  
'And dropp'd, alas! th' inglorious shield,  
'Where valour's self was forc'd to yield,  
'Where foil'd in dust the vanquish'd lay,  
'And breath'd th' indignant soul away.  
'But me when dying with my fear,  
'Through warring hosts enwrapp'd in air,  
'Swift did the God of wit convey.'

[F] He

(8) The *Poetaster*  
was first acted in  
1601.

(9) 'Tis the  
eighth epigram in  
his Works, Vol.  
VI. p. 268.

(10) This and  
the two first lines  
shew, that the  
epigram was  
wrote as a kind  
of compensation  
for the character  
of Captain Tucca  
in the *Poetaster*.

(11) In his  
Works, Vol. VI.  
p. 418, 419.

(12) Horatii O-  
pera, Lib. ii.  
ode vii. N. B.  
It is no small ag-  
gravation of his  
shame, that he  
was then *Tribu-  
nus Militum*, a  
post in the Ro-  
man army, equal  
at least to a mo-  
dern Colonel.



(f), went to St John's college in Cambridge [F]. But here he had soon the misfortune to undergo a second mortification. The shortness of his purse not supplying him with the decent conveniences of a learned ease, he found himself under a necessity of quitting that seat of the Muses after a short stay there. In this exigence he took a course, not uncommon to persons of genius under the like distress. He applied to the play-houses, and was admitted into an obscure one, called the Green-Curtain, in the neighbourhood of Shore-ditch or Clerkenwell (g). He had not been long in this station, when, not contenting himself with the business of an actor only, he took up his pen, and wrote some pieces for the stage. But his performances either way did no credit to his genius [G]. During his continuance in this humble station, he had a quarrel with one of the players; who sending him a challenge, there ensued a duel, wherein Jonson killed his adversary. For this offence being thrown into prison, under that misfortune his spirit, tough as it was, sunk into some degree of melancholy, so that he became a fit object to be subdued by the crafty attacks of a Popish Priest; who, officiously visiting him in his confinement, prevailed upon him to renounce his religion and embrace the Roman-Catholic Faith; and he remained twelve years within the pale of that Church (h). Not long after this change in his religious condition, he also made a change in his civil one, and took to himself a wife [H], having first obtained his release from prison. His spirit revived with his liberty; and maugre all the discouragements he met with, he went on digging in the poetic mine, and, by dint of unappalled industry, improved his genius so much, that at length he produced a play; which having the good fortune to fall into the hands of Shakespeare, that humane good-natured bard resolving to do full justice to it's merit, brought it upon the stage, where he was a manager, and acted a part in it himself (i) [I]. Thus encouraged, his genius

(f) Ibid.

(g) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(h) Heads of a conversation with Drummond, in that author's Works, where last cited.

(i) Shakespeare's good-nature was the more conspicuous, as the play was undoubtedly condemned by Jonson himself in the ripe age of his genius; otherwise we should have seen it at the head of his Works in 1616, instead of *Every Man in his Humour*.

[F] He went to St John's college in Cambridge.]

This fact is not indeed absolutely certain. It stands chiefly upon the strength of a constant tradition in that college, confirmed by his gift of several books, now in the library, with his name in them. The same tradition delivers him down as a sizar, who made a short stay; which accounts for his name's not being found among the admissions, where no notice was taken for a long time of any that had not scholarships. Neither was the register of the university kept for ten or twelve years, about the time of his supposed matriculation; so that his name cannot be expected to appear there.

[G] His performances either way did no credit to his genius.] In the character of a player his awkwardness furnished a topic of satire to his antagonist Decker, who in his *Satyrastix* (13), reproaches him with having left the occupation of a mortar-trader to turn actor, and with having put up a supplication to be a poor journeyman player, in which he would have continued, but that he could not set a good face upon it, and so was cashiered. That he performed the part of Zuliman at the Paris garden (14) in Southwark, and ambled by a play-wagon in the highway, and took mad Jeronimo's part to get service among the mimicks. This play called *The Spanish Tragedy*, or *Jeronymo is made again*, was no less admired by the populace than derided by our old comedians; Shakespeare and Fletcher particularly, and after them by Jonson himself (15). As a poet, Ben's genius partook of his temper, it was hardy and fullen, and was not beat out without much sweat and hammering; besides, it was certainly overtopped by his learning, which at first, consequently, rather damp'd and held it in awe as a master, than waited upon it in its proper office as a servant.

[H] He took to himself a wife.] Neither the day nor year of his marriage is any where taken notice of. But there is a circumstance related by Mr Drummond, which was thought sufficient to fix it about the time mentioned in the text. Ben, says that gentleman, told me, that about the time the plague raged in London, being in the country, at Sir Robert Cotton's house with old Cambden, he saw in a vision his eldest son, then a young child, and at London, appear unto him, with the mark of a bloody cross on his forehead, as if it had been cut with a sword; at which amazed, he prayed unto God, and in the morning he came to Mr. Cambden's chamber to tell him; who persuaded him it was but an apprehension, at which he should not be dejected. In the mean time there came letters from his wife of the death of that boy in the plague. He appeared to him, he said, of a manly shape, and of that growth he thinks he shall be at the Resurrection (16). The plague here mentioned must be that which raged with so much fury in the summer of 1603, when the court retired to Wilton (17); and thence it follows that this boy was born in 1596, since he died upon his birth-day, on the completion of his seventh year, as appears from a copy of verses wrote on that occasion

by his fond father, which under this title, *On my first son*, begins thus:

' Farewel thou child of my right hand and joy,  
' My sin was too much hope of thee, lov'd boy.  
' Seven years thou wert lent to me, and I thee pay  
' Exacted by thy fate on the just day (18).'

However, this was not all the fruits of his wife's womb, she had before brought him a girl, which did not survive her birth many months. The father's muse was not wanting to pay a tribute to her memory in the following epitaph:

On my first daughter.

' Here lies to each her parents ruth,  
' Mary the daughter of their youth,  
' Yet all heav'n's gifts being heaven's due,  
' It makes the father less to rue.  
' At six months she parted hence,  
' With safety of her innocence,  
' Whose soul heav'n's queen (19) (whose name she bears)  
' In comfort of her mother's tears,  
' Hath plac'd among her virgin-train,  
' Where, while that sever'd doth remain,  
' This grave partakes the fleshy birth;  
' Which cover lightly, gentle earth (20).'

The seventh line shews our poet to have been then a Papist; and that he continued such at the death of his boy is evident from Drummond's story concerning it. Upon the whole, by comparing dates and facts, the reader will easily collect the grounds we had for fixing our poet's marriage about the time already mentioned.

[I] That humane good-natured bard brought it upon the stage.] Our author had wrote a play or two which had been absolutely condemned, and was now offering another to the stage, and had put it into the hands of a person who having run it over in a careless way, was just upon returning it to him, with answer, that it would be of no service to their company, when Shakespeare happened luckily to cast his eye upon it, and found something so well in it, as to engage him first to read it through, and then bring it upon his own stage. He afterwards continued to recommend our poet and his productions to the publick, and even occasionally did not disdain to lend his hand in the finishing of some of them\*. Nor was Jonson wanting to acknowledge it after his manner. In the close of his preface to the tragedy of *Sejanus* (21), we read these words: ' Lastly, I would inform you, that this book in all numbers is not the same with that which was acted on the publick stage, wherein a second pen had good share:

(18) Epigram xlv. in the 6th volume of Jonson's Works, ubi supra, p. 238.

(19) i. e. The Virgin Mary, so styled by the Church of Rome.

(20) Epigram xxii. p. 231. ubi supra.

\* This goodness was the more remarkable, as Jonson was in his personal character the very reverse of Shakespeare; as surly, ill-natured, proud, and disagreeable, as Shakespeare, with ten times his merit, was gentle, good-natured, easy, and amiable. Drummond's Works, Edinb. 1711. fol. p. 222.

(21) Printed in 1605, 4to. The play was first acted in 1603, when Shakespeare played a part in it, as he did in every play of Jonson as long as he continued upon the stage.

(13) A piece written against Jonson's *Poetaster*. See below in remark [N].

(14) The Bear-garden, so called at that time from the man's name who kept it.

(15) See *Every Man in his Humour*, Act I. scene v. and the *Poetaster*, Act III. scene iv. and several other places in his Works.

(16) Drummond's Works, ubi supra.

(17) Smollet's *Complete History of England*, Vol. III. p. 155. edit. 1757. 4to.



genius ripened apace, and his comedy, intitled, *Every Man in his Humour*, made it's appearance on the same stage in 1598 [K]. This was followed the next year by *Every Man out of his Humour* [L]. And he continued in like manner to furnish a new play every year [M], 'till

share : In place of which I have rather chosen to put 'weaker, and no doubt less pleasing of mine own, than 'defraud so happy a genius of his right by my loathed 'usurpation.' No body can doubt that this genius was Shakespeare; but I believe the remark is just, That posterity wishes those numbers had been suffered to keep their standing, with some note of distinction by Jonson, whatever was his true motive for putting the change upon us. After Shakespeare's death, Jonson inscribed a copy of verses to his memory, so artfully penned, that two great poets have been divided in their opinions about it; Mr Dryden calling it invidious and aspersing, while Mr Pope thinks it an ample and honourable panegyric to the memory of his friend.

[K] *Every man in his humour.*] This play stands at the head of the rest, in the first edition of our author's works published by himself in 1616, Fol. and in his Induction to the *Magnetic Lady* (22), he calls it the beginning of his studies of this kind. It seems he did not chuse to own those abortive brats which his unripe brain had produced before. The late editor of Jonson's works, has inserted in his edition (23) a comedy called *The case is altered*, which he thinks has plain marks of being one of these earlier compositions of our author; and it is certain that piece, tho' acted several times by the children of Black-friars, was never fathered by him. It was printed indeed, according to the title page, in 1609, 4to, but most probably from the play-house copy (24) without his knowledge. Whence it was become

in a manner lost and forgotten by the rest of the world, 'till the just mentioned late revival (25) by Mr Whalley, who grounds his opinion chiefly upon this remark, that the scene of the action is placed abroad, and the characters foreign, which being the general practice when Jonson first applied himself to write for the stage, he conformed to it. Thus the scene of *The case is altered*, is Milan, the principal personages are of the same place, and the sentiments they have occasion to use, are what nature in any climate would express her thoughts in upon a similar occasion. The droll and comic part of the drama shews itself in the manners of the servants, the mechanics, and lower characters of the comedy; and altho' these are exhibited to us, under the sounding names of Sebastian, Balthasar, and Vicentio, their whole dialogue and humour are a lively copy from the home-spun wit of the clowns and artificers of the poet's native country. But he soon observed the inconsistency, and reformed it. *Every man in his humour* made it's first appearance in this absurd form. The scene was at Florence, the persons represented were Italians, and the manners in great measure conformable to the genius of the place: But here too the humours of the under-characters are local, expressing, not the manners of a Florentine, but the gulls and bullies of the times and country in which the poet lived; and in the same manner it was printed in 1601, 4to. But when it appeared again in the collection of his works, it had a more becoming and consistent aspect. The scene was transferred to London, the persons had English names given to them, and the dialogue, incidents, and manners, were suited to the place of action. Thus, for instance, the names of the persons prefixed to the 4to edition in 1601, are, Lorenzo de Pazzi, sen. Lorenzo, jun. Museo, Stephano, Guillianio, Prospero, Doctor Clement, Peto, Thorello, Hesperida, Biancha, Mattheo, Pizo, Cob, Tib, Bobadilla; scene Florence. In fol. edit. 1616, Old Know'ell, Edward Know'ell his son, Brainworm, Mr Stephen, Downright, Wellbred, Justice Clement, Roger Formal, Kitely, Dame Kitely, Mrs Budget, Mr Matthew, Cash, Cob, Tib, Capt. Bobadill; scene London. It was no small merit in our author to proceed thus far in his reform, by the choice of a domestic fable; but still it must be confessed, the work is not fully compleated; there remains one remarkable instance of Italian manners, I mean, an allusion to the custom of poisoning, so common in the revenges of Italian jealousy (26). But notwithstanding this fault, if it be one, yet it cannot be denied, that the character of Kitely is well imagined and supported; his jealousy is constantly returning, and creates him fresh scruples in every thing he sets about. This shews itself no where in so striking a light, as in the incident which makes the third scene of act the

third; and it is no disparagement to the author of *The Suspicious Husband*, that in this particular, at least, he set Jonson before him.

[L] *Every man out of his humour.*] A late excellent critic sends his reader to this play, for a sight of the extravagance of building dramatic manners on *abstract ideas* in it's full light. 'Every man out of his humour,' says he, under the name of a play of character, is 'in fact an unnatural, and, as the painters call it, *hard* delineation of a group of simply existing passions, wholly chimerical, and unlike to any thing we observe in the commerce of real life. Yet, continues he, this comedy has always had it's admirers, and Randolph in particular was so taken with the design, that he seems to have formed his *Muses looking-glass* 'in express imitation of it (27).' To this censure it hath been observed on the part of Jonson, that the characters are indeed very strongly marked, yet some of them have been thought to glance at particular persons of the author's acquaintance; and that his enemies did not scruple to tax him with quarrelling with his friends, and afterwards representing them on the stage; and particularly in the characters of this very play (28). So that far from being thought at that time to build his characters upon abstract ideas, he was really accused of representing particular persons then existing; and that even those characters which appear to be the most exaggerated, are said to have had their respective archetypes in nature and life (29). But this solution does not go to the bottom; nay, indeed rather eludes than dissolves the force of the objection, which does not mean to assert the exaggeration of the leading or predominant quality above nature or the life, in any of the characters; but that every other quality, as it really exists in nature, is dropped, so that the man is turned all into a single passion, of which nature affords no specimen. Thus the Ancients observed of the famous statue of Apollodorus, by Silarius, that it expressed not the angry Apollodorus, but his passion of anger (30).

[M] *He furnished a new play every year*] The first of these, *Cynthia's Revels*, he called a comical satire, as being not properly a comedy, since there is little or no plot, and the persons of the play are rather vices or passions personalized, than characters copied from real life. His design was a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, under the allegorical personage of the goddess Cynthia. It was acted in 1600 by the children of her Majesty's chapel. Upon the death of one of these children, Jonson wrote his epitaph as follows:

*An Epitaph on S. P. (31) a child of Queen Elizabeth's chapel.*

' Weep with me all you that read,  
' This little story :  
' And know for whom a tear you shed,  
' Death's self is sorry.  
' 'Twas a child that so did thrive,  
' In grace and feature,  
' As heav'n and nature seem'd to strive,  
' Which own'd the creature.  
' Years he numbred scarce thirteen,  
' When fate turn'd cruel,  
' Yet three fill'd zodiacks he had been  
' The stage's jewel ;  
' And did act (what now we moan)  
' Old men so duly,  
' As sooth the *Parce* thought him one,  
' He play'd so truly.  
' So by error to his fate  
' They all consented ;  
' But viewing him since, (alas ! too late,)  
' They have repented.  
' And have sought (to give new birth)  
' In baths to sleep him ;  
' But being so much too good for earth,  
' Heav'n vows to keep him (32).'

(27) Horatii Epistolæ ad Pisonem, &c. p. 239. ad edit. 1753.

(28) Life of Jonson, p. xxxviii.

(29) Every Man out of his Humour, p. 149. note (12). Jonson's Works, Vol. I. edit. 1756.

(30) Non hominem ex ære fecit, sed iracundiam. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiv. c. 81.

(31) These initial letters probably denote Sal. Pavy, who was one of those children.

(32) Jonson's Works, Vol. VI. Epigr. cxxx. We p. 275, 276.

(22) Vol. IV. p. 372.

(23) At the end of Vol. VII.

(24) This is more than probable, from the numerous errors in it, as usual in those copies.

(25) Though the title had been inserted in the list of his productions, yet the play itself was become very scarce, and hardly to be met with.

(26) Act IV. scene viii.



'till he was called off by the masques and entertainments made for the reception of King James the First on his accession to the throne of England [N]. He was continually retained in this employ on all occasions during his whole life afterward. But these slighter efforts of his muse did not wholly occupy his genius. Both inclination and ambition concurred in prompting him to the graver and weightier works of the drama. Accordingly, in 1605, came out his comedy of *Volpone, or the Fox*; which being wholly finished in the space of five weeks (k), did not hinder him from indulging the sourness of his temper, in a satirical comedy called *Eastward-Hoe*, written about this time against the Scottish nation. In this piece of intemperance, Chapman and Marston were his coadjutors; and they were all three committed to prison, and brought in danger of losing their ears and noses in the pillory (l); but, however, had the good fortune to obtain a pardon [O]. To repair this fault, Jonson sacrificed both his time and his muse almost entirely to gratify the taste of the Court in masques (m) for some years; so that his next play did not make its appearance 'till 1609. But he made some amends for the length of this interval by the perfection of the piece, which he intitled *Epicene, or the Silent Woman*; this being generally esteemed the most exact and finished comedy that our nation hath produced [P].

And

(k) See his prologue to that comedy, in answer to a reproach, that he was not less than a year about every play.

(l) Drummond's Works, ubi supra.

(m) See his Works, Vol. V. and VI. edit. 1734. where several of them are printed.

We see here that these children or choristers vied with the most celebrated players of that time. Accordingly the next piece of our author, the *Poetaster*, had the same performers in 1601. The contest between Jonson and Decker has been already mentioned; and this satire was the genuine offspring of it, wherein that competitor is ridiculed under the character of Crispinus. Our author was also taxed with reflecting in it on some professors of the Law and military men, both well known at that time. As the popular clamours against him ran very high, he thought proper to make a reply in an epilogue, which however was spoken only once (33). Decker resolved to attack the aggressor at his own weapons, and wrote a play intitled *Satiromastix; or, The untrussing the humorous poet*; where, under the character of Horace junior, he lashes Jonson, who in the *Poetaster* had stiled himself Horace, and given many long and direct versions from that favourite author, in contempt, as it should seem, of the vulgar clamour, which had before censured him for his imitations. To compleat the opposition, as Jonson's piece was acted by the children of the chapel, so Decker's revenge was performed by those of St Paul's, who were the only rivals to the former.

After this our author tried his skill in tragedy writing, and produced his *Sejanus*, which was acted in 1603, and we shall speak of it presently.

[N] 'Till interrupted by the masques and entertainments, &c.] In these performances Jonson was the chief factor for the Court, the writer's share in most of them was furnished by him, and there seldom passed a year wherein he did not provide one or two poetical pieces of this kind. The first piece of this sort which he had a hand in, was an entertainment composed for King James as he passed thro' the city from the Tower, to his coronation in Westminster-Abbey, on Thursday March 15, 1603. Our poet applied the first and last pageants, only the other three were devised by Decker, that antagonist being associate with Johnson on this occasion, and he published his own part under this title, *The magnificent entertainment given to King James and Henry Frederic the Prince, upon the day of his Majesty's passage from the Tower, thro' his honourable city and chamber of London, being the 15th of March 1603. Lond. 4to. 1604.* This rival of our author projected a device too, at the King's first arrival in the city, but it was never executed. In that he had introduced the genius of London; and Jonson afterwards having done the like in this, and printed his part of the work, with explanatory notes of the ancient rites and passages alluded to therein, Decker attempted to ridicule his taste in these words: 'To make a false flourish here with the borrowed weapons of all the old masters of the noble science of poesy; and to keep a tyrannical wit in anatomizing genius from head to foot, only to shew how nimbly we can carve up the whole mass of the poets, were to play the executioner, and to lay our city's household-god on the rack, to make him confess how many pair of Latin sheets we have shaken, and cut into shreds, to make him a garment. Such feats of activity are stale and common among scholars, before whom it is protested we come not now (in a pageant) to play a master's prize.' This censure is supposed to be the legitimate offspring of envy or malice in Decker, who had no genius or learning himself, and thought to be

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even with his betters, by endeavouring to rail or laugh them out of countenance; however that be, it is evident the present attack is not defective either in point of wit or spirit. But the truth is, Jonson's taste was the taste of their common master, who, as is well known, was no less pedant than pageant-wife (34). No wonder then that he became the court-factor in general for these shews, which he took care to perfume with another essence still more grateful than the former. I mean the incense of the most servile and abject adulation. He saw how very acceptable this tribute was, and provided it with no unsparing hand. For this all the stores of his learning were ransacked and rifled; and in that search he has been lucky enough to find out the foundation of a handsome compliment to prince Henry (that darling of the people as long as he lived), which has escaped the diligence of our best historians, I mean his resemblance in the face to Henry the Vth. It is introduced in a piece called *The speeches at Prince Henry's barriers*, where Merlin addressing himself to that prince, recounts the heroical deeds of his ancestors, Kings and Princes of England; and in that detail, after the Black Prince, he descends to Henry V. in these lines:

Yet rests the other thunderbolt of war,

Harry the fifth, to whom in face you are

So like as fate would have you so in worth (35).

(34) Jonson's address is shewn particularly in introducing several copies of Latin verses into his first entertainment; and he observed the same courtliness in several of the subsequent productions of that cast, and it is remarkable, that this talent was sparingly exerted upon any other occasion.

(35) Jonson's Works, Vol. V. p. 362, 363.

[O] In danger of the pillory, but obtained a pardon.]

Sir James Murray represented the affront to his Majesty, who ordered the punishment above mentioned. Upon his releasement our poet gave an entertainment to his friends, among whom were Camden and Selden, who not improbably had been very instrumental in procuring his pardon (36). In the midst of the entertainment his mother, more an antique Roman than a Briton, drank to him, and shewed him a paper of poison, which she intended to have given him in his liquor, after having taken a potion of it herself, if the sentence upon him had been carried into execution (37). It is not improbable that the motive for making a ridicule upon the Scots the subject of a play, was the almost certain prospect of its welcome reception. It must have been a popular topic at this time with the English. We have before had occasion to observe, that some of the best spirits among these, were irreconcilably disgusted (38) at the crowd of blue caps which then filled every corner of the Court. However that be, so much will not be denied, that the undertaking is a proper contrast to the extreme courtliness of our poet's muse, mentioned in the preceding remark, sets it in a clear light, and demonstrates, her goddessship to be a mere occasional conformist.

[P] *The Silent Woman is the most exact play that our nation hath produced.*] Mr Dryden was so much struck with the perfection of this performance, that he sets it down for a pattern of a perfect play, wherein all the unities insisted on by the nicest and most scrupulous critics are most strictly observed. For instance, the length of the action, so far from exceeding the compass of a natural day, does not make up an artificial one, but is all included in the limits of three hours and an half, which is no more than is required for the presentment on the stage. The scene is laid in London. The latitude of the place is almost as little

(36) If so, he had an opportunity of returning the favour which was acknowledged by Selden, when he had incurred the royal displeasure by his History of Tithes. See the preface to his Titles of Honour.

(37) Life of Drummond, ubi supra.

(38) In the Life of Holles Earl of Clare.



And the next year brought forth *The Alchemist* [Q], one of the best of his comedies; but that was followed the ensuing year, 1611, by the worst of his tragedies, intitled *Cataline* [R]. In 1613 our author took a tour to Paris, where he was admitted to an interview

(39) They are not broken above twice or thrice at most, and in Corneille's *Cid* and *Cinna* we find them interrupted once.

(40) Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poetry*, p. 32. & seq. edit. 1693. 4to.

§ See Congreve's *Letter to Dennis upon the subject of Humour*, and Gildon's *Laws of Poetry explained and illustrated*, p. 246. Lond. 1721, 8vo.

(41) Jonson's *Works*, ubi supra, Vol. II. p. ult. in note (9).

\* Libanii *Orationes & Declamationes*, &c. Vol. I. Declam. vi. p. 311. Par. 1606, fol.

† *Silent Woman*, Act IV. scene iv.

|| Where last cited.

† Heard's *Horace's Art of Poetry*, Vol. I. p. 274, 275. edit. 1753.

as you can imagine; for it lies all within the compass of two houses, and after the first act in one. The continuity of scenes is observed more than in any of ours, except his own *Fox and Alchemist* (39). The action of the play is entirely one; the end or aim of which is the settling of Morose's estate upon Dauphine. The intrigue is the greatest and most noble of any pure unmixed comedy in any language. The conversation of gentlemen in the persons of Truewit and his friends is described with more gaiety, air, and freedom, than in the rest of Jonson's comedies. The contrivance of the whole is still the more to be admired, because it is a comedy where the persons are only of a common rank, and their business private, not elevated by passions or high concerns as in serious plays. Lastly, the unravelling of the plot is so admirable, that when it is done, no one of the audience would think the poet could have missed it; and yet it was concealed so much before the last scene, that any other way would sooner have entered into your thoughts (40). Thus that excellent poet, who may be said to have governed the opinion of the public so far, which must needs be pleased, as he was, to view the English theatre rivalling that of France in it's most boasted quality, viz. a strict observation of the unities. But when his fondness carried him farther to justify the character of Morose as quite in nature, and not overcharged, it is no wonder, that some critics appeared, who being of a sower disposition, judged with less partiality to the author in this point §. It has been observed that Jonson might probably borrow the character and marriage of Morose from the declamation of the Greek sophist Libanius upon a morose person; who having married a talkative wife, is supposed to plead his own accusation before the judges, in order to obtain a sentence of death against himself. The remark is Mr Theobald's (41), and whoever reads that harangue will be apt to concur with him. For tho' he gave no proofs of any imitations from it, yet that omission only shews he had not actually compared the two pieces together with this view, otherwise the following instance is so plain and direct, that it could not have escaped his eye. In the declamation, Morose mentioning the device of stopping his wife's mouth, declares, that having tried the experiment, it was so far from curing her, that afterwards she grew much worse for it, which he enforces by the following simile: ὥσπερ αἱ τὰς κρονὰς ἐπὶ σήχοντες, εἰς ἀφελοντες, τὸ καλὸν σφροδρότερον εἰργασαντο ἢ πορὰν, ἔτις ἐγὼ μικρὸν ἀνασείλας ἢ φωνὴν μείζον ἐπαυπάσάμην τὸ ρείδρον\*, of which Greek the following speech of Morose in the play is a plain and direct imitation, in answer to Truewit's officiousness, who offers to entreat Epicene to hold her peace, he cries out, O no, labour not to stop her. *She is like a conduit-pipe, that will gush out with more force when she opens again* †. It may be observed also, that the extravagant exaggeration of the original throughout, which in the declamatory stile is less inexcusable, seems to have drawn our imitator to follow it in general (as has been observed he did the Roman historian in his *Cataline*) beyond the just bounds of the province of comedy. Mr Dryden tells us || from tradition, that Jonson was really acquainted with a person of this whimsical turn of mind; which indeed is very possible in nature; and then the design being to expose the foible of a real person, it was very convenient to exaggerate the peculiarities and enlarge the features of the character; notwithstanding he may be censured therein sinking beneath the true dignity of the comic scene, and degenerating into farce ‡.

[Q] *The Alchemist*.] Mr Dryden intimates, that the character of the Alchemist was copied from the Astrologer in the comedy of *Albumazar*, a play which was revived in his time, and a prologue wrote by him, wherein are these lines:

Subtle was got by our Albumazar,  
That Alchemist by this Astrologer,  
Here he was fashioned, and we may suppose,  
He liked the fashion well who wore the clothes.

The author of this play is unknown, but the earliest edition of it is several years later than the *Alchemist*;

and the silence of Jonson's enemies on this head, is a presumption in his favour, wherein it has been suggested, that Mr Dryden might possibly be misinformed or mistaken (42).

The very judicious critic mentioned in a preceding remark, having shewn the incongruity there is between farce and comedy; and in consequence thereof the absurdity of the modern practice in perpetually mixing them together, proceeds thus: 'Of our own comedies, such of them, I mean, as are worthy of criticism, Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* and *Volpone*, bid the fairest for being written in the genuine unmixed manner. Yet, tho' their merits are very great, the impartial critic will hardly allow them this perfection. The *Alchemist* is, I think, throughout exaggerated; and at best belongs to that species of comedy, which we have before called particular and partial. The extravagant pursuit so strongly exposed in that play, hath been now of a long time forgotten, and we therefore find it difficult to enter fully into the humour of this highly wrought character. We may remark in general of such subjects, that they are a strong temptation to the writer to exceed the bounds of truth and mediocrity in his draught of them at first, and are farther liable to an imperfect, and even unfair sentence from the reader afterwards. For the welcome reception, which these pictures of prevailing local folly meet with on the stage, cannot but induce the poet, almost without design, to inflame the representation, and the want of archetypes in a little time makes it pass for immoderate, were it originally given with ever so much discretion and justice. The plan of the *Alchemist* is then essentially such as subjects this comedy to the imputations of farce.'

The *Volpone*, on the other hand, is a subject fitted for the entertainment of all times, and is therefore of the sort a great writer would chuse, when he wanted to transmit a monument of his art and genius to posterity. Such appears to have been the generous purpose of the poet in this admirable comedy, and the fate of it has been answerable to his intentions; yet neither, I am afraid, is this a complete model. There are even some incidents of a farcical invention; particularly, the mountebank's scene, and Sir Politique's tortoise, are in the taste of the old comedy. Besides, the humour of the dialogue is sometimes on the point of becoming inordinate, as may be seen in the pleasantry of Corbaccio's mistakes through deafness; and in other instances. The cast of his plays indeed could hardly be any other, if we attend to the character of the writer. For his nature was severe and rigid; and this in giving a strength and manliness, gave at times too an intemperance to his satire. His taste for ridicule was strong but indelicate, which made him not over curious in the choice of his topics. And lastly, his stile in picturing characters, tho' masterly, was without that elegance of hand, which is required to correct and allay the force of so bold a colouring. Thus the bias of his nature leading him to Plautus rather than Terence, for his model, it is not to be wondered that his wit is too frequently caustic, his raillery coarse, and his humour excessive. This impartial pen concludes the remark in the following terms: 'Some late writers for the stage have, no doubt, avoided these defects in the exactest of our oldest dramatists. But do they rival his excellencies? Poverty, I am afraid, will judge otherwise, whatever may be now thought of some more fashionable comedies. And if they do not, neither the state of general manners, nor the turn of the public taste appears to be such, as countenances the expectation of greater improvements. To those who are not over sanguine in their hopes, our forefathers will perhaps be thought to have furnished (what in nature seem linked together) the fairest example of dramatic as of real manners (43).'

[R] *The worst of his tragedies Cataline*.] This and the *Sejanus* are the only trials of his skill and taste in tragedy, and they have both been condemned by the general sentence, from their first appearance down to this day. Nevertheless our poet himself appears to have

(42) Whalley, in *Jonson's Life*, p. 44.

(43) A Dissertation concerning the Provinces of the several Species of the Drama, p. 277, & seq. Lond. 1753. 8vo.



(n) Among other things, the Cardinal shewing him his translation of Virgil. Jonson scrupled not to tell him flatly it was a bad one. Drummond's Works.

view and conversation with Cardinal Perron, whom he treated with all that frankness and bluntness which was so much his nature (n). It was about this time that he commenced a quarrel with Inigo Jones, whom he therefore made the subject of his ridicule in his next comedy, called *Bartholomew-Fair*, acted in 1614 (o). That was succeeded by the *Devil's an Ass*, in 1616. This year he published his Works in one folio volume; and the Poet-Laureat's salary, of a hundred marks per annum, was settled upon him for life by King James I. the same year (p). Crowned with these honours by his Prince, he saw the most distinguished wits of his time crowding his train and courting his acquaintance. And, in that spirit, he was invited to Christ-Church in Oxford by Dr Corbet [S], then

(o) See an account of this quarrel in the preceding article, remark [F].

(p) See remark [T].

(44) See his prefaces to each of them.

have set no small value on each of them (44), a conspicuous proof of the common remark how ill a judge any author is of the merit of his own productions. The following extract will justify this censure; Horace in his art of poetry has these lines:

- ' *Publica materies privati juris erit,*
- ' *Si non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem;*
- ' *Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus*
- ' *Interpres, nec desilies imitator in arctum,*
- ' *Unde pedem proferre pudor vetet, aut operis lex.*'

Here are three rules laid down to be observed by every dramatic writer in the management of his fable. (1.) Not to follow the trite obvious round of the original work, i. e. Not servilely and scrupulously to adhere to its plan or method. (2.) Not to be translators instead of imitators, i. e. If it shall be thought fit to imitate more expressly any part of the original, to do it with freedom and spirit, and without a slavish attachment to the mode of expression. (3.) Not to adopt any particular incident, that may occur in the proposed model, which either decency or the nature of the work would reject. A late ingenious commentator upon this passage having observed, 'That tho' the poet refers to the Iliad of Homer for an illustration of these rules, probably without an eye to particular instances of the errors here condemned, in the Latin tragedies, proceeds thus: For want of these, says he, it may be of use to fetch an illustration from some examples in our own; and we need not look far for them. Almost every modern play affords an instance of one or other of these faults. The single one of *Cataline* by B. Jonson is, itself, a specimen of them all. This tragedy, which hath otherwise great merit, and on which it's author appears to have set no small value, is, in fact, the Catalinarian war of Sallust put into poetical dialogue, and so offends against the first rule of the poet, in following too servilely the plain beaten road of the *chronicle*. Next the speeches of Cicero and *Cataline*, of Cato and Cæsar, are, all of them, direct and literal translations of the historian and orator, in violation of the second rule, which forbids a too close attachment to the mode or form of expression. 3. There are several transgressions of that rule which enjoins a strict regard to the nature and genius of the work: One is obvious and striking. In the history, which had for it's subject the whole Catalinarian war, the fates of the conspirators were distinctly to be recorded, and the preceding debates concerning the manner of their punishment afforded an occasion too inviting to be overlooked by an historian (and above all a republican historian) of embellishing his narration by set harangues. Hence the long speeches of Cæsar and Cato in the senate have great propriety, and are justly esteemed amongst the leading beauties of that work. But the case was totally different in the drama; which, taking for it's subject the single fate of *Cataline*, had no concern with the other conspirators, whose fates, at most, should only have been hinted at, not debated with all the circumstances of pomp and rhetoric on the stage. Nothing can be more flat and disgusting than this calm impertinent pleading; especially in the very heat and winding up of the plot. But the poet was misled by the beauty it appeared to have in the original composition, without attending to the peculiar laws of the drama, and the indecorum it must needs have in so very different a work (45). Thus that judicious critic. And in aggravation of Jonson's fault it hath been farther observed, that tho' he was conscious of what might possibly be objected to him upon those heads, yet he was so far from regarding them as errors

or imperfections in his poem, that he, in truth, considered them as beauties, and prided himself upon his translations as so many real excellencies, and the chief ornaments of his play. However, in justice to him it must be acknowledged, that he hath discovered great art and spirit in designing and supporting his characters; and has occasionally deviated from the leading thread of the story, and varied the arrangement of circumstances in the manner that was most conducive to draw out his characters, and display the ruling passion inherent in the breast of each (46). These remarks upon the *Cataline*, continues the same editor, are, in some degree, applicable to the *Sejanus* of Jonson\*. In this indeed the narration from which he copied was less obvious and direct; and hence it demanded a greater share of judgment to combine and connect the distinct periods and members, to form a regular and consistent whole; but as the story lay before him, from which he drew his incidents, he copied with too close an attachment to historic composition; and in breach of the second rule, what he hath translated in the Latin, is expressed with too exact a conformity to the mode and letter of the original expression. And lastly, he hath adopted incidents which the law and nature of his work would reject. The play should naturally have ended with the fall and tragical death of *Sejanus*. For this reason the subsequent descriptions taken from Juvenal, of the indignities and insults offered by the multitude, both to himself and his statues, are wholly out of place. Nor was it less improper to describe with the attendant circumstances, the unfortunate end of the son and daughter of *Sejanus*; who with brutal violence were dragged from home, and inhumanly put to death by the public executioner. But the poet intended to recount a tale of horror, and excite pity in the breasts of the spectators, by relating the untimely fate of the innocent and tender sufferers; and this farther contributed, in concurrence with the moral, that to insinuate divine vengeance would not fail to punish and exterminate the whole race of those, who contemned the providence and power of heaven (47). He might also have still another design in his view in not concluding his play without these stories, as they served to take off the force of the objection made to the choice of his subject, that *Sejanus* and *Cataline* were historical characters so well known, that no distress which befalls them, can possibly raise any kind of pity, the chiefest and noblest passion belonging to tragedy, in the breast of the beholder. However, after all, it must be acknowledged, that pity is not the only passion, which the tragic poet is concerned with. To excite dread and terror in the mind of the spectator, is equally the design of tragedy with raising the softer and more tender emotions of the heart. Wickedness and guilt, when they are represented to an audience, should naturally create no other sensations but those of fear and horror; and the catastrophe should be designed as a monitory lesson to deter others from perpetrating the like crimes. Our poet is not singular in the choice of his subjects. One of them has lately been exhibited on a stage that is no way remarkable for presenting scenes of cruelty to the beholder. The rival wits of France, Mr Crebillon in his *Catalina*, and Mr Voltaire in his *Rome sauvée*, have actually pitched on the same event with Jonson, in their contest for the dramatic laurel.

(46) Preface to edition of Jonson's Works, ubi supra, p. xx, xxi.

\* In both he copied after Seneca the Tragedian.

(47) Ibid. p. xxi, xxii.

(48) In the Life of Harriot.

(49) See the latter end of his poems.

(50) In Jonson's Works, Vol. VI. p. 338. There is an epitaph upon him, wherein Ben. expresses a great regard for his memory.

(45) Epistolæ ad Pisones, &c. with an English Commentary and notes, second edit. 1753. Vol. I. p. 84, 85.

[S] He was invited to Christ-Church by Dr Corbet.] We have had occasion to mention this gentleman before in the course of this work (48), and therefore some account shall be given of him here. He was descended of a genteel family at Ewel in Surrey (49), tho' his father Vincent Corbet followed the business of a gardiner at Twickenham in Middlesex (50). He was born in 1582, and being bred first at Westminster-school was removed thence to Broadgate-hall, (now Pembroke-



(7) He was created A. M. July 10, that year. Wood's Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 215.

then Senior-Student of that college. Our Poet gladly accepted the invitation; and, having passed some time in cultivating his muse in that delightful seat, he received an additional attestation of his merit from the university, who presented him with the honorary degree of Master of Arts, at the Act in 1619 (q). On the death of the Laureat, Samuel Daniel, in October following, Jonson succeeded to that post, the duty of which had been chiefly performed by him a long time before [T]. The year had not expired, when our new-

(51) He was then Senior-Student of the college, Vicar of Cassington in Oxfordshire, and Prebendary of Bedmington-Secunda in the church of Sarum.

(52) The MS. of this speech is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

\* See a copy of verses cited from it upon Arabella Stuart, in the article of STUART [ARABELLA].

(53) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 600, 601.

Pembroke-college) in Oxford in 1597-8, and chosen student of Christ-Church the following year. In 1605 he proceeded A. M. being then esteemed one of the most celebrated wits of the university, and particularly distinguished himself by making extempore verses, jests, and high flights in the romance taste, which was the wit then in vogue. Afterwards entering into holy orders he became a most quaint preacher in the fashion of that age; and was therefore admired, and especially taken notice of by King James I, who made him one of his chaplains, and promoted him to the deanery of Christ-Church (51), in 1620. By the recommendation of the Earl of Dorset he was made bishop of Oxford in 1629, whence he was translated to Norwich in 1632, where he died in 1635, and was buried in that cathedral, having a flat stone upon his grave, with a short Latin inscription, and the arms of the Corbets of Shropshire, viz. *Or, a raven passant sable*. Mr Wood tells us, that he was of a very hospitable temper, and generous in promoting public designs; particularly in 1634, upon the repair of St Paul's, London, he exerted himself both in speech (52), and exemplary gifts to advance that pious work, not only contributing largely himself, but also giving money to some poor ministers for them to give, in order to excite others to contribute who were better able. After his death was published a piece, intitled, *Poetica Stromata*, or a collection of sundry pieces of poetry, London, 1647, 48, &c. 8vo\*. These were made in his younger years, and never intended for the press by him. There is also extant *Richardi Corbet oratio in funus Henrici principis*. MS. in Museo Ashmoleano, at Oxford (53).

[T] He was made Poet Laureat, &c.] It is something strange, says Mr Whalley, that when Daniel was Laureat, his province for many years should have been discharged by Jonson, altho' Daniel wanted not for genius, and was honoured with the good opinion of the Queen. He might also have observed that Jonson had the salary of the Laureat settled upon him for life, some years before Daniel's decease, or else one of the same value, unless there be a mistake in the date of the instrument, as it is referred to in the subsequent one for augmenting that salary of a hundred marks to 50 many pounds, with the addition of a tierce of Canary wine in 1630, by King Charles I. To support this remark, it will be necessary to lay before the reader a copy of that warrant, as follows:

#### CHARLES R.

Charles by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Theasurer, Chancellor, Under Theasurer, Chamberlains, and Barons of the Exchequer of us, our heirs and successours, now beinge, and that hereafter shall be, and to all other the officers and ministers of the said court, and of the receipt there now beinge, and that hereafter shall be, and to all others, to whom these presents shall come, or to whom it shall or may apperteyn, greeting. Whereas our late most deare father King James of happy memorie, by his letters pattents under the great seale of England bearing date at Westminster the first day of February in the thirteenth year of his reign of England (for the considerations therein expressed) did give and graunt unto our well-beloved servaunt Benjamin Johnson, an annuities or yearly pension of one hundred marks of lawful money of Englande, duringe his life, to be paid out of the said Exchequer, at the feast of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the nativity of St John Baptist, St Michael the Archangel, and the birth of our Lord God, quarterly, as by the said letters patents more at large may appear; which annuity or pension, together with the said letters patents, the said Benjamin Johnson hath lately surrendered unto us. Know yee now, that wee, for diverse good considerations us at this present especially movinge, and in consideration of the good and acceptable service done unto us, and to our said father by the said Benjamin Johnson, and especially to encour-

age him to proceed in those services of wit and penn, which wee have enjoyed unto him, and which we expect from him, are graciously pleased to augment and encrease the said annuities or pension of one hundred marks, unto an annuities of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, for his life. And for the better effecting thereof, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, we have given and graunted, and by these presents for us, our heirs, and successours, upon the surrender aforesaid, do give and graunt unto the said Benjamin Johnson, one annuities or yearly pension of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, by the year, to have, hold, and yearly to receive the said annuities or yearly pension of one hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, by the year, unto the said Benjamin Johnson, or his assignes, from the feast of our Lord God last past before the date hereof, for and during the natural life of him the said Benjamin Johnson, at the receipt of the exchequer of us, our heirs and successours, out of the treasure of us, our heirs and successours, from time to time there remayning, by the Theasurer and Chamberlens of us, our heirs and successours there, for the time beinge, at the aforesaid four usual terms of the year, (that is to say) at the feast of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, the nativity of St John the Baptist, St Michael the Archangel, and the birth of our Lord God, by even and equal portions, quarterly to be paid. The first payment thereof to begin at the feast of the annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary next before the date of these presents. Wherefore our will and pleasure is, and we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successours require, command and authorise the said Theasurer, Chancellor, Under-Theasurer, Chamberlens, and Barons, and other Officers and Ministers of the said Exchequer, now and for the time being, not only to paie, or cause to be paid unto the said Benjamin Johnson, or his assignes, the said annuities or yearly pension of one hundred pounds, of lawful money of England, according to our pleasure before expressed: And also from time to time to give full allowance of the same, according to the true meaning of these presents: And these presents, and the inrollment thereof shall be unto all men whom it shall concern, sufficient warrant and discharge for the payinge and allowinge of the same accordingly, without any farther or other warrant to be in that behalf procured or obtained. And further know yee, that wee of our more especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and graunted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successours, do give and graunt unto the said Benjamin Johnson and his assignes, one tierce of Canary Spanish wine yearly: To have, hold, perceive, receive and take the said tierce of Canary Spanish wine unto the said Benjamin Johnson and his assignes, during the term of his natural life, out of our store of wines yearly, and from time to time remayninge at or in our cellars, within, or belonging to our palace of Whitehall. And for the better effecting of our will and pleasure herein, we do hereby require and command all and singular officers whom it shall or may concerne, or who shall have the care or charge of our said wines, that they or some one of them do deliver, or cause to be delivered the said tierce of wine yearly, and once in every year unto the said Benjamin Johnson or his assignes, during the term of his natural life, at such time and times, as he or they shall demand or desire the same. And these presents or the inrollment thereof shall be unto all men whom it shall concerne, a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf, altho' expresse mention, &c. In-witness, &c.

Ex. per Ro. HEATH.

Maie it please your most excellent Majesty,  
This conteyneth your Majestie's graunte unto Benjamin Johnson, your Majestie's servaunte, during his life, of a pension of 100 l. per annum, and of a tierce of



new-crowned Laureat took a tour into Scotland (r), on purpose to visit a favourite brother-poet, Mr Drummond of Hawthornden [U] in that country. He passed some months with this ingenious friend, to whom he opened his heart with a most unreserved freedom and confidence, the sweetest gift of friendship [W]. Our author was much pleased

(r) Mr Drummond dates the minutes of his conversation, January 1619.

‘ of Spanish wine yearly, out of your Majestie’s store remaining at Whitehall. And is done upon surrender of former letters patents granted unto him by your late royal father of a pension of 100 marks *per annum*.  
‘ Signified to be your Majestie’s pleasure by the Lord Theasurer.

RO. HEATH.

Indorsed thus,

March 1630.

‘ *Expl. apud Westm. vicesimo sexto die Martii anno R. Ris. Caroli quinto.*

Per WINDEBANK \*.

[U] He went to Scotland to visit Drummond, &c.] Ben had long held a literary correspondence with this gentleman, who had given him an invitation to his pleasant seat at Hawthornden, where this brother-poet was born, November 13, 1585. He received the first rudiments of his education at the high-school in Edinburgh, and thence removed to that university, where he was made A. M. In 1606, he was sent to Bourges in France, to study the Civil-Law under his countryman, the President Lockhart; and he made himself so much a master of it, that if he had followed the practice, he might have made the best figure of any Lawyer in his time. But he saw more charms in the classics than in that dry study, and relinquished all thoughts of the Bar. After the death of his father, he retired to Hawthornden; and, continuing his application to the Greek and Latin Poets and Historians, he there enriched the world with the product of his leisure hours. In this retirement he fell in love with a beautiful young lady, daughter to Mr Cunningham of Barnes, of an ancient and honourable family. He made his addresses to this lady, and was happy enough to raise a mutual passion in her. The day of marriage was fixed, and all things ready for completing his felicity, when she was snatched from him by a fever. To divert the melancholy occasioned by this shock (54), he made the tour of Italy; and passing through Germany and France, he visited all the famous universities, and conversed with the Literati of each country. He continued abroad eight years, and residing chiefly at Rome and Paris, he made an excellent collection of the best ancient Greek and Latin, and of the modern French, Italian, and Spanish books. Upon his return to Scotland, he went to the seat of his brother-in-law Sir John Scott, of Scots-Tarvant, a gentleman of good sense and learning, with whom he lived ‘till about 1630; when he entered into a marriage with Elizabeth, grand-daughter of Sir Robert Logan (55). He had several children by this lady. Two sons, William, who was knighted by Charles II; Robert; and a daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to one Dr Henderson a Physician at Edinburgh. After the breaking out of the civil war, he retired to his brother, with whom he continued during the times of the confusion. In this interval it is supposed, that he drew up his History of the Five James’s, successively Kings of Scotland. He likewise wrote several tracts against the measures of the Covenanters, and those engaged in the opposition of Charles I. one of these, called *Icane*, he was desired to print, as the best means to quiet the minds of the distracted people, by the Marquis of Montrose, who likewise sent him a protection, dated August 1645, immediately after the battle of Kilsyth, with another letter, wherein he highly commends Mr Drummond’s learning and loyalty (56). When a tax was laid by the reformers for raising the army which fought against the King, as his estate lay in three different counties, it happened, that the money levied upon him as his share upon any one of the estates, did not amount to the maintaining of one man, but a half, or perhaps a quarter only. Whereupon he addressed the following lines to the King.

‘ Of all these forces rais’d against the King,  
‘ ‘Tis my strange hap not one whole man to bring.  
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‘ From diverse parishes, yet diverse men;  
‘ But all in halves and quarters: Great King, then,  
‘ In halves and quarters if they come ‘gainst thee,  
‘ In halves and quarters send them back to me.’

Under the appellation of a Malignant he was extremely harrassed by the prevailing party, and for his verses and discourses frequently summoned before their circular tables. The news of his Sovereign’s death upon a scaffold so overwhelmed him with grief, that, worn down by study as he was, he did not long survive the shock. He died the same year, 1649; and though he never was in arms for the King, yet he may be said in some sense to have fallen a sacrifice to his loyalty. A little before his death, he gave a considerable part of his books to the university of Edinburgh (57). His general character is thus summed up by the writer of his Life. He was a man of fine natural endowments, cultivated by reading and travelling; he was possessed of all the personal accomplishments of music, dancing, fencing, &c. and spoke the Spanish, Italian, and French languages, as well as his mother-tongue. He was a judicious and great Historian, a delicate Poet, a master of polite erudition, a loyal subject, a friend to his country, and, to sum up all, a pious Christian. After his death, his History was published at London, 1655, in fol. with a preface or introduction by Mr Hall of Gray’s-Inn. In this History, Mr Drummond has chiefly followed Bishop Elphinstone, and has given a different turn to things from Buchanan, whom a party of the Scotch accuse of being a pensioner of Queen Elizabeth; and as he joined interest with the Earl of Murray, who wanted to disturb the reign of his sister Mary Queen of Scots; he is strongly suspected of being a party-writer, and of having misrepresented the Scotch transactions of old, in order to serve some scheme of policy. His Works were printed at Edinburgh, 1711, in fol. to which there is prefixed an account of his life (58); as also a preface by Milton’s nephew, Mr Edward Philips, who ranks him with Tasso and Guarini among the Poets, and places him next to Thuanus among the Historians. Among his poems, there is one called by him *Polemio Middiana*; ‘tis a kind of Macronic poetry, in which the Scots words are put into Latin terminations; it was reprinted in Queen Anne’s time, with a preface concerning Macronic poetry; and it has been often reprinted in Scotland as a very humorous performance.

(57) Hall, where last mentioned.

(58) ‘Tis from that account that most of the particulars of this remark are taken.

[W] The sweetest gift of friendship.] His sentiments of the authors and poets of those times will no doubt be an agreeable entertainment to the reader; and we shall lay it before him, from the minutes which were taken of it by Drummond himself, as follows. With regard to the Poets, he said, that Sydney did not keep a decorum, in making every one speak as well as himself. That Spenser’s stanza pleased him not, nor his matter; the meaning of the allegory of the fairy-queen he delivered in writing to Sir Walter Raleigh, which was, that, by the bleating beast he understood the Puritans; and by the false Dueffa the Queen of Scots. Spenser’s goods, he said, were robbed by the Irish, and his house with a little child burnt, he and his wife escaped, and after died for want of bread in King-street; he refused 20 pieces sent him by Lord Essex, and said he had no time to spend. That Samuel Daniel was a good honest man, had no children, and was no poet; he had wrote the Civil Wars, and had not yet one battle in all his book. That Drayton’s Poly-Olbion, if he had performed what he promised to write, the Deeds of all the Worthies, had been excellent; that he was challenged for writing one book, *Mortimeriades*. That Sir John Davis played on Drayton in an epigram, who in a sonnet concluded his mistress might have been the ninth worthy, and said, he used a phrase like Demeas in Arcadia, who said, his mistress for her wit might be a giant. That Sylvester’s translation of Du Bartas was not well done, and that he wrote his verses before he understood to confer, and those of Fairfax were not good (59). That the translation of Homer and Virgil into long Alexandrines was but prose.

(59) His censure of Fairfax most probably arose from the same principle as that of Spenser, which was his dislike of the stanza form in epic poetry.

• This instrument was given to Mr Whalley by the late Dr R. Rawlinson. Jonson’s Life, &c. p. lvii, & seq.

(54) His grief for this loss is the subject of several of his letters and poems; wherein he observes, that he was the first in the island that ever celebrated a dead mistress.

(55) Mr Hall calls her Margaret Logan of the House of Reslerig. See preface to his History, in the conclusion. ‘Tis said he was smitten by the resemblance she bore to his first love.

(56) At this time he wrote also the *London Star*, and an Address to those who were called the *Leaguers*; the purport of which is the same with that of the *Icane*.



pleased with the adventures of this journey, and celebrated them in a particular poem; which, together with several more of his productions, being accidentally burnt, about two or three years afterwards, that loss drew from him a poem, which he called *An Execration upon Vulcan* [X]. He seems to have let no year pass without the amusement of writing

(60) See Jonson's epigram to John Donne, Vol. VI. p. 260.

(61) Jonson had a literary correspondence with Donne, and several of the letters may be seen in *A Collection of Letters made by Sir Tobie Matthæus, Knt.* Lond. 1660, 8vo.

(62) It appears from his letters, that he never saw the lady whom he made the subject of this poem.

(63) See the *Winter's Tale*, Act III. scene vi. and vii. However, the magic of that tale is such as makes this absurdity undiscerned.

• In his *Discoveries* Jonson says, that Sir Walter was not to be contented either for judgment or stile.

(64) Afterwards Earl of Stirling and a Poet.

(65) But all this Drummond says was to no purpose; for he never understood the French or Italian languages, that is, not so perfectly as Drummond. He was, indeed, entirely ignorant of the French; yet there are proofs of his having a tolerable skill in the Italian. Perhaps he might borrow what he said of Ronfard from Cardinal Perron, whose favourite Poet he was, and who professed an uncommon admiration of his odes.

(66) In the preface to that book, published in 1614, he calls Jonson his beloved friend and singular Poet, whose special worth in literature, accurate judgment and performance, known only to the few who are only able to know him, hath had from me, ever since I began to learn, an increasing admiration. See also in the body of the book, part ii. p. 466. in Vol. III. of his Works, edit. 1726. fol.

prose. That Sir John Harrington's *Ariosto*, of all translations, was the worst. He said Donne was originally a poet, his grandfather on the mother's side was Heywood the epigrammatist; that Donne, for not being understood, would perish. He esteemed him the first poet in the world for some things (60); his verses of the *lost Ochadine* he had by heart, and that passage of the calm, that dust and feathers did not stir, all was so quiet. He affirmed, that Donne wrote all his best pieces before he was 25 years of age. The conceit of Donne's transformation or metempsychosis was, that he sought the soul of that apple which Eve pulled, and hereafter made it the soul of a bitch, then of a she-wolf, and so of a woman: his general purpose was to have brought it into all the bodies of the heretics from the soul of Cain, and at last left it in the body of Calvin. He only wrote one sheet of this, and since he was made doctor repented hugely, and resolved to destroy all his poems (61). He told Donne, that his anniversary was prophane and full of blasphemies; that if it had been written on the Virgin Mary it had been tolerable; to which Donne answered, that he described the idea of a woman, and not as she was (62). He said farther to Drummond, that Shakespeare wanted art, and sometimes sense; for in one of his plays he brought in a number of men, saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, where is no sea near by 100 miles (63). That Sir Walter Raleigh esteemed fame more than conscience; that the best wits in England were employed in making his history, and he himself had written a piece to him on the Punic war, which he altered and set in his book\*. He said there was no such ground for an heroic poem as King Arthur's fiction; and that Sir Philip Sidney had an intention to have transferred all his *Arcadia* to the stories of King Arthur. That Owen was a poor pedantic Schoolmaster, sweeping his living from the posteriors of little children, and had nothing good in him, his epigrams being meer narrations. That Francis Beaumont died before he was 30 years of age, who he said was a good poet, as were Fletcher and Chapman, whom he loved. That Sir W. Alexander (64) was not half kind to him and neglected him, because a friend to Drayton. That Sir R. Ayton loved him dearly. That he fought several times with Marston, and said Marston wrote his father-in-law's preachings, and his father-in-law his comedies. This was his judgment of the poets of his own country. With regard to foreigners, he thought Bartas no poet, but a verser, because he wrote no fiction. He cursed Petrarch for reducing verses into sonnets, which he said was like that tyrant's bed, where some who were too short were racked, others too long cut short. That Guarini, in his *Pastor Fido*, kept no decorum in making shepherds speak as well as himself. That the best pieces of Ronfard were his odes (65). That of the ancient Latin poets, Petronius, Plinius Secundus, and Plautus, spoke best Latin; and Tacitus wrote the secrets of the Council and Senate, as Suetonius did those of the Cabinet and Court. That Lucan taken in parts was excellent, but all together nought. That Quintilian's 6th, 7th, and 8th books, were not only to be read, but altogether digested. That Juvenal, Horace, and Martial, were to be read for delight, and so was Pindar, but Hippocrates for health. Of the English he said, Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* was best for Church matters, and Selden's *Titles of Honour for Antiquities* (66).

[X] *An Execration upon Vulcan.* This poem was printed soon after his death (67), in a collection, intitled, *Ben Jonson's Execration against Vulcan: with divers Epigrams by the same Author, to severall Noble Personages in this Kingdome. Never published before.* It begins with these lines:

‘ And why to me this, thou lame lord of fire?  
‘ What had I done, that might call on thine ire,  
‘ Or urge thy greedy flames thus to devour  
‘ So many my years labour in an hour.  
‘ I ne'er attempted, Vulcan, 'gainst thy life.—

(67) In 1640, 4to. The imprimatur bears date December 1639. It was printed also the same year in 12mo.

‘ Had I wrote treason there, or herefy,  
‘ Imposture, witchcraft charms, or blasphemy,  
‘ I had deserv'd then thy consuming looks.’

In proceeding, he enumerates the several kinds of loose or low writing, and particularly the unnatural romances, spawned in the age of Chivalry, together with the factious pamphlets, written especially by the Puritans in this and the preceding age; all which being condemned to the flames, he goes on thus:

‘ These had'st thou pleased either to dine or sup.  
‘ Had made a meal for Vulcan to lick up.’

Then he passes to his own loss in the following lines:

‘ But in my desk what was there to excite  
‘ So ravenous and vast an appetite:  
‘ I dare not say a body, but some parts  
‘ There were of search and mast'ry in their arts.  
‘ All the old Venusine in poetry,  
‘ And lighted by the Stagyrice could spy (68),  
‘ Was there made English with the Grammar too,  
‘ To teach some, that their nurses could not do,  
‘ The purity of language (69); and, among the rest,  
‘ My journey into Scotland sung, with all th'adven-  
‘ tures;  
‘ Three books not afraid  
‘ To speak the fate of the Sicilian maid  
‘ To our own ladies; and in story there  
‘ Of our fifth Henry, eight of his nine year,  
‘ Wherein was oil, beside the succour spent,  
‘ Which noble Carew, Cotton, Selden, lent:  
‘ And twice twelve years, stor'd up humanity,  
‘ With humble gleanings in Divinity,  
‘ After the Fathers, and those wiser guides,  
‘ Whom faction had not drawn to study sides.

(68) Meaning his translation of Horace's *Art of Poetry*, with notes from Aristotle. The translation is in his Works, but the notes were most of them inserted in his *Discoveries*.

(69) Of this also he either had another copy, or supplied the loss by a new one; for we find it among his Works, Vol. VII. edit. 1756.

Upon these last lines it is that the conjecture in the text is built concerning the date of this president, the probability of which is left to the reader's judgment.

We must not forget to observe, that there are two poems still extant, wrote upon the same number of love adventures. One of these is intitled, *The Hour-Glass*, and the other, *Upon my Picture left in Scotland*. They are both inserted in the last edition of his Works, Vol. VI (70). The ingenious editor of which, in a note to the latter poem, has these words. ‘ This and the preceding copy were both wrote in Scotland, when Jonson paid a visit to Drummond of Hawthornden in the year 1619.’ But in this there is some difficulty, as will appear from perusing the verses, which run thus:

‘ I now think Love is rather deaf than blind;  
‘ For else it could not be, that she,  
‘ Whom I adore so much, should so slight me,  
‘ And cast my love behind:  
‘ I'm sure my language to her was as sweet,  
‘ And every close did meet,  
‘ In sentence of as subtil feet,  
‘ As hath the youngest he,  
‘ That sits in shadow of Apollo's tree.  
‘ Oh! but my conscious fears,  
‘ That fly my thoughts between,  
‘ Tell me that she hath seen  
‘ My hundreds of grey hairs,  
‘ Told seven and forty years.  
‘ Read so much waste, as she cannot embrace  
‘ My mountain belly and my rocky face,  
‘ And all these thro' her eyes have stop't her ears.’

Now if he was forty-seven years of age in 1619, his birth could not have happened later than 1572, two years

(70) P. 355, 356.



writing some of these smaller pieces. And those, with the masques, which the office of Poet-Laureat then particularly called for every Christmas, filled up the interval to the year 1625 (s); when his comedy, intitled *The Staple of News*, appeared upon the stage. Not long afterwards he fell into an ill state of health, which, however, did not hinder the discharge of his duty at Court. And he found time also to gratify the more agreeable exercise of play-writing; for, in 1629, he brought another comedy, called *The New Inn, or the light Heart*, to the theatre. But here his adversaries prevailed over him; the play was hissed out of the house on it's first appearance there; and our Laureat had recourse to his pride for a revenge, which dictated an *Ode to himself*, threatening to leave the stage [Y]. This disappointment added to the continuance of his illness; and the Poet's ordinary foible, bad economy, having reduced his finances to a low ebb, the king graciously sent him a purse of a hundred pounds. That goodness was properly and in character repaid by an epigram, addressed to his royal benefactor, which, for some special reasons, is inserted below [Z].

But

years before the date of it, as fixed by this editor himself, viz. 1574. And as this latter date is confirmed by so many concurring testimonies, it remains, that we fix the date of his poem in 1621, two years after the journey to Scotland; to which time the contents of it are plainly consonant enough.

[Y] *An Ode to himself.* It consists of six stanzas. The two first are as follow:

- ‘ Come leave the loathed stage,
- ‘ And more the loathsome age,
- ‘ Where pride and impudence in fashion knit,
- ‘ Usurp the chair of wit;
- ‘ Indicting and arraigning every day
- ‘ Something they call a play.
- ‘ Let their fastidious, vain,
- ‘ Commission of the brain
- ‘ Run on and rage, sweat censure, and condemn;
- ‘ They were not made for thee, lest thou for them.

- ‘ Say that thou pour’st them wheat,
- ‘ And they will acorns eat:
- ‘ Twere simple fury still thy self to waste
- ‘ On such as have no taste.
- ‘ To offer them a surfeit of pure bread,
- ‘ Whose appetites are dead;
- ‘ No, give them grains their fill,
- ‘ Husks, draft to drink and swill.
- ‘ If they love lees, and leave the lusty wine,
- ‘ Envy them not their palates with the swine.

The presumption and vanity of this ode was such, as provoked even Jonson's friends to animadvert upon it. Mr Owen Feltham (71) answered it in another ode of the same measure, the second stanza of which runs thus:

- ‘ ’Tis known you can do well,
- ‘ And that you do excel
- ‘ As a translator. But when things require
- ‘ A genius and a fire
- ‘ Not kindled heretofore by others pains,
- ‘ As oft you’ve wanted brains
- ‘ And art to strike the white.
- ‘ As you have levell’d right,
- ‘ Yet if men vouch not things apocryphal,
- ‘ You bellow, rave, and spatter round your gall.’

This is severe and coarse. But he is touched more sensibly, because much more delicately, by Sir John Suckling, in the conclusion of the lines following in *The Sessions of the Poets*.

- ‘ The first that broke silence was good old Ben,
- ‘ Prepared before with Canary wine,
- ‘ And he told them plainly he deserved the bays,
- ‘ For his were call’d Works, where others were
- ‘ but plays (72).

And

- ‘ Bid them remember how he had purged the stage
- ‘ Of errors that had lasted many an age;
- ‘ And he hop’d they did not think the Silent
- ‘ Woman,
- ‘ The Fox and the Alchemist out-done by no man.

- ‘ Apollo slept him there, and bade him not go on,
- ‘ Twas merit he said, and not presumption,
- ‘ Must carry ’t. At which Ben turned about,
- ‘ And in great choler offer’d to go out.

But

- ‘ Those that were there thought it not fit
- ‘ To discontent so ancient a wit;
- ‘ And therefore Apollo call’d him back again;
- ‘ And made mine Host of his own *New Inn* (73).

(73) *Fragmenta Aurea*, &c. p. 7. edit. 1748, 8vo.

However, Ben, on the other hand, had his adherents, who even did not scruple to maintain, that the pride and presumption of this poem was no more than his just right, and what he had a fair claim to from the undoubted superiority of his merit. *Sume superbiam quæsitam meritis*, was the advice of Horace, the father of the Latin ode. In this spirit his fond and faithful son, Thomas Randolph, incensed at the too severe attack of Feltham, addressed an ode to our poet, of which we shall give a stanza or two from Langbaine.

- ‘ Ben, do not leave the stage,
- ‘ Cause ’tis a loathsome age;
- ‘ For pride and impudence will grow too bold,
- ‘ When they shall hear it told
- ‘ They frighted thee. Stand high as in thy cause;
- ‘ Their hiss is thy applause.
- ‘ Most just were this disdain,
- ‘ Had they approv’d thy vein.
- ‘ So thou for them and they for thee were born;
- ‘ They to incense, and thou too much to scorn.

- ‘ Wilt thou engross thy store
- ‘ Of wheat, and pour no more;
- ‘ Because their bacon-brains have such a taste,
- ‘ As more delights in mast?
- ‘ No; set them forth a board of dainties, full
- ‘ As thy best muse can cull;
- ‘ Whilst they the while do pine,
- ‘ And thirst ’midst all their wine.
- ‘ What greater plague can hell itself devise,
- ‘ Than to be willing thus to tantalize.

[Z] *An Epigram which is inserted below.* The title is an Epigram to King Charles for an hundred pounds he sent me in my sickness, 1629.

- ‘ Great Charles, among the holy gifts of grace,
- ‘ Annexed to thy person and thy place,
- ‘ ’Tis not enough (thy piety is such)
- ‘ To cure the call’d King’s evil with a touch,
- ‘ But thou wilt yet a kinglier mast’ry try,
- ‘ To cure the poet’s evil, Poverty:
- ‘ And in these cures dost to thyself enlarge,
- ‘ As thou dost cure our evil at thy charge.
- ‘ Nay, and in this thou shewest to value more,
- ‘ One poet, than of other folks ten score.
- ‘ O piety! so to weigh the poor’s estates.
- ‘ O bounty! so to difference the rates.
- ‘ What can the poet wish his King may do,
- ‘ But that he cure the people’s evil too (74).

(74) Jonson's Works, &c. Vol. VI. p. 434. The two last lines allude to the murmurs of that time upon the dissolution of the Parliament, &c. See the General History of England under this year.

(75) Cibber's Lives of the Poets under Jonson's article, and Smollet's History of England, Vol. III. p. 316.

This poem is inserted at length, not so much to confute as to shame a printed story (75), which tells us, that

(71) A writer of note in that age, and author of a book, which had it's day of fame, intitled, *Resolves*. That he was a friend to Jonson's real merit appears by his verses in Jonsonus Virbius. See remark [D D].

(72) See note in the text.



But his Majesty's munificence did not stop there; he augmented the Laureat's salary of a hundred marks to a hundred pounds a year, together with the addition of a tierce of Canary wine; which pension has been continued to his successors in that office ever since [AA].

King

that the King hearing of our poet's sickness, sent him a benevolence of ten pounds; and that Ben taking the money into his hand, said to the messenger, *His Majesty hath sent me ten pounds, because I am old and poor, and live in an alley, go and tell him that his soul lives in an alley* (76). This disorder of Jonson's, whatever it was, seems to have been of the chronical species. We find him in 1631 pouring forth his complaints in the following triplet:

- ' Disease the enemy, and his engineers,
- ' Want, with the rest of his conceal'd compeers,
- ' Have cast a trench about me these five years.'

This stanza is the second of five which make up an epistle mendicant to the then Lord Treasurer (77). The whole tenour whereof discovers a greater affliction for the emptiness of his purse, than for the disorder of his person; and the success he had met with in that article encouraged him to make use of his muse afterwards, in several less direct, but not less understood, nor less effectual applications of the adulatory kind, with the same view. We are told particularly, that he received forty pounds for one of these, which he intitled an *Epigram*, and begins thus:

- ' If to my mind, great Lord, I had a 'state,
- ' I would present you now with curious plate,
- ' Of Norimberg or Turkey, &c (78).'

[AA] Which pension is still continued.] Our poet drew up a petition for this favour in the following form:

- ' The humble petition of poor Ben,
  - ' To th' best of monarchs, masters, men,
  - ' King Charles.
- Doth most humbly show it,
- ' To your majesty, your poet:
  - ' That whereas your Royal Father
  - ' James the blessed, pleas'd the rather,
  - ' Of his special grace to letters,
  - ' To make all the muses debtors
  - ' To his bounty: By extension
  - ' Of a free poetic pension,
  - ' A large hundred marks annuity,
  - ' To be given me in gratuity,
  - ' For done service, and to come:
  - ' And that this so accepted sum;
  - ' Or dispensed in books or bread,
  - ' (For on both the muse was fed)
  - ' Hath drawn on me from the times
  - ' All the envy of the rhimes,
  - ' And the rattling pit-pat noise
  - ' Of the less poetic boys,
  - ' When their pot-guns aim to hit,
  - ' With their pellets of small wit,
  - ' Parts of me (they judg'd) decay'd,
  - ' But we last out still unlay'd.
  - ' Please your majesty to make,
  - ' Of your grace, for goodness sake,
  - ' Those your father's marks your pounds:
  - ' Let their spite (which now abounds)
  - ' Then go on, and do it's worst,
  - ' This would all their envy burst:
  - ' And so warm the poet's tongue,
  - ' You'll read a snake in his next song (79).

We have the rather been induced to insert this epistle to his majesty, in order to contrast the latter part of it with the Ode addressed to himself in *Rem.* [27]. The raillery here upon his poetic foes, tho' poignant, is perfectly genteel and easy, and at a great distance from the foul-mouthed coarse virulence of the Ode. The occasion indeed required it; and this shews him to be a compleat master in the œconomy of satirical wit;

and that he knew when to take the switch, and when the bludgeon or the flail, and could manage both with a skill to be envied, but not equalled by his antagonists. But there is another part of his conduct wherein his want of œconomy is both notorious and contemptible, I mean in the article of his finances, which notwithstanding the handsome addition made to him here mentioned, were continually in disorder and deficient; and that defect made him a beggar. Some instances of this have been mentioned in the preceding remark, and many more might be produced. There is good reason to believe, that he had also a pension from the City, from several of the nobility and gentry; and particularly from Mr Sutton the founder of Charterhouse hospital in London (80). Mr Wood indeed insinuates, what is still more contemptible, that these pensions were paid him to prevent coming under the lash of his satire; as if Jonson, like another Aretine, was the scourge of the Great, who refused to become tributaries to his muse. But this seems to have no better a foundation than the known severity of that muse when provoked. It is certain the applications which we have of his in this way, are of a very different strain; and the following address is sufficient to shew, that Ben's foibles were the usual ones generally incident to a head poetically turned, heedlessness and extravagance (81).

To Mr John Burges.

- ' Father John Burges,
- ' Necessity urges
- ' My woeful cry
- ' To Sir Robert Pye,
- ' And that he will venture
- ' To send my debenture.
- ' Tell him his Ben
- ' Knew the time when
- ' He lov'd the Muses,
- ' Tho' now he refuses
- ' To take apprehension
- ' Of a year's pension,
- ' And more is behind:
- ' Put him in mind,
- ' Christmas is near;
- ' And neither good cheer,
- ' Mirth, fooling, nor wit,
- ' Nor any least fit
- ' Of gambol or sport
- ' Will come at the Court;
- ' If there be no money,
- ' No plover or coney
- ' Will come to the table,
- ' Or wine to enable
- ' The muse or the poet,
- ' The parish will know it.
- ' Nor any quick warming pan help him to bed;
- ' If th' Chequer be empty, so will be his head (82).

It is true we find him threatening to satirize the King's household, if he were not restrained by the fear of offending his Majesty. It seems he had met with some difficulty and delay in procuring his butt of sack from the board of Green Cloth, whereupon he sent the following verses, which he intitled, *An Epigram to the Household*, 1630.

- ' What can the cause be, when the King hath given
- ' His poet sack, the household will not pay?
- ' Are they so scanted in their store, or driven
- ' For want of knowing the poet to say him nay?
- ' Well, they should know him, would the King but grant
- ' His poet leave to sing his household true;
- ' He'd frame such ditties of their store and want,
- ' Wou'd make the very green cloth to look blue:
- ' And

(76) There is an expression like this last in our author's Works, that furnished the words, which, with the bluntness of his temper, was ground more than enough for the coinage and ready reception of a calumny.

(77) In his Works, Vol. VI. p. 446.

(78) Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 9.

(79) Ibid. p. 8.

(80) Mr Wood had it from the mouth of Bishop Morley. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 609.

(81) To this purpose Cowley comforts himself, that such Were all th' inspired tuneful men. Such all his great grandfathers were, from Homer down to Ben.

(82) Ibid. Vol. VI. p. 431, 432. His shift too for squeezing five pounds of Arthur Squib was perfectly mean and contemptible. See his epistle to that friend, p. 428, 429.



(r) That Prince is observed to bear up against the torrent of his own afflictions with a princely resolution, but always to melt and often into tears, upon seeing or hearing of those which his friends suffered on his account.

King Charles the First's personal character makes it no improbable supposition, that these acts of favour might be in some measure the effects of his compassion for this servant (t), who began now to sink into a visible decay both of body and mind. 'Tis true, we have two comedies wrote by him afterwards; but they are such, as have not unfittedly been called his dotage (u) [BB]; and he found himself under a necessity of absolutely laying down his pen soon after the year 1634 [CC]. His disorder was the palsy, which put a period to his life Aug. 6, 1637, in the 63d year of his age (w). He was interred three days afterwards in Westminster-abbey, at the north-west end near the belfrey. Over his grave was laid a common pavement-stone, with this Laconic inscription, O Rare Ben Jonson. It was done

(u) So they are called by Dryden, but yet they are the dotages of Jonson, as Mr Whalley observes in his Life, p. 51.

(w) See his monument in Westminster-abbey.

- And rather wish in their expence of sack,
- So the allowance of the King to use,
- As the old bard should no Canary lack,
- 'Twere better spare a butt than spill his praise :
- For in the genius of the poet's verse (83)
- The King's fame lives. Go now deny his tierce.

(83) Ibid. p. 438, 439.

[BB] Have not unfittedly been called his dotages.] It is the character given by Mr Dryden of our author's last performances, which are his *Tale of a Tub*; and the *Magnetic Lady*, or *Humours reconciled*. This last piece was smartly and virulently attacked by Dr Alexander Gill, who succeeded his father as master of St Paul's school (84), of which we shall give the reader the following specimen :

(84) There is some account of both Father and Son in Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 602. and Vol. II. col. 22, 23.

- But to advise thee, Ben, in this strict age,
- A brick-kill's better for thee than the stage ;
- Thou better knows a groundfill for to lay,
- Than lay a plot or ground-work for a play.
- And better canst direct to cap a chimney,
- Than to converse with Clio or Polyhymay.
- Fall then to work in thy old age agen,
- Take up thy trug and trowel, gentle Ben,
- Let plays alone, or if thou needst will write,
- And thrust thy feeble muse into the light ;
- Let Lowen cease, and Taylor scorn to teach
- The loathed stage ; for thou hast made it such.

These lines have neither much wit nor poetry. The reflection upon Ben's original employment is very mean, it shews no good heart; and Gill was really a man of bad morals. But he was paid in kind, and Ben answered him with equal virulence; and, in truth, it cannot be said either with more wit or poetry, as follows :

- Shall the prosperity of a pardon still,
- Secure thy railing rhimes, infamous Gill,
- At libelling? Shall no Star-chamber peers,
- Pillory nor whip, nor want of ears,
- All which thou hast incurred deservedly,
- Nor degradation from the ministry,
- To be the Dennis of thy father's school,
- Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool.
- Thinking to stir me, thou hast lost thy end,
- I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tyke, go send
- Thy boltant muse abroad, and teach it rather
- A tune to drown the ballads of thy father.
- For thou hast nought to cure his fame,
- But tune and noise, and echo of his shame.
- A rogue by statute, censured to be whipt,
- Cropt, branded, slit, neck-stockt : go, you are
- stript.

[CC] He laid down his pen after 1634.] His last masque, called *Love's Welcome*, &c. was personated July 30, 1634 (85). The only piece we have with a date after that is his new-year's Ode for 1635 (86). There are indeed two dramatic pieces left unfinished; the time of writing them is uncertain. These are intitled, *The sad Shepherd*, a *Pastoral Tragedy*, and the *Fall of Mortimer*. Of this last there is only the plan of the Drama, and one or two scenes. It is said he died and left it unfinished. His Editor is of opinion that had he completed his design with the same spirit in which he began it, we should have been able to

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boast of one perfect tragedy at least, formed upon the ancient model, and giving us the happiest imitation of the ancient drama (87). The *Sad Shepherd* is carried on almost to the conclusion of the third act. Upon which Mr Whalley makes the following remark, 'I cannot but lament, says he (88), with the reader, the loss of the remaining parts of this play; which we could have borne with the greater patience had even this act been fortunately compleated. We have no account how it came down to us in this mutilated condition, and conjectures can be at best but precarious. Possibly it might have been in the number of those pieces, which were accidentally burnt; tho' indeed there is no particular mention of it in the execration upon Vulcan. Or, Jonson might have undertaken it in the decline of his days, and did not live to finish it; and to this conjecture we are induced by the first line of the prologue :

(87) Ibid. Vol. V. p. 160.

(88) Ibid. p. 151, 152.

• He that hath feasted you these forty years (89).'

(89) This round number must not be taken precisely; for, as *Every Man in his Humour*, which he declares himself to be his first feast of this kind, did not appear 'till 1608, the addition of 40 years extends a full year after his decease. But if the time of his first feast is to be dated from his first writing for the stage, that indeed will bring us probably as far back as 1594, and then the two years will end in 1634, which will confirm the assertion in the text.

There is indeed, continues this editor, one reason which might induce us to believe, that the poet left it unfinished by design. He beheld with great indignation the ungenerous treatment which Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* met with from the people at it's first appearance; and he was witness also to the small encouragement that was given to it's revival under the patronage of King Charles I. Possibly these circumstances deterred him from going thro' with the performance. As his composition was of a kindred nature to that of Fletcher, he might preface the same unfortunate event, should he ever introduce it on the stage; so that posterity can only bewail the perversity of taste in their injudicious ancestors, whose discouragement of the first, contributed to deprive us of the second pastoral drama, that would do honour to the nation. What we now have serveth only to increase our regret; like the remains of some ancient master which beget in us the most inexpressible desire of a perfect statue by the same hand. When a work is not compleated by it's author or maimed by the hand of time, one would either wish the remains to be inconsiderable, or the beauties less exquisite and charming. In the former case, the deficiency is not so much deplored from our inability to judge of the perfection of the whole; and in the latter we are very little anxious for what appears to be hardly worth preserving: But when a piece is so far advanced as to convince us of the excellence of the artist, and of it's own superior delicacy, we are naturally touched with concern for what is lost, and set a proper value on the parts which still subsist.

The remaining pieces of our author to be taken notice of here, are his translation of Horace's *Epistola ad Pisones*; An *English Grammar*; and his observations on men and things, called *Discoveries*. The first of these was translated in his youth. In the preface to *Sejanus* he says, he intended shortly to publish it with notes; but it did not appear in print 'till after his death, and then without notes, the fate of which has been already mentioned (90); and also that much of what was intended for them, is inserted in the *Discoveries*. These make a very excellent piece, the fruits of mature and judicious age, valuable not only for the sentiments and observations, but as a pattern of a nervous and concise stile. His Grammar was also written by him when advanced in years; and Mr Wotton speaking of it observes, that it was the first considerable attempt with regard to the subject. But we must agree with that author, that herein Jonson made Lilly's Grammar his pattern; and for want of reflecting upon the grounds of a language which he understood as well as any man of his age, he drew it by violence to a dead language that was of a quite different make, and so left his book imperfect.

(90) In note (88).

(91) Reflections on ancient and modern Learning.



(x) Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 609. where Mr Wood calls him Jack Young.

(y) Ibid. col. 610.

(z) Winstanley's Lives of the Poets, p. 127. edit. 1687.

(aa) He weighed 20 stone wanting two pounds. See his Epistle to Arthur Squib. Works, Vol. VI. p. 428.

(92) He did not set his name to it, and for that discovery we are obliged to Mr Howell, who contributed a Decastich to it. Howell's Familiar Letters, Vol. I. §. vi. No. 31.

done at the expence of Mr (afterwards Sir) John Young of Great-Milton in Oxfordshire (x). But a much better monument was raised to his memory six months afterwards, when there came out a collection of elegies and poems, intitled, *Jonsonius Virbius: or, the Memory of Ben. Jonson revived by the Friends of the Muses* [DD]. And presently after, there was a design set on foot to erect a marble monument with his statue, and a considerable sum of money was collected for the purpose; but the breaking out of the Rebellion prevented the carrying of it into execution, and the money was returned (y). The bust, in bas-relieve, with the former inscription under it, that is now fixed to the wall in Poets Corner, near the south-east entrance into the abbey, was set up by that great patron of learning, the second Earl of Oxford of the Harley family. As to our Poet's own family, it became extinct with him, for he survived all his children (z). It remains that we exhibit a kind of portrait of his person and character. As to the first, then, if we may depend upon his own description, his body was large, corpulent, and bulky (aa), and his countenance hard and rocky (bb); so that his figure greatly resembled that of Sir John Falstaff, and consequently could not be much less apt to raise a laughter. Nor was the cast of his temper and natural disposition at all more respectable, as represented by his friend Mr Drummond, who observes him to be 'A great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; chusing rather to lose his friend than his jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him, especially after drink, which was one of the elements in which he lived [EE]; a dissembler of the parts which

(bb) In the poem, intitled, *Pictures left in Scotland*, Works, Vol. VI. p. 357. However, his face is said to have resembled Menander's, as we see it in antique gems and medals. So Vida (say these admirers of Jonson) resembled Virgil.

[DD] *Jonsonius Virbius, &c.* This collection was published by Dr Brian Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, and tutor to King Charles II. then Prince of Wales (92). Besides Howell's Decastich, it contains poems by the following persons; Lords Falkland and Backhurst, Sir John Beaumont, and Sir Francis Wortley, Barts. Sir Thomas Hawkins, Mr Henry King, Henry Coventry, Tho. May, Dudley Diggs, George Fortescue, Will. Habington, Edmund Waller, J. Vernon, J. Cl. (probably Cleveland) Jasper Mayne, Will. Cartwright, John Rutter, Owen Feltham, George Donne, Shakerley Marmion, A. M. John Ford, R. Brideoak, A. M. Rich. West, R. Meade, H. Ramsay, T. Terrent, Rob. Wasing, Will. Bew, and Sam. Evans, L.L.B. Lord Falkland, who was himself one of the best scholars of this time, has the following encomium upon that of Jonson:

- ' His learning such, no author old or new,
- ' Escaped his reading, that deserved his view;
- ' And such his judgment, so exact his test,
- ' Of what was best in books, or what was best,
- ' That had he joined those notes his labours took,
- ' From each most praised, and praise deserving
- ' book;
- ' And could the world of that choice treasure
- ' boast,
- ' It need not care if all the rest were lost;
- ' And such his wit, he wrote past what he quotes,
- ' And his productions far exceed his notes.
- ' So in his works where ought inserted grows,
- ' The noblest of the plants engrafted shews,
- ' That his adopted children equal not,
- ' The generous issue his own brain begot.
- ' So great his art, that much which he did write,
- ' Gave the wise wonder, and the crowd delight.'

His Lordship afterwards celebrates Jonson's merit in reforming the state of the drama, and the great reverence that was universally paid to him in these lines:

- ' How in an ignorant and learned age he sway'd,
- ' (Of which the first he found, the second made)
- ' How he, when he could know it, reap'd his fame,
- ' And long out-lived the envy of his name:
- ' To him how daily flock'd, what reverence gave
- ' All that had wit, or would be thought to have,
- ' Or hope to gain, and in so large a store,
- ' That to his ashes they can pay no more,
- ' Except those few, who censuring thought not so,
- ' But aim'd at glory from so great foe.'

[EE] *Drink was one of the elements in which he lived.* This is so notoriously true, that it was made a standing jest among his greatest admirers; and this jovial disposition he had power enough to transmit to late

posterity, and to render immortal the room in the Devil Tavern near Temple-bar, by the name of the Apollo, where he presided in a club, for whose use he drew up in Latin his *Leges Convivales*, in number 24, which were engraven on a stone, and are still to be seen in that room over the chimney. We shall give the translation of them into English as follows:

*Rules for the Tavern Academy: Or, Laws for the Beaux Esprits.*

I.

- ' 1. As the fund of our pleasure let each pay his shot,
- ' Except some chance friend whom a member brings
- ' in.
- ' 2. Far hence be the sad, the lewd fop, and the sot;
- ' For such have the plagues of good company been.

II.

- ' 3. Let the learned and witty, the jovial and gay,
- ' The generous and honest compose our free state,
- ' 4. And the more to exalt our delight while we stay,
- ' Let none be debarr'd from his choice female mate.

III.

- ' 5. Let no scent offensive the chamber infest,
- ' 6. Let fancy not cost prepare all our dishes.
- ' 7. Let the caterer mind the taste of each guest,
- ' And the cook in his dressing comply with their wishes.

IV.

- ' 8. Let's have no disturbance about taking places,
- ' To shew your nice breeding, or out of vain pride.
- ' 9. Let the drawers be ready with wine and fresh glasses.
- ' Let the waiters have eyes, tho' their tongues must
- ' be tied.

V.

- ' 10. Let our wines without mixture or stum, be all fine,
- ' Or call in the master, and break his dull noddle.
- ' 11. Let no sober bigot here think it a sin,
- ' To push on the chirping and moderate bottle.

VI.

- ' 12. Let the contest be rather of books than of wine.
- ' 13. Let the company be neither noisy nor mute.
- ' 14. Let none of things serious, much less of divine,
- ' When belly and head's full, profanely dispute.

VII.



‘reigned in him; a bragger of some good that he wanted; he thought nothing right, but what either himself or some of his friends had said or done. He was passionately kind and angry; careless either to gain or keep; vindictive, but if he was well answered, greatly chagrined; interpreting the best sayings and deeds often to the worst. He was for any religion, being versed in both; oppressed with fancy, which overmastered his reason (cc), a general disease among the Poets.’ He had a very strong memory; for he tells us himself in his Discoveries, that in his youth he could have repeated whole books that he had read, and poems of some select friends, which he thought worth charging his memory with (dd). Lastly, as to his genius, the character of it, in respect of dramatic poetry, has been already touched upon (ee). To which must be added Mr Pope’s remark, that ‘When our author got possession of the stage, he brought critical learning into vogue; and that this was not done without difficulty, which appears from those frequent lessons (and indeed almost declamations) which he was forced to prefix to his first plays, and put into the mouths of his actors, the grex, chorus, &c. to remove the prejudices and inform the judgment of his hearers. Till then, the English authors had no thoughts of writing upon the model of the Ancients: their tragedies were only histories in dialogue, and their comedies followed the thread of any novel as they found it, no less implicitly than if it had been true history.’ Thus that much admired Poet (ff), who followed Jonson in borrowing from the Ancients, as much as he surpassed him in harmonious versification, for which Jonson seems to have had no nice ear. However, Mr Drummond declares (gg) that his inventions were smooth and easy [FF]. He does not

(cc) As an instance of this, he told this friend, that he had spent many a night in looking at his great toe, about which he had seen Turks and Tartars, Romans and Carthaginians, fight in his imagination.

(dd) Discoveries, in his Works, Vol. VII. p. 35, 36.

(ee) In remark [H].

(ff) In the preface to his own Works.

(gg) In his Works, ubi supra.

## VII.

- ‘15. Let no faucy fidler presume to intrude,  
‘ Unless he is sent for to vary our blifs,
- ‘16. With mirth, wit, and dancing, and singing, conclude,  
‘ To regale every sense with delight in excess.

## VIII.

- ‘17. Let raillery be without malice or heat.
- ‘18. Dull poems to read, let none privilege take.
- ‘19. Let no poetaster command or entreat  
‘ Another extempore verses to make.

## IX.

- ‘20. Let argument bear no unmusical sound,  
‘ Nor jars interpose sacred friendship to grieve.
- ‘21. For generous lovers let a corner be found,  
‘ Where they in soft sighs may their passions relieve.

## X.

- ‘22. Like the old Lapithites, with the goblets to fight  
‘ Our own ’mongst offences unpardon’d will rank;  
‘ Or breaking of windows or glasses for spite,  
‘ And spoiling the goods for a rakhelly prank.

## XI.

- ‘23. Whoever shall publish what’s said or what’s done,  
‘ Be he banish’d for ever our assembly divine.
- ‘24. Let the freedom we take be perverted by none,  
‘ To make any guilty by drinking good wine.

*Over the Door at the Entrance into the Apollo.*

- ‘ Welcome all that lead or follow,  
‘ To th’ oracle of Apollo.  
‘ Here he speaks out of his pottle,  
‘ Or the tripos his tower bottle:  
‘ All his answers are divine,  
‘ Truth itself doth flow in wine,  
‘ Hang up all the poor hop-drinkers,  
‘ Cries old Sim, the king of skinkers (93).  
‘ He the half of life abuses,  
‘ That sits watering with the Muses.  
‘ Those dull girls no good can mean us,  
‘ Wine it is the milk of Venus (94).  
‘ And the poet’s horse accounted.  
‘ Ply it, and you all are mounted.  
‘ ’Tis the true Phœbeian liquor,  
‘ Cheers the brains, makes wit the quicker.

(93) Old Sim. means Simon Wadloe, who then kept the Devil tavern; and of him probably is the old ratch, beginning, *Old Sir Simon the King.*

(94) From the Greek Anacreontic, Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀφροδῖς.

- ‘ Pays all debts, cures all diseases,  
‘ And at once three senses pleases.  
‘ Welcome all that lead or follow  
‘ To th’ oracle of Apollo.

[FF] He had no ear for harmony in verse, tho’ his inventions were smooth and easy.] Tho’ the general run of Ben’s verses be a sufficient vindication of this censure, wherein he is usually much more attentive to the matter than to the music of his poetry; yet in many places they are smooth and easy as his invention; we are even surprized with the most beautiful harmony. The following hymn will justify our remark; it is taken from the piece called Cynthia’s Revels (95), and addressed to that goddess, under which character he means to compliment Queen Elizabeth.

(95) Act V. scene vi.

- ‘ Queen and Huntress chaste and fair,  
‘ Now the sun is laid to sleep,  
‘ Seated in thy silver chair,  
‘ State in wonted manner keep;  
‘ Hesperus intreats thy light,  
‘ Goddess excellently bright.

- ‘ Earth, let not thy envious shade  
‘ Dare itself to interpose;  
‘ Cynthia’s shining orb was made  
‘ Heav’n to clear when day did close.  
‘ Bless us then with wished light,  
‘ Goddess excellently bright.

- ‘ Lay this bow of pearl apart,  
‘ And thy crystal shining quiver;  
‘ Give unto the flying hart,  
‘ Space to breathe how short soever.  
‘ Thou that mak’st a day of night,  
‘ Goddess excellently bright.

This little hymn is delicate both in sentiment and expression; the images are picturesque, the verse easy and flowing. Such is the just remark of Mr Whalley, who goes farther; and having observed a thought in Milton’s poem upon Melancholy, not unlike that of the two lines here printed in *Italics*, ventures from the similitude of the expression, to declare himself of opinion that they were taken from hence. Milton’s lines are:

- ‘ Come, but keep thy wonted state,  
‘ With even step, and musing gait.

Il Penferoso.

Whatever may be thought of this conjecture, which indeed is advanced by the author of it with a suitable modest diffidence, no doubt can arise in respect to several other instances produced by him, where some of our best poets have not disdained to copy from this original. Among these he has pointed out Dryden

(96)



not appear to have had much conception of those breaks and rests, or of adapting the found of his verse to the sense, which are the chief beauty of our best modern poets [G G]. 'Tis universally agreed with his last mentioned friend, that translation or imitation was his most distinguished talent [H H], wherein he excelled all his contemporaries (b b); and besides his

(b b) Id. ibid.

(96) In Every Man out of his Humour, Act V. scene iv.

(97) His character of Bluff in the Old Bachelor is formed upon Bobadil in the same comedy.

(98) His Works, Vol. VII. p. 17.

(96) and Congreve (97) in their plays; and what is more still to Jonson's honour, that most striking sentiment, which, in the famous verses *To the Memory of an unfortunate Lady*, seems to burst out originally from Mr Pope as the pure effect of his grief, was first conceived by Jonson, who begins his Elegy on the Lady Jane Pawlet, Marchioness of Winton with these lines:

- What gentle ghost, besprent with April dew,
- Hails me so solemnly to yonder yew (98).'
- And beckoning wooes me —————

Thus imitated in that most tender poem of Mr Pope.

- What beck'ning ghost along the moon-light shade,
- Invites my steps, and points to yonder glade.'

This has been generally, I think, the most admired of Pope's lesser poems; and to this we shall venture to add another no less admired piece, and wrote also by an author not much less distinguished than Pope by the sweet harmony of his versification; I mean Mr Waller, who begins his most beautiful Anacreontic to Phyllis perfectly as Jonson does his song to Celia in Volpone (99), as will appear by the contrast:

## J O N S O N.

- Come, my Celia, let us prove,
- While we can the sports of Love;
- Time will not be our's for ever,
- He at length our good will sever;
- Spend not then his gifts in vain;
- Suns that set may rise again;
- But if once we lose this light,
- 'Tis with us perpetual night.
- Why should we defer our joys. ———

## W A L L E R.

- Phyllis, why should we delay,
- Pleasures shorter than the day;
- Could we, which we never can,
- Stretch our lives beyond their span,
- Beauty like a shadow flies,
- And our youth before us dies,
- Or would youth and beauty stay,
- Love has wings and will away (100).'

It is true they are both imitations from Catullus, but I cannot help thinking that in penning the address to Phyllis, the latter English poet had the former English copy, as well as the original Latin before him.

[G G] Which are the chief beauty of our best modern poets.] This, like the foregoing, holds true in general; yet he was not without his brighter moments, when a ray of enthusiasm darting into his genius, raises it unexpectedly to the height of this excellence. Read the following lines from his Sad Shepherd (101):

- No sun or moon, or other chearful star,
- Look'd out of heaven! but all the cope was dark
- As it were hung so for her exequies!
- And not a voice or sound to ring her knell,
- But of that dismal pair, the screeching owl,
- And buzzing hornet! Hark! hark! hark!
- The fozling bird! how she flutters with her wicker wings.
- Peace! you shall hear her scritch.'

Thus we see him once, at least, transported above himself. This was plainly the work of a true poetical inspiration. The three long syllables preceding the Iambic foot at the close of the one verse, which is immediately connected with the beginning of the other, and the pause placed upon the first syllable, are as fully expressive of the sentiment as can possibly be imagined.

- Hark! hark! hark! the foul
- Bird. —————

There is nothing finer in all Shakespeare or Milton (102). Now we are upon the subject of our author's beauties, it will not be improper to mention his epitaphs, in which he was excellent. Several of them have been inserted in the former editions of his works, besides these, Mr Whalley has enriched his edition with that most celebrated one upon the Countess of Pembroke, Sister to Sir Philip Sidney:

- Underneath this marble herse,
- Lies the subject of all verse,
- Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother;
- Death, ere thou hast slain another
- Learn'd and fair, and good as she,
- Time shall throw a dart at thee'. (103)

This has no rival, unless the following lines in another of Jonson's, on Elizabeth L. H. may be deemed such.

- Underneath this stone doth lie,
- As much beauty as could die,
- Which in life did harbour give,
- To more virtue than doth live (104)'. (103) Vol. VI. p. 297.

[H H] Imitation was his most distinguished talent.] It is so difficult to keep any strong talent within its proper bounds, that if we find him sometimes carrying this to excess, even so far as justly to incur the censure of plagiarism (105), yet it would be carrying the censure to the like excess to charge pardonable escapes to the discredit of his genius. It is true his learning shews itself foremost in almost every thing he wrote; and sometimes it may appear where we could wish it might not be seen; but he seldom transgresseth in this point, for a just decorum and preservation of character, with propriety of circumstance and of language, are his striking excellencies, and evidently distinguish his correctness and art. What he borrows from the Ancients is generally improved by the use and application; and by this means he improved himself in contending to think and express his thoughts like them. However, it is acknowledged that his creative powers, whatever were the degree of them, undoubtedly received some check from thence; and that we should have seen them exerting themselves with greater force and vigour, had he been less acquainted with the ancient models. Jonson was naturally turned to industry and reading; and as to treasure up knowledge must be the exercise and work of memory, by the assiduous employment of that faculty he would necessarily be less disposed to exert the native inborn spirit of genius and invention; and as his memory was thus fraught with the stores of the ancient poetry, the sentiments impressed upon his mind could easily intermix and assimilate with his own; and when transfixed into the language of his country, would appear to have all the graces and the air of novelty; and hence he might be insensibly led to imagine that equal honours were due to successful imitation, as to original and unborrowed thinking. However that be, it is certain that he was at a great distance from that anxious dread of imitation, which when it seizes the polite and cultivated writers in any country, has been assigned for the principal cause of a thorough degeneracy of taste; and hence the same ingenious writer (106) has not scrupled to give it as a seasonable admonition to the poets of our time, to relinquish their vain hopes of originality, and turn themselves to a stricter imitation of the best models; and to enforce this advice he mentions

- the designs of two excellent persons, who are already well known to the public by some slighter essays;
- but are preparing much greater things, and in the pure and simple stile of classical antiquity. The genuine merit, continues he, of these performances, when they shall appear, will be the best apology for their authors. One of whom professes to form himself on the model, and would give an exact image of the Greek drama (107); while the other adventures to project a still nobler design on the plan of the ancient and legitimate epic (108).

(102) See the notes in p. 112. Vol. V. of Jonson's Works, edit. 1756.

(103) Vol. VI. p. 297.

(104) Ibid. p. 277.

(105) See Dryden's Essay on Dramatic Poesy, and his postscript to the Conquest of Granada.

(106) Mr Hearne, in his Horace's Art of Poetry, Vol. II. p. 250.

\* Ibid. p. 251.

(107) This has appeared since under the following title, *Elfrida; a Dramatic Poem, written on the model of the ancient Greek tragedy.* By Mr. Mason. Lond. 1752.

(108) The author of the Observations upon Lord Shaftsbury's Characteristics is the person meant.



his new forming our drama after the ancient models, he gave us the first Pindaric ode in the English language that has a just claim to that title [II]. After the edition of his Works already mentioned, they were reprinted in 1716, in 6 volumes 8vo. and another edition has been lately printed in 1756, in seven volumes 8vo. with some notes and additions by P. Whalley, late Fellow of St John's college in Oxford; who hath also inserted Jonson's comedy, intitled, *The Case is altered*, not in any former edition. And since this last editor declares, he should not have omitted our author's verses, prefixed to *May's translation of Lucan*, had they come to his hands in time, we have thought proper not to conclude this memoir, without inserting a copy of those verses in remark [KK]. There is reason to believe

[II] *The first Pindaric ode in our language that has a just claim to that title.* 'Tis among his *Underwoods*, under the title of ODE PINDARIC, *To the immortal memory and friendship of that noble pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir H. Morison*. The manner of Pindar is followed with great exactness in the structure of this poem. But to do justice to our poet's merit in this article, it will be necessary to explain the true nature of the Pindaric, and to that end we shall cite the following passage from the *Scholia* on *Hephestion*. The Ancients, says the Scholiast, in their odes framed two larger stanzas, and one less: The first of the large stanzas they called *Strophe*, singing it on their festivals at the altars of their gods, and dancing at the same time: The second they called *Antistrophe*, in which they inverted the dance: The lesser stanza was named the *Epode*, which they sung standing still. Hence it is evident that these odes were accompanied with dancing, and that they danced one way while the *Strophe* was singing, and then danced back again while the *Antistrophe* was sung; which shews, says a late ingenious writer, why these two parts consisted of the same length and measure: 'Then when the dancers were returned to the place whence they set out, before they renewed the dance, they stood still while the *Epode* was sung. Such was the structure of the Greek ode, in which the *Strophe* and *Antistrophe*, i. e. the first and second stanzas, contained always the same number and the same kind of verses. The *Epode* was of a different length and measure; and if the ode run out into any length, it was always divided into triplets of stanzas, the two first being constantly of the same length and measure; and all the epodes, in like manner, corresponding exactly with each other (109). To apply these observations to Jonson's ode now under consideration; the whole running into twelve stanzas, it is accordingly distinguished into four triplets of stanzas; the two first of which consist each of ten lines, and the third of twelve, which are marked in order thus, *the first turn of ten, the first counter-turn of ten, the first stand of twelve; the second turn of ten, the second counter-turn of ten, the second stand of twelve*, and so on; but that there may be no room left for the least hesitation in understanding it, we shall insert the third triplet. Thus then,

*The third turn of ten.*

- ' It is not growing like a tree
- ' In bulk, doth make men better be;
- ' Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,
- ' To fall a log at last, dry, bald, and fear.
- ' A lilly of a day
- ' Is fairer far in May.
- ' Altho' it fall and die that night,
- ' It was the plant and flower of light.
- ' In small proportions we just beauties see,
- ' And in short measures life may perfect be.'

*The third counterturn of ten.*

- ' Call, noble Lucius, then for wine,
- ' And let thy looks with gladness shine;
- ' Accept this garland, plant it on thy head,
- ' And think, nay know, thy Morison's not dead.
- ' He leapt the present age,
- ' Possess'd with holy rage,
- ' To see that bright, eternal day,
- ' Of which we priests and poets say
- ' Such truths as we expect for happy men,
- ' And there he lives with memory, and Ben.'

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*The third stand of twelve.*

- ' Jonson, who sung thus of him e'er he went
- ' Himself to rest,
- ' Or taste a part of that full joy he meant
- ' To have express,
- ' In this bright asterism!
- ' Where it were friendship's schism
- ' (Were not his Lucius long with us to tarry)
- ' To separate these twi-
- ' lights, the Dioscuri;
- ' And keep the one half from his Harry.
- ' But Fate did so alternate the design,
- ' Whilst that in heav'n, this light on earth must shine.'

The reader will be before-hand with me in observing, that the structure of this ode is a little different from that of the Ancients, as laid down by the Scholiast above cited, who supposes the *Epode* to be always the lesser stanza, or to contain fewer verses than either the *Strophe*, or *Antistrophe*; but this is a mistake of the Scholiast; for the epodes of Pindar are various, some falling short, some being equal, and others exceeding the *Strophe* in the number of verses. Jonson therefore has not deviated from the original, in making his stand longer than the *turn* and *counter-turn* by the addition of a couplet. To conclude from what has been said, the ancient regularity of these kind of compositions is sufficiently evident, as well as our poet's learning and knowledge in ancient criticism; and hence we are taught what to think of those heaps of lines of all lengths and sizes, which have been passed upon the world for translations, or imitations of Pindar, that they are no better than so many caricaturas, or distorted likenesses, of the great original.

[KK] *Not to close this memoir without a copy of them* ] As we have succeeded in our enquiry for these verses, they are inserted here by way of supplement to Mr Whalley's edition of our author's works. The address is as follows:

TO MY CHOSEN FRIEND,

*The learned Translator of LUCAN,*

THOMAS MAY, Esq;

- ' When Rome I read thee in thy mighty paire,
- ' And see both climbing up the slippery staire
- ' Of fortune's wheel, by Lucan driv'n about,
- ' And the world in it, I begin to doubt,
- ' At every line some pin thereof should slacke
- ' At least, if not the general engine cracke.
- ' But when again I view the parts so peiz'd,
- ' And those in number so, and measure rais'd;
- ' As neither Pompey's popularity,
- ' Cæsar's ambition, Cato's liberty,
- ' Calme Brutus tenor start, but all along
- ' Keep due proportion in the ample song.
- ' It makes me, ravish'd with just wonder, cry,
- ' What muse, or rather god of harmony,
- ' Taught Lucan these true moods? Replies my sense,
- ' What gods but those of arts and eloquence?
- ' Phoebus and Hermes? they whose tongue or pen,
- ' Are still th' interpreters betwixt gods and men.
- ' But who hath them interpreted, and brought
- ' Lucan's whole frame unto us, and so wrought,
- ' As not the smallest joint, or gentlest word,
- ' In the great mass, or machine, there is stirr'd.



(ii) Heads of a conversation taken by Drummond, ubi supra. He seems also to have formed the plan of a Geographical Account, or Present State of Scotland; by which he was supplied by this friend with several materials, whereof some curious ones were sent in a letter to Jonson, dated July 1, 1619, printed, p. 365, & seq. among *The Familiar Epistles*, at the end of *Drummond's History of Scotland*, second edit. Lond. 1632. N. B. This was probably the occasion of Jonson's journey to Scotland mentioned in the text.

believe that he had a design to write an epic poem, and was to call it *Chrologia; or the Worthies of his Country*, all in couplets, as he detested all other rhyme (ii). 'Tis likewise said, that he actually wrote a discourse on poetry, both against Campion and Daniel, especially the last, where he proved couplets to be the best sort of verses (kk).

(kk) *Ibid.*

\* So his name is spelt in the title-page of his *Excitation upon Vulcan*; yet in the print of his head prefixed it is wrote Jonson.

' The self-same genius, so the work will say,  
' The sunne translated, or the sonne of MAY.

' Your true friend to Judgment,

BEN JONSON \*.

We are informed by Wood, that after Ben's death this May put in for the Laureat's place, but was set aside for D'avenant, and afterwards became a great enemy to the King's cause (110), and wrote a history of the Long Parliament, in defence of their proceedings against his Majesty, before which is his picture, with the head laureated, (111)

(110) *Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 413.*

(111) *Ibid. col. 415.*

(e) Wood *Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 1144.*

(b) *Idem, Vol. I. Fasti, col. 165.*

(c) *Idem, Athenæ, ut supra.*

(d) Whitelock's *Memorials*, edit. 1732. p. 24.

(e) Wood, *Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 305.*

(f) *Idem, Fasti, ut supra, col. 219.*

(g) *Idem, Hist. & Ant. L. ii. p. 435.* and J. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 464.

(1) Wood, *Ath. ut supra.*

(2) J. Le Neve, as above, p. 181.

(3) *Memoirs of those that suffered, &c. Lond. 1668, fol. p. 596.*

(4) Henry the Vith, viz. anno 1454, when William Grey Bishop of Ely was possessed of it.

(5) See Rushworth, as above, Vol. II. p. 283.

JUXON or JUXTON [WILLIAM], successively Bishop of Hereford and London, and Archbishop of Canterbury, in the last century; was the son of Richard Juxon of Chichester in Suffex [A], and born within that city in the year 1582 (a). He received his education at Merchant-Taylors school in London, and from thence was elected Fellow of St John's college at Oxford in 1598, where, applying himself to the study of the Civil-Law, he took the degree of Bachelor in that faculty July 5, 1603 (b), being about that time a student in Gray's Inn. But Law did not so wholly engross his thoughts, as to make him neglect other branches of learning, particularly Divinity. For, entering soon after into Orders, he became in 1609 Vicar of St Giles's near his college; where he officiated about six years, and was much admired for his plain and improving way of preaching (c). He was also for some time Rector of Somerton in Oxfordshire (d). On the 29th of November 1621, he was elected President of St John's college, upon the resignation of Dr William Laud, newly promoted to the bishopric of St David's (e). And, on the 12th of December following, took the degree of Doctor of Laws (f). He executed the office of Vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford in the years 1626 and 1627 (g). About the same time he was appointed one of the Chaplains in Ordinary to King Charles I. who conferred on him, January 7, 1627-8, the Deanery of Worcester, he being then also Prebendary of Chichester (h). Through the interest of Bishop Laud, who had been the chief instrument of his former promotions, he was sworn Clerk of the Closet to his Majesty [B], on the 10th of July, 1632 (i). And, through the same interest, he was nominated and elected to the Bishopric of Hereford in 1633; but, before consecration, translated to the See of London [C], vacant by the advancement of Bishop Laud to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. He was also made Dean of the Royal Chapels, and sworn one of the Privy-Council (k). Thus far his preferments were very suitable, and seemed to have given umbrage to no one: but his exaltation to the office of Lord High-Treasurer procured him much envy [D], as it did implacable rage and malice against his

(b) J. Le Neve, p. 301. *Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. by Fr. Willis, Esq; Vol. I. p. 659.*

(i) See the Archbishop's Diary, in his Life by Mr H. Wharton: and in Rushworth's *Histor. Coll. Vol. II. edit. 168c. p. 139.* and Wood *Ath. ut supra, col. 1145.*

(k) Willis, p. 525. P. Heylin's *Life of Abp Laud, edit. 1671. p. 248.*

[A] *Was the son of Richard Juxon of Chichester.* Which Richard was son of John Juxon of London (1).

[B] *Through the interest of bishop Laud—he was sworn clerk of the closet to his Majesty.* This appears from the following entry in bishop's Laud's diary, under the year 1632. 'July 10. Dr Juxon, the Dean of Worcester, at my suit, sworn Clerk of his Majesty's closet; that I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grew weak or infirm, as I must have a time.'

[C] *Translated to the See of London.* His election was confirmed October 23, 1633. He was consecrated the 27th of the same month, and inthronized the 5th of November following (2). In this station, as D. Lloyd expresses it (3), the Bishop, 'being to have St Paul's combat with beasts, he used St Paul's art, *became all things to all*; and, (as those that were of old exposed to beasts,) overcame by yielding; being most mild, and most vigilant; a lamb, and a shepherd: The delight of the English nation, whose reverence was the only thing all factions agreed in, all allowing that honor to the sweetness of his manners, that some denied to the sacredness of his function; being by love, what another is in pretence, an universal Bishop.'

[D] *But his exaltation to the office of Lord High Treasurer, procured him much envy, &c.* This high office was also obtained for him by Archbishop Laud's interest, as appears by this entry in the Archbishop's Diary. '1635, March 6, Sunday, William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High-Treasurer of England, no church-man had it since Henry the 7th's time (4): I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it: And now if the Church will not hold up themselves, under *God I can do no more.*' (5) — But though Bishop Juxon had Abilities for that place, and an Integrity that his enemies could never question, yet his education

and order made it a most invidious honour to him: The nobility thought themselves injured; and most of the courtiers had their peculiar indignation; as Bishop Kennett observes. (6) This promotion, therefore, was but a wrong and unadvised step, even in the judgment of King Charles's friends. Let us hear what Lord Clarendon says upon that occasion. 'The Treasurer's is the greatest office of benefit in the kingdom, and the chief in precedence next the Archbishop's, and the Great Seal; so that the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great office; and the greatest of the nobility, who were in the chiefest employments, looked upon it as the prize of one of them; such offices commonly making way for more removes, and preferments; when on a sudden the staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of London, a man so unknown, that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom, who had been, within two years before, but a private chaplain to the king, and the president of a poor college in Oxford.' This inflamed more men than were angry before, and no doubt did not only sharpen the edge of envy and malice against the Archbishop, (who was the known architect of this new fabrick) but most unjustly imposed many towards the Church itself; which they looked upon as the gulph ready to swallow all the great offices, there being others in view, of that robe, who were ambitious enough to expect the rest. In the mean time the Archbishop himself was infinitely pleased with what was done, and unhappily believed he had provided a stronger support for the Church. (7) — To the same purpose speaks Dr P. Heylin. Upon the death of Jerom Weston Earl of Portland, Lord Treasurer, Archbishop Laud being appointed one of the commissioners of the Treasury, carries on the commission the whole year about, acquaints himself with the mysteries and secrets of it, viz. the honest advantages which the Lord Treasurers had for enriching themselves (to the value of se-

(6) *Complete Hist. of Engl. Vol. III. p. 82. edit. 1719.*

(7) *Hist. of the Rebellion, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 99.*



his promoter Archbishop Laud. However, laying passion and prejudice aside, Bishop Juxon is universally allowed to have been one of the best and most unexceptionable persons that ever filled the place of High-Treasurer in England. He enjoyed that office 'till the beginning of the troubles; namely, 'till May 1641, when he resigned the Treasurer's staff (1): finding it unsafe to stand in so high and slippery a post any longer. Then he shared the common fate of the episcopal clergy; but, by reason of his meekness, and gentle as well as inoffensive behaviour, was spared longer than any of his brethren, not being deprived 'till 1649 (m). And so well had he behaved in his employments, that neither as Bishop or Treasurer came there any one accusation against him in the Long-Parliament, whose ears were open, nay itching, after such complaints (n). As he wisely and timely withdrew from the storm, he enjoyed the greatest tranquillity of any man in the three kingdoms, throughout the calamities of the civil wars. For he continued mostly undisturbed, 'till the period just now mentioned, at his house in Fulham; where he was sometimes visited by the greatest persons, and found respect from all, though he walked steadily in his old paths. And he retained so much of his master's favour, that his Majesty consulted him upon many occasions (o) [E]. His advice was always plain and sincere, and, if followed, might have kept the King from those most dangerous precipices in which he fell. Thus, for instance, when the bills for the continuance of the Parliament, and the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, had passed both Houses, and King Charles was in the utmost perplexity and doubt about giving the royal assent thereto; Bishop Juxon resolutely told his Majesty, that if he were not satisfied in his conscience, he ought not to do it (p) [F]. In 1648, he was one of those divines who attended upon the King, at the

(1) Whitelock's Memorials, as above, p. 46.

(m) D. Lloyd's Memoirs of those that suffered, from 1641 to 1649, &c. Lond. 1655, fol. p. 596.

(n) Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, edit. 1701. p. 95.

(o) Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, edit. 1732, 8vo. Vol. I. p. 210. and Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 95.

(p) Dr Nelson's impar. Collection, Vol. II. p. 192. and Rushworth's Hist. Collect. Vol. IV. p. 262. and Vol. VIII. p. 755.

the

‘ven thousand pound a year and upwards, as I have  
‘heard from his own mouth) without defrauding the  
‘king, or abusing the subject. He had observed, that  
‘divers Treasurers of late years had raised themselves  
‘from very mean and private fortunes to the titles and  
‘estates of earls, which he conceived could not be done  
‘without wrong to both; and therefore he resolves to  
‘commend such a man to his Majesty for the next  
‘Lord Treasurer, who having no family to raise, no  
‘wife and children to provide for, might better man-  
‘age the incomes of the Treasury to the King's ad-  
‘vantage than they had been formerly. And who  
‘more likely to come into his eye for that preferment  
‘than Juxon, his old and trusty friend, then Bishop of  
‘London; a man of such a well tempered disposition  
‘as gave exceeding great content both to Prince and  
‘People, and one whom he knew capable of as much  
‘instruction as by a whole year's experience in the  
‘commission for the Treasury he was able to give him.  
‘It was much wondered at, when first the staff was  
‘put into this man's hand; in doing whereof the  
‘Archbishop was generally conceived neither to have  
‘consulted his own present peace nor his future safety.  
‘Had he studied his own present peace, he should have  
‘given Cottington leave to put in for it, who being  
‘Chancellor of the Exchequer pretended himself to be  
‘the next in that ascendant, the Lord Treasurer's as-  
‘sociate while he lived, and the presumptive heir to  
‘that office after his decease. And had he studied his  
‘own safety and preservation for the times to come,  
‘he might have made use of the power by recom-  
‘mending the staff to the Earls of Bedford, Hertford,  
‘Essex, the Lord Say, or some such man of popular  
‘Nobility; by whom he might have been reciproca-  
‘ted by their strength and interests with the people in  
‘the change of times. But he preferred his Majes-  
‘tie's advantages before his particular concerns, the  
‘safety of the publick before his own. Nor did  
‘he want some seasonable considerations in it for the  
‘good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the  
‘Church depended much on the conformity of the  
‘city of London, and London did as much depend in  
‘their trade and payments upon the love and jus-  
‘tice of the Lord Treasurer of England. This there-  
‘fore was the more likely way to conform the citizens  
‘to the directions of their Bishop, and the whole king-  
‘dom unto them; no small encouragement being there-  
‘by given to the London Clergy for the improving of  
‘their Pythes. For with what confidence could any  
‘of the old cheats adventure on a publick examina-  
‘tion in the Court of Exchequer (the proper court for  
‘suits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord  
‘Bishop of London sat therein as the principal judge?  
‘Upon these counsels he proceeds, and obtains the  
‘staff, which was delivered to the Bishop of London  
‘on Sunday March 6, sworn on the same day Privy-  
‘Counsellor, and on the first of the next term con-  
‘ducted in great state from London-house to Westmin-  
‘ster-hall, the Archbishop of Canterbury riding by

‘him, and most of the Lords and Bishops about the  
‘town, with many gentlemen of chief note and qua-  
‘lity, following by two and two to make up the pomp.  
‘It was much feared by some, and hoped by others,  
‘that the new Treasurer would have sunk under the  
‘burden of that place, as Williams did under the cus-  
‘tody of the Seal: but he deceived them both in that  
‘expectation, carrying himself with such an even and  
‘steady hand, that every one applauded, but none en-  
‘vied his preferment to it; insomuch as the then  
‘Lord Faulkland, in a bitter speech against the Bishops,  
‘about the beginning of the Long Parliament, could  
‘not chuse but give him this fair testimony, viz.  
‘*That in an unexpected place and power he expressed  
‘an equal moderation and humility, being neither am-  
‘bitious before, nor proud after, either of the crozier  
‘or white staff.*’ (8) How great his Honesty and Abi-  
‘lities were, appears from this undeniable instance;  
‘that by his prudent management, in less than five  
‘years, he lodged nine hundred thousand pounds in  
‘the Exchequer (9)

[E] *That his Majesty consulted him upon many occa-  
‘sions.* [I remember, says Sir Ph. Warwick, (10)  
‘that the King, being busy in dispatching some let-  
‘ters with his own pen, commanded me to wait on  
‘the Bishop, and to bring him back his opinion in a  
‘certaine affaire: I humbly pray'd his Majestie, that I  
‘might rather bring him with me, least I should not  
‘expresse his Majestie's sense fully, nor bring back his  
‘so significantly, as he meant it; and because there  
‘might be need for him further to explain himselfe,  
‘and least he should not speake freely to me: To  
‘which the King replied, *Go, as I bid you, if he will  
‘speak freely to any body, he will speak freely to you:*  
‘*This (the King said) I will say of him, I never gott  
‘his opinion freely in my life, but when I had it, I was  
‘ever the better for it.*

[F] *Bishop Juxon resolutely told his Majesty, that if  
‘he were not satisfied in his conscience, he ought not to do  
‘it.* The King being much perplexed, upon the  
‘Parliament's tending to him the two bills, *For the at-  
‘tainder of the Earl of Strafford; and the Continuance  
‘of that Parliament;* between the clamours of a dis-  
‘contented people, and an unsatisfied conscience, he took  
‘advice of the Judges, and of several of the Bishops,  
‘(11) what to do in this intricate affair. Bishop Juxon,  
‘as is said above, advised his Majesty not to do any  
‘thing against his conscience, upon any consideration in  
‘the world: But J. Williams Bishop of Lincoln, made  
‘a distinction between a private and a public conscience.  
‘(12) And the major part of the Bishops, and of the  
‘King's intimate counsellors, urged on by the Queen's  
‘fears, pressed his Majesty to comply with the opinions  
‘of the Judges and the Votes of the Parliament; al-  
‘legding, that no other expedient could be found out to  
‘appease the enraged people; and that the consequences  
‘of a furious multitude would be very terrible. Upon  
‘all which he was persuaded to pass the Bills. (13) —  
‘But, as the King afterwards well observed, — ‘It is  
‘a bad

(8) Heylin's Cyprinus Anglicanus, or Life of Abp Laud, &c. p. 285, &c.

(9) R. Coke's Detection, &c. edit. 1719. Vol. I. p. 324.

(10) Memoirs, p. 95, 96.

(11) Namely, Uth r Abp of Ar-magh, M rton Bp of Durham, Potter of Carlisle, Williams of Lincoln, and Juxon. D. Lloyd, as a-  
‘bove, p. 44.

(12) Lord Clarendon, as above, Vol. I. p. 257.

(13) Whitelock's Memorials, p. 45. Warwick's Memoirs, as a-  
‘bove, p. 163. and Sir Roger Manley's Hist. of the Rebellions, edit. 1691. p. 19.



(q) Warwick's  
Memoirs, p. 321.

(r) Sir Tho.  
Herbert's Me-  
moirs, 8vo.  
Lond. 1702. p.  
113.

(s) Wood Ath.  
as above; and  
Whitelock's Me-  
morials, p. 24.

the treaty in the Isle of Wight (q): and, by his Majesty's particular desire, waited upon him at Westminster, January 21, 1648-9, which (as the King said) was 'no small refreshment to his spirit, especially in that his uncomfortable condition.' The most part of that day was spent by the good Bishop in prayer and preaching to the King (r). From that time he frequently waited upon his Majesty [G], 'till the 30th day of the same month. On that fatal day, he attended his royal master upon the scaffold, having prayed with and preached before him, and also administered to him the Sacrament. After that King's barbarous murder, the pious and sorrowful Bishop retired to his own manor of Little-Compton in Gloucestershire; where he spent several years in a retired and devout condition, and now and then, for health's sake, rode a hunting with some of the neighbouring and loyal gentry (s) [H]. At the Restoration, he was deservedly set at the head of the Church of England [I], being translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in September 1660 [K]. He repaired very much his palace at Lambeth, and built the great hall

'a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to save State-fores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom. Nor hath God's justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacie of that maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the people be displeased, or destroyed.* In all likelihood, adds he, I could never have suffered, with my people, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocencie, at least by denying to sign that destructive Bill, according to that justice, which my conscience suggested to mee, then I have done since I gratified some men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled mee to sign that bill (14), have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiations with the people, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they. Hee only hath been least vexed by them (15), who counselled mee not to consent against the vote of my own conscience.'— (16) Irresolution, and want of steadiness, at first, was the ruin of K. Charles's affairs. For, had he stood unmoveable upon some occasions, especially against the Bill for perpetuating the Parliament, he would never have been plunged into those miseries, which He and these Kingdoms fell into: But all differences might have been amicably adjusted between him and his people, before they came to those dangerous extremes. In some cases a Prince ought not to yield, unless it is plainly right. This our late King William of glorious and immortal memory was well apprized of. For, when the Bill touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament, was offered to him for the royal assent, he rejected it one year after another, though the Clerk of Parliament read the title of it two or three times successively. (17)

[G] From that time he frequently waited upon his Majesty. We shall here lay together before the Reader, what passed between Majesty and the Bishop, 'till his Majesty's death. On the 27th of January, the last day of the King's trial, and before he was carried into Westminster-hall, he and the Bishop were private near an hour, at Cotton-house. The same night, after sentence, Col. Hacker, who commanded the guards at St James's about the King, would have placed two musqueteers in the King's bed-chamber; but Bishop Juxon and Mr Herbert apprehending the disturbance it would give the King in his meditations, never left the Colonel 'till he had reversed his order by withdrawing those men. The King now bidding farewell to the world, spent the remainder of his time in prayer and other exercises of devotion, and in conference with that meek and learned Bishop, who, under God, was a great support and comfort to him in his afflicted condition. That evening the Bishop prayed with him, and read some select chapters out of the holy Scripture. The next morning, being Sunday Jan. 28, Bishop Juxon was early with the King, prayed with him, and preached on Rom. ii. 16. Monday Jan. 29, his Lordship spent also most part of the day with his Majesty, and prayed with him, not taking leave of him 'till some hours after night; and, at parting, the King desired him to come early the next morning. He came accordingly at the appointed hour; and, after having continued a considerable time in prayer and meditation, attended his Majesty from St James's to Whitehall, walking through the Park on the King's right hand. When they came to Whitehall, he prayed there again with his Majesty in his cabinet-chamber, and administered the sacrament

to him. (18) To conclude this melancholy scene, he attended the King upon the scaffold, where these words passed between them.

Dr Juxon. 'Will your Majesty (though it may be very well known your Majesty's affections to religion, yet it may be expected that you should) say somewhat for the world's satisfaction.'

King. 'I thank you very heartily (my Lord) for that, I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my conscience in Religion, I think, is very well known to all the world; and, therefore, I declare before you all, that I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my father; and this honest man,\* I think, will witness it.'

His Majesty then called to Dr Juxon for his night-cap, and having put it on, he said to the executioner, Does my hair trouble you? — And then turning to Dr Juxon, the King said, 'I have a good cause, and a gracious God on my side.'

Dr Juxon. 'There is but one stage more. This stage is turbulent and troublesome; it is a short one: But you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.'

King. 'I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.'

Dr Juxon. 'You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown, a good exchange.'

Then the King took off his cloke and his George, giving his George to Dr Juxon, saying, Remember — (19) After the execution, the pious Bishop took care of the King's body, and accompanied it to the royal chapel at Windfor; standing ready, with the Common-prayer-book in his hands, to have performed his last duty to his kind master: but was not permitted by Col. Whitchcott, governor of the castle. (20)

[H] Rode a hunting with some of the neighbouring and loyal gentry. Mr Whitelock tells us, that Dr Juxon 'was much delighted with hunting, and kept a pack of good hounds, and had them so well ordered, and hunted, and chiefly by his own skill and direction, that they exceeded all other hounds in England, for the pleasure and orderly hunting of them. He was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himself, as of his hounds (21)

[I] He was deservedly set at the head of the Church of England. Such was the general voice and opinion of the nation. But the late Bishop Burnet, who gives in general a bad or a mean character of the Royalists, especially if they are of the clergy, thinks that Bishop Juxon did not deserve that advancement. His words are these. 'At the Restoration, Juxon, the ancientest and most eminent of the former Bishops, who had assisted the late King in his last hours, was promoted to Canterbury, more out of decency, than that he was then capable to fill that post; for as he was never a great divine; so he was now superannuated.' (22) The most bookish man, or the most loaden with learning, though it be divinity, is far from being always the fittest to fill that high post. And if Bishop Juxon's age was great, he being then 78, it does not appear by any action of his that he had lost his understanding. So that the Bishop's reflection is unjust, at least undecent.

[K] Being translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury in 1660. The *Conge d'elire* was granted September 3. He was elected Sept. 13, and confirmed in King

(18) Sir Tho. Herbert's Memoirs, printed in 1702, 8vo. See also Wood's Athen. edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 693, &c.

\* Pointing to Dr Juxon. He had called him before, in this last speech, a good man.

(19) From the Account published by authority, 1649, 4to.

(20) Herbert, as above.

(21) Memorials, p. 24.

(22) Hist. of his own Time, edit. 1724. Vol. I. p. 176.

(14) The Judges and Bishops above-named.

(15) Viz. Bishop Juxon.

(16) Εἰκὼν Βασίλειου, chap. ii.

(17) See Kennet's Hist. of England, edit. 1719. Vol. III. p. 639.



hall [L]. Also he augmented the vicarages, of which the great tithes were appropriated to his fee (t) [M]. But being broken with age and infirmities, and especially with the most racking torture of the stone, he died June 4, 1663, aged 81, and was buried the 9th of the same month, in St John's-college chapel, Oxon. by the side of Archbishop Laud. He bequeathed 7000 pounds to that college, which were afterwards laid out in the purchase of an estate of 350 pounds per annum. He left also 100 pounds to the poor of St Giles's parish in Oxford, the like to four other parishes; and sums for the repair of St Paul's and Canterbury cathedrals, and other charitable uses, in all to the amount of near 5000 pounds (u). His contemporaries give him the following character; That he was a comely person; of an active and lively disposition; of great parts and temper; full of ingenuity and meekness, not apt to give offence to any, and willing to do good to all (w): of great moderation, sincerity, and integrity; insomuch, that he was the delight of his time, and extorted a reverence and respect from those very persons who had destroyed and ruined his Order (x). In a word, he was a man of primitive sanctity, wisdom, piety, learning, patience, charity, and all apostolical virtues (y). He published but a very few things [N].

(w) Whitelock, p. 24.

(x) See Calamy's Continuat. Vol. I. p. 218. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, p. 48. and Warwick's Memoirs, p. 94, 95.

(y) Publick Intelligence, No. 39.

King Henry VIIIth's chapel at Westminster, September 20. (23)

[L] *And built the great hall.* He rebuilt it in the antient form; and could not be persuaded to rebuild it in the modern way; and unite it to the Library, tho' it would have cost less money. He expended in buildings and reparations at Lambeth-palace and Croydon-house 14874*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* Notwithstanding which, his successor Archbishop Sheldon sued Sir Wm Juxon his executor in the court of Arches for dilapidations, and, 24th May 1667, recovered of him 800*l.* more. (24)

[M] *Also he augmented vicarages, &c.* The vicarages augmented by him, and the sums, were as follow.—In the county of Kent: He added to Ash (besides the old pension of 16*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. To Beauxfield, alias Whitfield, 20*l.* To Buckland, 12*l.* To Brabourn, 16*l.* To Challock, 10*l.* To Colrade, 20*l.* To Easton, 10*l.* To Hougham near Dover, 25*l.* To twelve or thirteen Vicarages, or Curacies, belonging formerly to the Priory of St Gregory's in Canterbury, 210*l.* To Gulston, 10*l.* To Ledes and Bromfield, 30*l.* besides the old Pension of 22*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* To Maidstone, 37*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* beyond the former pension of 20*l.* To Marden, 20*l.* St

Margaret's Cliff, 26*l.* St Laurence in Thanet, 40*l.* St Nicolas in the same island, 30*l.* Lydden, 18*l.* Nunnington, 20*l.* Overland, 10*l.* Reculver, 20*l.* Sibbard's-wold, 20*l.* Sutton-east, 24*l.* Tonge, 10*l.* Walderfhare, 20*l.* Walmer, 20*l.* Westwell, 30*l.* Wotton, 40*l.* and to Folkston, 60*l.* besides the old pension of 20*l.*—In Buckinghamshire; to Brickhill-Parva, 14*l.*—In Suffex; to Portlade, 16*l.*—In Lancashire; to Blackbourn, 70*l.* for Vicars, beyond the old Pension of 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* To Rochdale, to the Curates, 42*l.* Whaley, 120*l.* to Curates. In all 1103*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. (25)

[N] *He published but a very few things.* Ant. Wood says, he hath extant only one Sermon on Luke xviii. 31. (26) But Bishop Kennet ascribes also to him, (27) a treatise intituled, 'Χαρις καὶ Εἰρήνη. Or some Considerations upon the Act of Uniformity. With an expedient for the satisfaction of the Clergy within the Province of Canterbury. By a Servant of the God of Peace.' Lond. 1662, 4to. And, a 'Catalogue of Books in England, alphabetically digested,' Lond. 1658, 4to, bears likewise Bishop Juxon's name, in one of Mr Thomas Osborne's Catalogues. (28)

(25) Kennet's Case of Improvements, as above; and J. Le Neve's Lives of the Protestant Bishops, &c. Vol. I. p. 158, &c.

(26) Athen. ut supra, col. 1146.

(27) Register and Chronicle, &c. p. 812.

(28) See Mr T. Osborne's Catalogue for 1755, p. 40.

C



# K.



AYE, KEYE, CAY, or CAIUS [A] [JOHN], a very learned English Physician in the XVI. century, and co-founder of Goneville and Caius-College in Cambridge, was the son of Robert Keye [B], and born at Norwich, Octob. 6, 1510. After having received his school-education in that city, he was admitted very young into Goneville-hall in Cambridge, of which he became Fellow (a); and at the age of 21, commenced author [C]. For his further improvement he went, according to the custom of that age, into Italy, and studied Physick in the university of Padua under the learned Johannes Baptista Montanus, the most eminent Physician of his time (b). He soon became so eminent in his faculty, that he was Reader of Physick at Padua for several years, and a singular ornament to that university (c). He took his degree of Doctor first at Bononia [D], and read public Greek Lectures at Padua, especially about the year 1542, being the 32d of his age\*. In 1543 he travelled through the greatest part of Italy, Germany, and France (d). Upon his return to England, he commenced Doctor of Physick at Cambridge, and practised with such industry and success, at Shrewsbury (e), and at Norwich (f), that he came to be reputed one of the best Physicians in the nation. And, on that account, was successively made Physician to K. Edward VI. Q. Mary I. and for many years to Q. Elizabeth. In 1547, he was admitted Fellow of the College of Physicians in London; and, afterwards, passed with applause through all the offices of that learned body, having for several years been chosen Censor, often Register and Treasurer, and for seven years or more, President of that royal foundation. He was the first inventor of those ensigns of honour, by which the President of the College is distinguished from the rest of the Fellows [E]. Upon all occasions, he proved an earnest and zealous defender of the College Rights and Privileges [F]. And so religious was he in observing its statutes; that,

(a) F. Blomefield's Essay towards a History of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 210, 212. T. Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge, p. 133. and Worthies, in Norwich, p. 275.

(b) J. Pits de Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoris, edit. Paris, 1619, p. 755, vel ætas xvi. No. 1007. & Caius de Libris propriis, p. 133, 138. edit. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

(c) R. Parker's Hist. of Cambridge, edit. 1721, 8vo. p. 75.

\* See his book De Ephemera Britannica, &c. de Libris propriis, p. 163.

(d) De Libris propriis, p. 194, 201.

(e) See his book De Ephemera, &c. and Freind's History of Physick, as below, note [2].

(f) Blomefield, as above, p. 211.

(1) History of Physick, Part ii. p. 408. edit. 1726.

(2) Essay towards a History of Norfolk, Vol. II. p. 210.

(3) Hist. of Cambridge, as above, p. 74.

(4) Hist of the Univ. of Cambr. p. 133.

(5) Wood, Ath. Vol. I. edit. 1721. col. 136.

(6) Mr Blomefield by mistake says, 'it was never printed.'

[A] KAYE, KEYE, CAY, or CAIUS.] Dr Freind writes his name *Kaye*; (1) others *Key*, or *Keye*, and Mr Blomefield tells us, (2) that the latter was his true name. The Doctor himself, according to the fashion of his age, latinized it into *Caius*, which others have englished into *Cay*.

[B] Was the Son of Robert Keye.] R. Parker, (3) and T. Fuller, (4) say, that this Robert Keye, alias Caius, was of Yorkshire, or a Yorkshire man. But Mr Blomefield informs us, that, 'as far as ever he could learn, it is without foundation. For, as he goes on, it is evident he was not of the same family with Thomas Key or Cay of Oxford, who was descended from the Yorkshire family of Woodsome: (5) whose book, intituled *Affertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae*, our Caius answered in his book intituled, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensi Academiae*, under the name of *Londinensis*, in 1568, reprinted under his own name in 1574; to which Thomas wrote a Reply, [published by T. Hearne, in 1730.] (6) So that there being no relation between them, I am apt to believe he was of the Norfolk family of that name, who had been settled in Norwich, and different places in this county, a long time, though in truth of no great fortunes; which appears to me the more likely, our Caius not so much as pretending (that I can find) to bear any arms from his family; for which reason, he procured a coat for his own bearing, with licence for his college to bear it impaled with that of Gonville, as they do at this day; being, Or, semé of slips of amarant or flower-gentle, purple; on a pedestal, two serpents erect, with their tails knotted together, azure; between them, a book, fable; bossed, or; the leaves edged, gules. On it,

'a root and springing branch of semper-vive, or house-leek, proper.' (7)

[C] And at the age of twenty-one commenced author.] He informs us himself, that, at that age, he translated out of Greek into Latin *Nicephorus Callistus's* Treatise of Confession in Prayer, and another of *Chrysostom, de modo orandi Deum*: And out of Latin into English *Erasmus's* paraphrase on Jude, and epitomized his book *de Vera Theologia*. (8)

[D] He took his degree of Doctor first at Bononia.] For this we have the sole authority of Dr Goodall; who adds, that our author was also for some years Greek Lecturer there. (9) But it is more probable that he was Lecturer at Padua, for which a salary was paid by the Republic of Venice. (10) However Dr Goodall's authority is not to be slighted; he having collected materials for writing Dr Caius's Life. (11)

[E] He was the first inventor of those ensigns of honour by which the President of the college is distinguished from the rest of the Fellows.] Those are, a Cushion before him, a silver verge, a book, and a seal. And that Dr Cay was the inventor of them, appears by the following memorandum entered by him in the College register. *Ante hunc annum nulla a Collegio condito reddita ratio fuit acceptorum & expensarum; nulla ve solennis ratio instituendi aut honorandi Præsidentem Pulvinari, Caduceo, Libro & Sigillo, aut excogitata aut usitata; ullave deponendi munus & officium; primusque hos honores & excogitavit Caius & usus est.* (12)

[F] Upon all occasions, he proved an earnest and zealous defender of the College Rights and Privileges.] For instance, there happening, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a difference to arise betwixt the Physicians and Surgeons; whether the Surgeons might give in-

(7) Blomefield, as above, p. 210.

(8) J. Caii de Libris propriis, edit. ut supra, p. 127, 128.

(9) Epistle Dedicatory, &c. as above.

(10) Vide Caium de Libris propriis, p. 163.

(11) Jebb Dedicat. ejusdem D. Mead. p. xv.

(12) Goodall, uti sup. a.



that, though old, he durst not absent himself from the College's *comitia*, or assemblies; without a dispensation. He did another eminent service to that learned body, in compiling the Annals of the College, from the year 1555 to 1572 (g). This book was the first that ever was written of their affairs, and is managed with that excellent method, clearness of stile, and fulness of matter, that all the memorable transactions of the College are there to be found entered in their due time and order (b). In 1557, being Physician to Queen Mary I. and in great favour, nay, as one expresses it (i), a most acceptable oracle, with her, he obtained a licence to advance the Hall, in which he had been educated, to a College [G]. This he accordingly performed in 1558, endowing his foundation with considerable estates [H], for the maintenance of three Fellows, twenty Scholars, and a Porter; and giving them a new body of statutes. Moreover, he added, at his own expence, to Gonville-hall a new square, called Caius's-Court [I] all of durable free-stone, and uniform in every respect; the charge of which amounted to above 1834 l. And that this Society might the better flourish under his immediate care and inspection, he accepted, on the 24th of January 1559, of the Mastership of it; which he kept almost as long as he lived. Some little time before his decease, having caused Dr Thomas Legge of Norwich to be placed in his room, he remained as a Fellow-commoner in his own College, assisting daily at divine service in a private seat in the chapel, which he had built for himself (k). He is said by some authors to have been a Papist, or Popishly inclined [K]; and is taxed by others with being unsettled in his religion [L]. Besides what hath been already said of him,

(g) He seems to say himself, that he began at the year 1520, and ended at 1565. *Cujus nos Annales a collegio condito scripsimus, & ad annum Domini 1565. ultimum Præsentis nostræ ætatis produximus. De Libris propriis, p. 142.*

(b) Epistle Dedicatory to Historical Account of the College's Proceedings against Empiricks, &c. by C. Goodall. Lond. 1684. It is not paged.

(i) R. Parker, as above, p. 75.

(k) R. Parker, p. 81. and Blomefield, as above, p. 212.

ward remedies in the Sciatica, French-pox, or any kind of ulcer or wound, &c. Dr Caius was summoned (as President of the College) to appear before the Lord-Mayor and others of the Queen's Delegates; before whom he so learnedly defended the college-rights, and the illegality of the Surgeons practice in the forementioned cases, against the Bishop of London, Master of the Rolls, &c. (who brought many arguments in behalf of the Surgeons) that it was unanimously agreed by the Queen's Commissioners, that it was unlawful for them to practise in the aforementioned cases. (13)

[G] He obtained a licence to advance the Hall, in which he had been educated, to a College.] 'Till that time Gonville's hall was not incorporated, but had only several licences of mortmain, to receive or purchase lands, tenements, &c. The Master and Fellows did indeed suppose themselves a corporation, though they were only incorporated by Bishop Bateman's authority, and letters confirmed by the Chancellor of the University, and the Bishop of Ely; which, without letters patent under the great seal of England, gave them no legal power to be a corporation or body politic, but were what they thought they had been, rather by the piety, goodness, and simplicity of those ages, than by any right of law. Wherefore the Master and Fellows, by the advice of Caius, petitioned the King and Queen for a Charter of Foundation, and Confirmation of all their Rights, Estates, and Privileges; which was obtained by Caius, who thereby was made a Founder, and added to Gonville and Bateman, with full power assigned him, to appoint Rules and Statutes, for the Master, Fellows, and Scholars, to observe and keep, provided they were not repugnant to Bateman's statutes, or any way incroaching on the prerogative of the Queen, or her successors. The same charter also empowered him to settle 70l. per ann. more, and to found two Fellows or more, and twelve Scholars or more, the College being hereafter to be called, *The College of Gonville and Caius*; and to be incorporated by the name of, The Master and Fellows of Gonville and Caius College, founded in honor of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary. The year following, on the feast of the Annunciation, Dr Caius re-dedicated and consecrated the college to the honor of the Annunciation aforesaid, to which it was formerly dedicated by Gonville and Bateman, and endowed it with plate, money, books, &c. (14)

[H] Endowing his Foundation with considerable estates.] Namely, the manor of Crosseley in Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, formerly parcel of the Abbey of St Alban's; the manor of Runcton in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monastery of St Edmund's-bury in Suffolk; together with the patronages of Holme, and Wallington, and the manor of Burnhamthorp in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monastery of Wymondham: All which estates, being vested in the Crown upon the dissolution of the Monasteries, Dr Caius purchased of King Philip and Queen Mary, February 12, 1557-8, for the sum of 1030 l. 12 s. 6 d. (15)—He gave, besides, to the college, the manor of Bincombe with the Advowson; and Woobourn in the county of Dorset; and the manor of Crokeley at

Caxton in Cambridgeshire.—In his will he appropriated his Fellowships and Scholarships to his own countrymen of the diocese and city of Norwich.

[I] He added, at his own expence, to Gonville-hall a new square, called Caius's-Court.] And that the gates of his new edifice might read a lecture of morality to the persons that go through them, as one expresses it, (16) he caused that which leads into the college by St Michael's church, being low and little, to be inscribed, *Humilitatis*, or the Gate of Humility; the next is inscribed, *Virtutis*, the Gate of Virtue: On the other side of this portico, which is a piece of very good architecture, are these words, *Jo. Caius posuit Sapientiæ*, 1567, i. e. 'John Caius placed this in honor of Wisdom.' The gate on the south side of his court, leading to the publick schools, is inscribed, *Honoris*, or the Gate of Honor; which all that pass through it for their degrees, are supposed to have attained.

[K] He is said by some authors to have been a Papist, or Popishly inclined.] T. Fuller informs us, (17) that 'some have sought to blast his memory, by reporting him a Papist,' without mentioning his authorities. But it is certain, that in 1565, three of his Fellows, whom he had expelled, drew up articles against him, wherein they charged him, not only with 'shew of a perverse stomach to the professors of the Gospel, but also with Atheism.' Upon which Mr Strype observes, (18) that 'probably Caius thought the better to cover his former instability in religion, by throwing out expressions occasionally, whereby he would pretend to have had little zeal for any religion: Or his aim might be, to obscure his secret kindness for the old Popish Religion. For, that he had a kindness for it, appeared in his private reservation of abundance of Popish trumpery—such as Vestments, Albes, Tunicles, with the Pix, Sindon, Canopy, &c.' which upon search were found in his college, and burnt and defaced on the 13th of December 1572.—But it is to be remembered, that such things might be kept only as matters of curiosity, without any veneration for them.—And the persons by whom the accusations were laid against him, appear to have been highly prejudiced, as well as violently exasperated; and thought themselves greatly injured: In such a case, what would most men not say to blacken an enemy? Let us hear what apology T. Fuller makes for Dr Caius upon this subject. His being reported a Papist, was 'no great crime to such who consider the time when he was born, and foreign places wherein he was bred. However this I dare say in his just defence, he never mentioneth Protestants but with due respect, and sometimes occasionally doth condemn the superstitious credulity of Popish miracles. (19) Besides, after he had resigned his mastership to Dr Legge,—he was constantly present at Protestant prayers. If any say, all this amounts but to a lukewarm religion, we leave the heat of his faith to God's sole judgment, and the light of his good works to mens imitation.' (20)

[L] And is taxed by others with being unsettled in his religion.] So he is taxed particularly by J. Pits, in the following words. *Unicum illud in eo vehementer*

(16) Blomefield, p. 212.

(17) Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge, p. 134.

(18) Life of Abp Parker, edit. 1711. p. 199, 200.

(19) Hist. Cantabr. Academiæ, 4to. L. i. p. 2.

(20) T. Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambr. p. 134.

(13) Goodall, ibid.

(14) Blomefield, as above, p. 211.

(15) Blomefield, ibid. and R. Parker, p. 75.

Jane



(1) Weever's Funeral Monuments, fol. 370.

(m) Blomefield, as above, p. 213. note.

(n) Goodall, as above.

him, it must be remembered, that in 1557 he erected a monument in St Paul's church in London, to the memory of the great Linacer (l). And in 1563 or 1564, he obtained a grant, that the College of Physicians might for ever yearly take two dead malefactors bodies at their discretion, and dissect them, without the prohibition or control of any person whatever, or without paying any thing for them, and settled 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year for the expences of dissecting such bodies (m). Dr Caius was undeniably one of the most learned men in his time; particularly famous for his exquisite knowledge in the Greek and Latin languages; and a person of a happy wit (n). He revised and corrected Galen's books in numberless places, and translated some of them into Latin [M]. He also greatly corrected Corn. Celsus, and Scribonius Largus [N]. And published Hippocrates his treatise of Medicines [O]: A Practice of Physick [P]: An Account of the Sweating Sickness in England [Q]: The History of the University of Cambridge [R]: An Account

*sane dolendum, quod qui aliorum corpora tam perite sanare profitebatur, suam animam neglexisse feratur, dum ipse non sanus in fide, pro occasionibus in omnem partem fluctuabat dubius, imo se flecebat inconstans, & non solum nutabat, verum etiam pro principum arbitrio religionem sepe mutabat. Itaque scripta ejus nonnulla sunt prohibita. Sed forsitan hoc omne, quicquid fuit vitii, potius hominis levitati quam perversitati tribuendum est.* (21) i. e. One thing he is greatly to be pitied for, that he who professed to be so skilful in the cure of other people's bodies, is said to have neglected his own soul; for, being unground in faith, he proved upon all occasions doubtful and wavering, nay flexible and inconstant, and not only tottering, but also changing his religion often at the pleasure of princes. Therefore some of his writings are forbidden. But perhaps this fault, whatever it be, is rather to be attributed to the man's levity than to his perverseness.

[M] He revised and corrected Galen's books in numberless places, and translated some of them into Latin. According to his own list, (22) he revised and corrected thirty-one Treatises of Galen, and wrote Notes, or Commentaries, upon nine of them. The chief of which were, Galen's Anatomical Exercises, in nine books: Of the motion of the Muscles, in two books: Of the composition, or making up of Medicines, 17 books: Of the powers of Simple Medicines, 11 books: Of the opinions of Hippocrates and Plato, nine books: A body, or method, of Physick, 14 books: How to preserve health, six books: Of the use of the parts of the human Body, 17 books: Of the causes of Symptoms, three books: Of the Bones, one book, &c. Besides twenty other Treatises, comprised in one single book, each ——— And he intended a further correction of them if he had lived. (23)

Such of them as he translated into Latin, were, *De placitis Hippocratis, primum. De libris Galeni suis, unum, De ordine Librorum suorum, unum. De Diæta in morbis acutis, unum.*

And such as he published, were, 1. Galen's two books of the Anatomy of the Muscles and Nerves. Basil 1544. Froben. and 1551, by Rouille. 2. Of *Succedaneums*, or substituted remedies. 3. Part of the 7th book of the use of the Parts; which he first found out. 4. Of a Coma, or Lethargy; reprinted in 1556. 5. Of the means of preserving Health, Gr. 1549. Basil, by Oporinus; and with commentaries, in 1563. 6. Galen's book to Thrasybulus. 7. Of the small Sphere. 8. Galen's account of his own books. 9. And the order of them. Lovan. 1556. 8vo. Basil 1563. 10. Of Pity. Basil 1557. 11. Galen's first book of the Opinions of Hippocrates and Plato. *Περὶ τῆς ἱπποκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος δογματικῶν. De Decretis Hippocratis & Platonis, lib. 1.* (24)

[N] He also greatly corrected Corn. Celsus, & Scribonius Largus. We do not find that he ever published them, though he made them quite ready for the Press; adding at the end, An Account of the Weights and Measures therein mentioned. (25)

[O] And published Hippocrates his Treatise of Medicines. *Περὶ φαρμάκων, or De Medicamentis.* This he was the first who discovered.—He published, moreover, Hippocrates his Regimen, or method of Diet, in acute diseases. *De ratione Viætus [vel diæta] secundum Hippocratem in morbis acutis.* Lov. 1556. 8vo.

[P] A Practice of Physick. Written in Latin, and intituled, Joannis Caii Britanni de Medendi Methodo, libri duo, ex Cl. Galeni Pergameni, & Jo. Baptistæ Montani Veronensis, principum Medicorum Sententia. Opus utile & jam natum. Basileæ, apud Froben. 1544. item Lovan. 1556. 8vo.

[Q] An Account of the Sweating Sickness in England. This is intituled, *De Ephemera Britannica*; because it lasted but a natural day of 24 hours. The learned Dr Freind justly calls it 'something very remarkable and wonderful, a distemper, which was never heard of before in any age or nation; and which, after returning now and then for the space of some years, has ever since intirely disappeared.'—He proceeds to give the following curious account of it from Dr Cay's book. — 'It originally was a native of our own island; and upon this account it is the less strange, that it should be the most accurately described by one of our own countrymen, the great and learned Caius. It began at first in 1483, in Henry the Seventh's army, upon his landing at Milford-haven, and spread itself in London, from the 21st of September to the end of October. It returned here five times, and always in Summer: first in 1485; then in 1506; afterwards in 1517; when it was so violent, that it killed in the space of three hours: So that many of the nobility died, and of the vulgar sort, in several towns, half often perished. It appeared the fourth time in 1528, and proved mortal then in the space of six hours: Many of the courtiers died of it, and Henry the Eighth himself was in danger. In 1529, and only then, it infested the Netherlands and Germany; in which last country it did much mischief, and destroyed many, and particularly was the occasion of interrupting a conference at Marpurgh between Luther and Zuinglius about the Eucharist. The last return of it with us, was in 1551: In Westminster it carried off 120 in a day, and the two sons of Charles Brandon, both Dukes of Suffolk, died of it. At Shrewsbury particularly, where our Author, Caius, resided, it broke out in a very furious manner. The description he gives of it is terrible, like the plague of Athens. He very properly calls it a pestilent contagious Fever, of one natural day: The Sweat itself he reckons only as a symptom or crisis of this Fever. The manner of its seizure was thus; first it affected some particular part, attended with inward heat and burning, unquenchable thirst, restlessness, sickness at stomach and heart, (though seldom vomiting) head ach, delirium, then faintness, and excessive drowsiness. The pulse quick and vehement, and the breath short and labouring. Children, poor, and old people, less subject to it. Of others, scarce any escaped the attack, and most died: In that town, where it lasted seven months, perished near a thousand. Even by travelling into France, or Flanders, they did not escape: And what is stranger, even the Scotch were free, and abroad the English only affected, and foreigners not affected in England. None recovered under 24 Hours. At first the Physicians were much puzzled how to treat it; the only cure was to carry on the sweat, which was necessary, for a long time; for if stopt, it was dangerous, or fatal. The way, therefore, was to be patient, and lie still, and not to take cold. If Nature was not strong enough to do it, Art should assist her in promoting the sweat, by cloaths, medicines, wine, &c. The violence of it over, in 15 hours; but no security till 24 were passed. In some there was a necessity to repeat the sweating; in strong constitutions, twelve times. Great danger to remove out of bed; some who had not sweated enough, fell into very ill Feavers. No flesh in all the time, nor drink for the first five hours. For in the seventh, the distemper increases; about the ninth, delirium; sleep to be avoided by all means. It appeared by experience, as the Lord Bacon ob-

(21) De Illustribus Angliæ Scriptoribus, ut supra, p. 755, 756.

(22) De Libris propriis, &c. p. 138, &c. 206—210.

(23) Ibid. p. 294, 210. Most of his corrections are now lost. Jebb, præfat. p. x.

(24) De Libris propriis, p. 138, &c. 169, 172, 173.

(25) Vide de Libris propriis, p. 163—169.



count of the Baths in Britain [S]; of some rare Animals and Plants [T]; and of British Dogs [U]: Of the right pronunciation of the Greek and Latin languages [W]; and some other pieces mentioned below [X]. He dyed at Cambridge July 29, 1573, in his grand climacteric, having foretold his own death (o), and was buried in a grave which he had made before his decease, in the chapel of his own college. His epitaph is short, but expressive and sublime [T]. He was a man of very great learning; particularly, master of a fine Latin stile. And he shewed his zeal, love, and true regard for learning, by endeavouring to promote and perpetuate it; in his generous benefactions to the place of his education, of which he must be allowed to be the chief and most munificent Founder.

(o) Goodall, as above.

'serves, that this disease was rather a surprize of nature, than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time well treated. For when proper care was taken, the patient generally recovered.' (26) Dr Keye's account of this sickness was published in 1556, and very neatly reprinted at London in 1721, 8vo. The Dedication to Antony Perrenot Bishop of Arras, is dated Lond. Janu. 11, 1555. To the first edition the author subjoined, Galen's two books, *De Libris propriis, Galeni*; and *ordine Librorum suorum*; and Hippocrates his book, *De ratione vitæ in morbis acutis*. (27)

(26) Dr Freind's Hist. of Physick, Part ii. p. 333—336.

(27) *De Libris propriis*, p. 169.

[R] *The History of the University of Cambridge.* Of which, the two first are a Vindication of the Antiquity of that University. And the occasion of his writing of them was this; Queen Elizabeth coming to Cambridge in August 1564, the Orator made a speech before her, wherein he extolled the Antiquity of that University, and affirmed that it was much ancients than Oxford. The Oxonians being offended at this, Thomas Key Fellow of All-Souls college wrote in seven days a little book, (28) wherein he strenuously asserted the antiquity of his own University; saying, that it was founded by some Greek Philosophers, companions of Brutus, and restored by K. Alfred about the year of Christ 870; consequently was ancients than Cambridge; and this book he presented to Q. Elizabeth, at her coming to Oxford. Upon that, Dr Caius, at the motion of Archbishop Parker, (29) enters the lists, like a true champion, and in the stile of one; and makes out undeniably (as he thinks) that Cambridge University had for its founder Cantaber, 394 years before Christ, and in the year of the world, four thousand three hundred and odd; and therefore was 1267 years ancients than Oxford. The Doctor's book is intitled, *De Antiquitate Cantabrigie Academiæ Libri duo. In quorum secundo de Oxoniensis quoque Gymnasii Antiquitate differitur, & Cantabrigie longe eo antiquius esse definitur.* Londinensi Authore. For the Doctor concealed himself under the name of *Londinensis*. At the end of it is subjoined, Thomas Key's book, or *Afferatio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiæ, incerto Authore ejusdem Gymnasii*: (30) *Ad illustriss. Reginam Anno 1566. Cum fragmento Oxoniensis Historiæ, ex libro Procuratorum.* These were very neatly printed by Henry Byneman, in 1568, 8vo.—They were reprinted by John Day in 1574, 4to, *aucti ab ipso Authore plurimum*, with two other books, intitled *Historiæ Cantabrigie Academiæ ab Urbe condita, Lib. 2.* which are properly the History of the University. The first contains the ancient state of the place, a description of the town, an history of the University, and the foundation of the several colleges. The second is a description of the town as it was in his time; officers of the University, Exercises, &c. Schools, Library, &c.

(28) Wood. Ath. edit. 1721. Vol. 1. col. 173.

(29) Strype's Life of Abp Parker, p. 257.

(30) For Tho. Key did not put his name to it.

(31) *De Libris propriis*, p. 193.

[S] *An Account of the Baths in Britain.* *De Thermis Britannicis, liber.* In which he treats of the nature, use, effects, and discovery of the baths in Britain. We do not find that it was ever printed. (31)

[T] *Of some rare Animals, and Plants.* He drew up that account for the use of the very learned Conrad Gesner, and it was inserted in his Histories of Animals and Plants. Our author had it printed afterwards more complete, by W. Seres, at London 1570, 4to.

[U] *And of British Dogs* *De Canibus Britannicis libellus.* This was drawn up at first in haste, for the use also of his learned friend C. Gesner. But he being carried off by the plague in 1565, our author revised and enlarged it; causing it to be printed by W. Seres

in 1570. It hath been reprinted, with the former, by Dr Jebb. Lond. 1729, 8vo.

[W] *Of the right pronunciation of the Greek and Latin Languages.* *De Pronunciatione Græcæ & Latinæ Linguae, cum Descriptione nova libellus.* Printed by J. Day, Lond. 1574, reprinted by Dr Jebb, with the two former. In this he opposes the pronunciation introduced by J. Cheke, (32) and confirmed by a decree of the University of Cambridge, 14 June 1542. (33) With regard to the Latin, he was for retaining the manner of pronunciation used in foreign parts, viz. *sibi, tibi, vita, ita*,—not; *saibai, taibai, waitai, aital*, as the English found those words. And as to the Greek, he was absolutely against the manner of pronouncing it, introduced by Cheke and Smith: Alledging, that the Ancients, as appeared by their own books and commentators, pronounced *Achilles, Tydes, Thebes*, not *Achillews, Tudeus, Theseus*, &c. *Certe Antiqui Achilles, Tydes, Thebes, & Ulisses dicebant, non Achillews, Tudeus, Theseus, & Ulissews, quemadmodum recentes: uti ex eorum & interpretum libris ea adhuc referentibus scire licet.* (34) That exploded manner of pronouncing Greek is still espoused by some persons; witness D. Gregorii Placentini *de rellæ Græci sermonis Pronunciatione Dissertatio*, Romæ 1735, 4to. and *Commentar. in Veteres Inscriptiones*, Romæ 1751, 4to.

(32) See above, the article CHEKE [Sir JOHN.]

(33) Hist. Cantabr. Acad. L. ii. p. 124.

(34) *De Pronunciatione*, edit. Jebb, p. 225, 231.

[X] *And some other pieces.* Namely, 1. *De Libris propriis liber unus; ad Thomam Hatcherum.* An account of the Books written by himself. Printed by W. Seres, Lond. 1570, and reprinted by Dr Jebb with the forementioned ones. It were to be wished, every learned man, who hath written many things, would leave such an account of them behind him. 2. *De Symphonia vocum Britannicarum, lib. 1.* 'Of the agreement of many British words with the like in the Greek and Latin languages.' Never printed. 3. *De antiquis Britannia Urbibus, lib. 1.* 'Of the ancient cities and towns in Britain.' Containing an account of their former and modern names; which of them are extinct, &c. Not printed. 4. *De Libris Galeni qui non extant, lib. 1.* 'Of the books of Galen which are lost.' Not printed. 5. *Annales Collegii Medicinæ, Lond. lib. 1.* 'The Annals of the College of Physicians London.' 6. *De Annalibus Collegii Govevilli & Caii, lib. 1.* 'The Annals of Goveville and Caius College.' These two he never intended for the press. (35) — He had also an intention of writing the History of his native place, the city of Norwich. (36)

(35) *De Libris propriis*, p. 142, 143, 206.

(36) Ibid. p. 233, 210.

[Y] *His epitaph is short.* It is comprised in these few words.

Fui Caius.

Vivit post Funera Virtus.

Obiit xxix Julii Ætatis suæ

Anno Dni 1573. LXIII.

i. e.

I was Caius. Virtue outlives Death.

He died 29 July, A. D. 1573, aged 63.

His monument, when the chapel was rebuilt some time since, was raised from the floor, and placed in the wall as it now stands, and then his body was found whole and perfect. (37)

(37) Blomefield, as above, p. 212.



KEBLE [JOSEPH], the laborious compiler of Law-Reports, was youngest son of Richard Keble of Ipswich in the county of Suffolk, Esq; a lawyer of sufficient note during the Usurpation (a) [A], and descended from a very ancient family in Wales (b). His son Joseph, the subject of the present article, had his birth in the parish of St Giles's in the Fields in the year 1632, and having laid a proper foundation of grammar learning at the parish school of St Andrew's, Holbourn (c), was sent thence to Jesus college in Oxford; but after a short stay there, he removed to that of All-Souls, of which Society he was appointed a Fellow by the Parliament Visitors in 1648 (d). In this situation he prosecuted his studies with diligence, and being of the Law line, he proceeded to take his bachelor's degree in that profession, March 15, 1654 (e). Not long afterwards, leaving the university, he settled at Gray's-Inn, where he had been admitted a student, and became a Barrister about the year 1658 (f). The following year he made the tour of Paris, and saw the Court there. After the Restoration, he attended the King's-Bench bar with very extraordinary assiduity, continuing there daily as long as the court sat, in all the terms from 1661 to the year 1710, which was the more remarkable, as he was very rarely, if ever, known to be retained in any cause, or so much as to make a motion there. Agreeable to this course, his whole life was very regular and orderly: Rising before six in the morning, he employed himself in his study, with unwearied writing, 'till eleven; then met company in the walks; from thence to dinner: thence back to his study; and at six to the walks again. This was in a manner the constant method of his labours and diversions (g). In the vacation time he usually walked to Hampstead, having purchased at North-end (b) in that parish, a small copyhold estate for the sake of the air. In this retirement he remained Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays, but employed his time there mostly in writing, as he did at London [B]. Towards the latter end of his life, growing too feeble to perform the walk, he sometimes rode thither; and as he was going to take coach for that purpose on Monday August 28, 1710, his legs failed him on the sudden, and he fell back into a person's arms in Holborn-Gate at Gray's-Inn, and expired immediately, without a groan, in the 78th year of his age (i) [C]. His corps was soon afterwards conveyed in a hearse out of town, and buried at Tuddenham near Ipswich in Suffolk, where he had a real estate of about a hundred pounds a year, which, as he was never married, descended after his decease to Walter Keble Eaves, Esq; his heir at law (k). He published several Books in his Life-time; besides which, he left above a hundred large folios, and more than fifty thick quartos, in manuscript, of his own hand-writing: We shall give an account of the whole below [D]. He had also a very good study of printed books,

(a) Post-Boy, No. 4704. from Thursday Sept. 17 to Saturday Sept. 19, 1719.

(b) His pedigree is now in the hands of Mr Sam. Keble, Book-seller in Fleet-street, where the family is traced as far back as before the time of Will. the Conqueror.

(c) Post-Boy.

(d) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(e) Ibid. Fasti, col. 105.

(f) Post Boy. Mr Wood observes, that he afterwards became a Benchet of that society. Ath. Ox. where last cited.

(g) Post-Boy.

(b) The value of it was about 10 l. a year, as we are informed by Mr. Sam. Keble, Book-seller in Fleetstreet; who says, his relation generally performed the walk in the same number of steps, which were often counted by him.

(i) Post-Boy.

(k) Mr Keble's information.

[A] *A Lawyer of sufficient note during the Usurpation, and of an ancient family in Wales.* He was Serjeant at Law when he was appointed a joint Commissioner of the Great Seal with Bulstrode Whitlocke and John Lisle, Esq; in February 1648 (1); and while he was in this station he was appointed president of the extraordinary commission of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of the famous John Lilburne, in Oct. 1649 (2).

[B] *He employed time in writing at London.* This faculty was so habitual to him, that he continually laboured with his pen, not only to report the Law at the King's-Bench Westminster, but all the Sermons at Gray's-Inn Chapel, both forenoon and afternoon, amounting to above 4000. This was the mode in those times when he was young; and being once got into the fashion of writing sermon-notes, he continued it to his last, as will appear in remark [D].

[C] *He expired without a groan.* The person in whose arms he expired, was the late Mr Williamson, bookseller, who then kept a shop under the gate, and observing him to falter in his walking, slept up to his assistance; to whom his last words were, *My legs are too weak to support my body.* He had frequently in his life-time expressed a desire to die in this manner; and often declared with some warmth, his dislike of the petition in the Litany against sudden death (3).

[D] *We shall give an account of the whole below.* The first work he undertook for the public, was making a new Table with many new References, &c. to the Statute Book in the year 1674. He was engaged in it by two of the King's Printers (4), who agreed to give him three hundred pounds; and had it licensed by Lord Chancellor Finch, with all the Judges. He finished it in two years. II. The next book he published was in the year 1681, intituled, *An Explanation of the Laws against Recusants, &c. abridged*, in 8vo. Licensed May 7, 1681, with the following approbation: 'Knowing the learning and industry of the author of this work, who hath therein very seasonably bestowed his pains upon explaining the ancient laws made against Recusants, I do recommend the same to the public. Fr. North. III. His next work for the public was intituled, *An assistance to Justices of Peace for the easier performance of their duty*; licensed by all

the Judges, viz Fr. Pemberton, Fr. North, W. Montague, Hugh Wyndham, Tho. Jones, Will. Dolben, Tho. Raymond, Ed. Atkins, W. Gregory, J. Charlton, Creswel Levinz, T. Street. Published in 1683, Fol. The booksellers paid him two hundred pounds for the copy. IV. He published *Reports taken at the King's-Bench at Westminster, from the 12th to the 30th Year of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles II.* in 3 volumes folio. Licensed by the Judges, and published in 1685. He received of the bookseller three hundred pounds for the copy. But the whole not being digested in the ordinary method of such collections, and coming out without any table of references, the book was not so well received as was expected; and the credit of it being once sunk could not be retrieved, tho' the table was added in 1696. V. *Two Essays; one on human nature, or, the creation of mankind; the other on human actions.* Pamphlets in 8vo.

Our author's manuscripts in folio bound, are, I. Thirteen volumes (as large and thick as the Statutes) in Demy paper, being an abridgment of the law under several heads. II. One volume of the same size on the Excom of the 5th of Eliz. cap. 23. III. Ten volumes as thick as Poulton's Statutes, being a Digest of the Statutes at large under several proper heads. IV. Three volumes of the same size concerning Taxes. V. Three volumes of Abridgments throughout the Alphabet. VI. Two volumes being a Table to Lord Coke's Reports. VII. Four volumes, being an Alphabetical Table to all the Books of the Common Law. VIII. One volume, being an Abridgment of Ecclesiastical Law. IX. Twenty-five volumes of Abridgments of Law. X. Thirty-five volumes, being an Explanation of all the Statutes, which the Lord Chancellor Finch put him upon doing. XI. Six volumes of Tables to the Abridgments. XII. One volume of Miscellanies under fifteen Heads: 1. Religion. 2. Exercise of the Spirit. 3. Happiness. 4. Christian Patience. 5. Faith. 6. Villenage. 7. Original Sin. 8. Life. 9. Charity. 10. Sensuality. 11. Death. 12. Mystery of Truth. 13. Effect of taking Sermon-notes. 14. Mystery of Godliness. 15. Christian Philosophy. His Manuscripts in Quarto bound are: 1. Two volumes of Pleadings at Gray's-Inn, beginning 1663, and ending

(1) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1007.

(2) See the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, printed that year in 4to.

(3) From the information of Mr S. Keble, Book-seller in Fleet-street.

(4) H. Hills and T. Newcomb.



books, in Divinity, History, Common and Civil Law; in which there was scarcely a single one but where he had written very large marginal notes, particularly in all the books that relate to Convocations, and many observations upon Mr Locke's Human Understanding [E]. He was of a friendly and affable behaviour, and his good nature eminently appeared in the frequent assistance he gave to his relations [F], and in his charity to the poor.

1677. 2. Twenty-two volumes of Reports taken at the King's-Bench from King Charles II. to the 8th Year of her late Majesty. 3. Thirty-three volumes of Sermons preached at Gray's-Inn in the Morning and Afternoon, from 1660 to 1709, which are above four thousand.

(5) The Post-Boy, cited in the text.

(5). [E] He had a very good study of books, &c.] All his books and manuscripts (except twenty volumes given to Gray's-Inn) were left by his will to his cousin Sam. Keble, bookseller in Fleet Street, London, by his will, wherein he also bequeathed his estate at Tuddington to Mr Keble's son, the present bookseller, as well as his copy-hold at North-End: But tho' the will was all written by himself, and regularly signed; and so

was sufficient in Law for the copy-hold; yet being left without any witnesses names, it proved ineffectual for conveying the real estate in Suffolk, which by that defect fell to the share of the heir at law, as mentioned in the text.

[F] He frequently assisted his relations.] The following instance of this was truly worthy of him. In building Coney-court, at Gray's-Inn, one side of the chambers in the stair-case, No. 3. was done at the expence of Mr Keble, who sold those on the ground and second floor, but reserving those on the first for his own use, he placed in the third floor such of his poor relations, especially of the female sex, as were rendered by age and infirmities the fittest object of his beneficence (6).

(6) Communicated by Mr S. Keble. Bookseller in Fleetstreet, to whom we are obliged for so many other particulars in this memoir.

KEILL [JOHN], an eminent Mathematician and Philosopher was born December 1, 1671, at Edinburgh (a) where he received the first rudiments of learning; after which, being put to that university, he continued there till he took the degree of Master of Arts. His genius leading him to the Mathematicks, he made a great progress in those studies under Dr David Gregory, the mathematical Professor, who having embraced the Newtonian philosophy soon after it was published, read a course of lectures to explain it (b). By this means our author became early acquainted with Sir Isaac's Principia, and making himself master of a good share of the immense treasure of mathematical and philosophical learning contained therein, he formed his future studies upon that plan. In 1694 he followed his tutor to Oxford, and was incorporated Master of Arts there February the 2d that year (c); and being admitted of Baliol college, obtained one of the Scotch Exhibitions in that Society. It was not long after this, that he procured such an apparatus of instruments as his fortune could command, and began to read lectures upon Natural Philosophy according to the Newtonian System, which he explained by proper experiments in his private chamber at the college (d). This happy method of teaching Sir Isaac Newton's principles by the experiments on which they were grounded, how natural soever, yet had not till then been attempted in either university: Mr Keill was the first [A], and he distinguished himself to great advantage in it. In 1698 he brought his character this way into the knowledge of the public, by his *Examination of Dr Thomas Burnet's Theory of the Earth* [B], which though his first essay in print, yet was generally received as a masterpiece

(a) Communicated by his son.

(b) Mr Whiston's Life by himself, Vol. I. p. 32. 2d edit. 1753.

(c) Dr Rawlinson's Catalogue of Degrees, &c. at Oxford, p. 121.

(d) The memoir of this was fresh at Oxford in 1715, and was often mentioned by Mr John Whitesides, who then read the same lectures there. P

[A] The first who read lectures in Experimental Philosophy.] As Sir Isaac Newton, who was bred at Cambridge, read in the public schools there those lectures which contained the substance of his Principia, it may seem a little surprizing, that the only proper lectures for explaining his philosophy, which was built upon experiments, should have been first introduced at the sister university (1). This was owing in a great measure to Dr Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church; who to an exquisite taste in all polite literature, having joined a considerable skill in the Mathematics, did not only give encouragement, but reputation also to those studies at Oxford. In the mean time, the Cartesian philosophy still held the vogue at Cambridge, even in the year 1693. (2) Notwithstanding that soon after the year 1687, when Sir Isaac's book was published, those Principles had been taught at Edinburgh by Dr David Gregory, then Mathematical Professor there, who had also caused his scholars to keep exercise for their degrees upon some branches of this new doctrine; whence it is no wonder if Mr Keill had imbibed a kind of veneration for it before he came to Oxford. He was succeeded in reading lectures there by Dr Desaguliers, who some time after removing to London, first brought these lectures into general vogue in the metropolis.

(1) The Plumian professorship was founded at Cambridge in 1705, and Mr Roger Cotes, the first Professor, was likewise the first who read lectures of this kind there.

(2) Whiston's Life by himself, ubi supra.

[B] An examination of Dr Burnet's Theory.] Notwithstanding several things by way of answer to this Theory had been published before, yet they were all very defective; the authors thereof having not only left the greatest faults unchastized, but run into as great absurdities as any of those they pretended to correct in the Theory itself. Mr Keill, therefore, undertook to give a full and solid refutation of that hypothesis. As it was his superior skill in the Newtonian philosophy which rendered him equal to this province, so he made it an opportunity of recommending that philosophy, both with regard to its method of applying geometrical

calculations to discover the exact degree of those forces that are found by observation actually to exist in nature, and likewise on account of its modesty and sobriety, in keeping the great author of Nature constantly in view, in confining philosophy within its proper sphere, and not presuming to extend the force of second intermediate causes to the production of such effects as are wrought by the immediate hand of the First. A method contrary to this, he observes, had been always the disgrace of philosophy. Thus, for instance, he imputes the wild notions of Anaxagoras, and several of the old Greeks, mentioned by Diogenes Laërtius, and Plutarch (3), concerning the nature and phenomena of the sun and stars to the neglect of this method, and especially marks those of Anaximenes, Heraclitus, and another, concerning the cause of an eclipse of the Sun, as tho' strange enough in themselves, yet appearing much stranger 'when, says he, we consider that these men lived after Thales, who had foretold an eclipse of the Sun by his knowledge, that the moon was to be at such a time in a direct line between him and it. Such an aversion had these men to build upon other mens observations that had gone before them, though both older and wiser than themselves.' From the Ancients he descends to the Moderns, 'who pretend, says he, to have found out the intimate essence of all things; to have discovered nature in all her works, and can tell you the true cause of every effect from the sole principles of matter and motion; can inform you (for instance) how God made the world, and declare the whole œconomy of living bodies. Nay, they understand also very exactly the theory of the soul, how it thinks, and by what methods it operates on the body, and the body on it.' In confirmation of this last remark, he mentions the assertion of Spinoza concerning an unity of substance; that of Mr Hobbes, of the absolute impossibility of any incorporeal substance;

(3) The first In Vitis Philosophorum, and the second De Philosoph. Placitis.



piece by those who were best acquainted with the subject. In this work he had subjoined some *Remarks upon Mr Whiston's New Theory of the Earth*, which occasioned that gentleman

(4) Viz. Dr Burthogge and Dr Connor, the first in a treatise upon Reason, had, revived the doctrine of the *Anima Mundi*, or one universal soul; and the latter had denied all miraculous facts in general, in a book entitled *Evangelium*.

(5) Mr Warren's book is intitled, *Geologia, or a Discourse concerning the Earth before the Deluge*, &c. edit. 1690, 4to.

• Gen. vi. 17.

(6) In Phil. Transf. No. 192.

(7) In a paper shewing the exact proportion of the sun's heat in all latitudes. Ibid. No 203.

(8) He provides a current for his rivers from this oval figure.

(9) In a book titled *Diatribes de Figura Telluris Elliptico-Sphaeroidis*. Edit. Strasbourg, 1691. by Joh. Casp. Eissenschmidt, Med. & Philos. Doct. An Extract of this piece was also published in the *Acta Erudit. Lipsiæ* for that year.

(10) Particularly Mr Erasmus Warren, ubi supra; with whose assertion of 104th deg. of latitude, Mr Keill makes very merry in his introduction, p. 24.

substance; Dr Henry More's fourth dimension, or essential Spissitude of the soul; Mr Malbranch's doctrine about seeing all things in God, and occasional causes; together with some others then lately published, of less note, though not less extravagant (4), and then lays all these fooleries to the charge of Des Cartes, who encouraged this presumptuous pride in the philosophers of accounting for all the works of nature; and was also, continues he, the first world-maker this [the seventeenth] century has produced. For he supposes that God at the beginning created only a certain quantity of matter and motion, and from thence endeavours to shew how by the necessary laws of mechanism, without any extraordinary concurrence of the divine power, how the world, and all that therein is, might have been produced; nay, he pretended, that having a quantity of matter and motion, he could produce an animal; though he was so extremely ignorant in the laws of motion, that of the seven rules he has given about it, there is but one of them true. He proceeds to overthrow the whole system of Des Cartes's philosophy, by shewing the falseness of his Theory of the Vortices, upon which that system is founded, and in conclusion observes, that Dr Burnet's Theory is formed in the same spirit with that of Des Cartes, from the cobweb threads of a fine imagination, without a due regard to observations and calculations. However intimating withal, that the philosophy of his antagonists was made of, no better stuff; among those he expressly takes notice of Mr Warren, and makes very free with that gentleman's little gift of reasoning (5).

In the body of the book, our author considers seven of the Theorist's positions, upon which, as the main pillars, he supposes the whole fabrick to stand. These are made the subjects of so many chapters. In the first of which he examines the general argument brought for its truth, as furnishing the only possible method to explicate Noah's flood; all other ways requiring more water than can be found, and more, if found, than can be disposed of. Mr Keill, for answer, observes, that he has selected this argument, because he thinks it an evident demonstration of the impossibility of all natural and mechanical explications whatsoever of the Deluge, even this of the Theorist not excepted, as we shall shew in the sequel, whence he concludes it to be wrought in a miraculous way, which he thinks is evidently declared in Scripture, particularly in those remarkable words, *Behold I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth*\*. The second chapter shews that the Theorist's method of forming the world from a chaos, is not agreeable to the laws of nature and gravitation. The third chapter proves the possibility of mountains in the antediluvian earth, even upon the Theorist's principles, though contrary to his position; herein explaining the use of mountains to supply springs and rivers, our author borrows Dr Halley's account of the original of springs. (6) The fourth chapter examines the effects arising from the perpendicular position of the earth's axis to the plane of the ecliptic, asserted by the Theorist, which is proved to be so far from being excellent, and fitted for a paradisaical world, that it would make the greatest part of the earth not habitable. Here likewise, in demonstrating the advantages of the present oblique position of the earth's axis above that of a right one, or even any other, our author is again obliged to Dr Halley (7). The fifth chapter exposes the absurdity of the Theorist's method in forming the antediluvian rivers without any sea. The sixth chapter contains an easy and clear demonstration of the true figure of the earth, viz. that of an oblate spheroid, and not an oblong, as the Theorist maintained (8). This chapter is twice as long as any of the rest. The Theorist's assertion of the earth's oval form was not only the most commonly received opinion at that time, wherein he had been particularly defended, (9) but was granted too by his former antagonists (10). And the contrary doctrine of an oblate spheroidal form was one of the most remarkable discoveries in Sir Isaac Newton's Principia. Mr Keill therefore thought proper especially to exert himself upon this point, in order to make it clear and intelligible, even to readers of an ordinary attainment in geometrical learning, and the rather because it had been trusted to the publick

with the sole force of a strict and severe demonstration by the discoverer. In handling it, our author makes use of Mr Huygens's Theorems of the centrifugal force; whereupon being afterwards aspersed by Dr Burnet, in his *Reflections upon the theory of the earth*, as a plagiarist, he returned the following answer. 'It is well known,' says he, that Mr Newton was the first that made the discovery, and shewed the method of calculating the gravity of bodies at different latitudes, whom therefore I mentioned as the sole inventor. Mr Huygens, indeed, I did not name, seeing he had the notion intirely from Mr Newton, as that learned gentleman does freely acknowledge. But after all this, I have not so much transcribed from these two learned authors, as I have endeavoured to explain their notions, and make them intelligible to men of lower capacities. Those two excellent and learned men had something else to do, and matters of greater concern to mind, than to publish their discoveries at large, so that every reader might understand them. I thought therefore, that it would not be altogether displeasing to the world, if I endeavoured to explain their theories about the figure of the earth, and the effects of gravity joined with a centrifugal force; so that they might become intelligible to those who understand the elements of Geometry, and the common principles of Statics, and I doubted not but it would be more acceptable, because there has not (at least to my knowledge) been any discourse published of this nature in English.' (11) In the seventh chapter, our author examines the manner of the Theorist's accounting for the Deluge by the great heat of the sun's breaking the outward crust (12), and thereby occasioning its fall into the water beneath; and having shewn this pretended heat of the sun to be insufficient for that purpose, he proves that even granting that to be sufficient, there could follow no universal deluge from the Theorist's own principles, there being not so much water, according to these, in the abyss, as was sufficient to cover the face of the whole earth: And as he has here shewn, that this Theorist has not provided water enough to make such a deluge, so with regard to the other Theorist, Mr Whiston, whom he allows to have furnished water enough for his purpose from the atmosphere of a comet; yet he proves that gentleman to be very short in providing a sufficient means of the earth's recovering from such a deluge, since of twenty-three oceans necessary to be brought upon its surface in order to make it, he had only contrived a recess for one, the other twenty-two being left without any provision to carry them off (13). We must not dismiss this remark without observing, that as on one hand Mr Keill, by his method of explaining the figure of the earth from Mr Huygens's theorems, must needs have recommended himself to the good opinion of Sir Isaac Newton, who always professed the highest regard for that author, and his manner of demonstration (14); so on the other hand, the animadversions in this treatise upon some glaring mistakes of Mr Wotton, and particularly of Dr Bentley, must undoubtedly have rivetted him in the favour of Dean Aldrich, the dispute about Phalaris's epistles being then at the height (15). The passage relating to Mr Wotton is in the Introduction (16), and runs thus. 'I wonder, therefore, why Mr Wotton, in his *Reflections on ancient and modern learning* (17), should say, that Des Cartes joined to his great genius an exquisite skill in Geometry, so that he wrought upon intelligible principles, in an intelligible manner, though he very often failed of one part of his end, namely, a right explication of the phenomena of nature; yet by marrying Geometry and Physics together, he put the world in hopes of a masculine offspring. This, says Mr Keill, I think, is a clearer demonstration than any in Des Cartes's principles of philosophy, that Mr Wotton either understood no Geometry, or else that he never read Des Cartes's principles, for from the beginning to the end of them, there is not one demonstration drawn from Geometry, or indeed any demonstration at all, except Mr Wotton will say, that every thing that is illustrated by a figure is a demonstration, and then indeed he may produce enough of such demonstrations in his philosophical works. So far was Des Cartes from marrying Physics with Geometry, that it was his great fault that he made

(11) Examination of the *Reflections* of the Theory of the Earth, p. 144, 145.

(12) Dr Burnet supposes the earth to be composed of a spherical body of water, covered with a crust of dry land.

(13) Remarks on Mr Whiston's Theory of the Earth, p. 221, & seq. and the Defence of those Remarks, p. 203, & seq. See other particulars in these remarks. See Mr Whiston's article.

(14) See Dr Pemberton's preface to his View of Sir Isaac's Philosophy.

(15) See Dr Bentley's article.

(16) P. 14, 15, 16.

(17) Cap. xxvii. p. 348. edit. 1705.



gentleman to publish a vindication of his new Theory; and *Reflections upon the Theory of the Earth* being printed by Dr Burnet about the same time, these pieces drew another performance from our author, which he published with the title of *An Examination of the Reflections on the Theory of the Earth, together with a Defence of the Remarks on Mr Whiston's new Theory* (e), in 1699, 8vo. The following year Dr Thomas Millington, Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy at Oxford, who had been appointed Physician in Ordinary to King William (f), substituted Mr Keill to read lectures, as his deputy, in the public schools (g). Our author discharged this office with uncommon reputation; and the term for enjoying the Scotch exhibition at Baliol college expiring, he accepted an invitation given him by Dr Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ-Church, to reside there (h). In 1701 he published his celebrated treatise intitled, *Introductio ad Veram Physicam* [C]. This contained the substance of several lectures upon the new Philosophy, and he continued to read in the same way for some years after his removal to Christ-Church. About this time he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1708 he published, in the Philosophical Transactions (i), a paper of *the laws of attraction, and its physical principles* [D]. At

(g) See the preface to his *Introductio ad Veram Physicam*.

(h) Communicated by Mr Murray, our author's nephew.

(i) No. 315.

the

no use at all of Geometry in Philosophy. It may, perhaps, be thought that he understood Geometry as well as most of his contemporaries, and therefore Mr Wotton might have presumed that he ought to have joined Geometry to Natural Philosophy; but since he asserts that he actually did so, I think it a convincing argument that he makes himself a judge of things he does not understand. The stroke at Dr Bentley falls in these terms. 'I know Dr Bentley in his last lecture for the confutation of Atheism asserts, that though the axis [of the earth] had been perpendicular, yet, take the whole year about, we should have had the same measure of heat we have now. But I am not surprized to find an error of this nature asserted by one, who as it appears is not very well skilled in Astronomy; for in the same lecture he confidently says, that *'tis matter of fact and experience, that the moon always shews the same face to us, not once wheeling about her own center*; whereas 'tis evident to any one who thinks, that the moon shews the same face to us for this very reason, because she does turn once in the time of her period about her own center.\* But it were to be wished that great critics would confine their labours to their lexicons, and not venture to guess in those parts of learning which are capable of demonstration.' (18) This bluntly severe discipline, so much in the Doctor's own manner, was highly relishing to his antagonists, and the whole body of Mr Wotton's defence (19) was weak enough to be taken, and the particulars led as so many captives to grace the triumph.† After all, Mr Keill's pen did not move in this piece without making some slips, though indeed they are such as affect not his main argument: For instance, in measuring the degrees of an ellipsis, in assigning fifteen Paris feet for the space a body falls through in a second of time, (20) and in giving a number of feet a little less than true for the diameter of the earth, which was not so well known at that time. These mistakes in the 8th chapter were taken notice of by Dr Desaguliers, (21) and our author himself has remarked another in that very chapter, the fourth, where his lash falls so heavy upon Dr Bentley; in which he asserts Jupiter's axis to be inclined to the plane of his orbit. This assertion, he tells us, proceeded from too hastily trusting to his memory; and experience has since shewn, that a like uncautious ardour (not to be found in his master Sir Isaac Newton) led him into a belief, that no mensuration of a degree of the meridian in different latitudes could be made exact enough for determining the true figure of the earth. (22) Throughout the whole work, our author vindicates the literal sense of the Mosaic account of the Creation and Deluge, and in his Examination of the Reflections has given some no contemptible rules concerning literal and allegorical interpretations of Scripture. To conclude, the whole tenour of the treatise now under consideration, shews our author's belief in the inspiration of the Pentateuch, whence it may be known what credit is to be given to a story told of him, that in a dispute with a Jew, who persisted in denying the divine authority of the New Testament, he said, Then I deny the divine authority of your Old Testament.

[C] *Introductio ad Veram Physicam*.] This is universally esteemed the best and most useful performance of our author. In the preface he insinuates the little progress that Sir Isaac Newton's Principia had then made in the learned World, observing that though the mechanical philosophy was then in repute, yet in most

of the writings on this subject scarce any thing of it was to be found besides the name; and that instead of it, the philosophers had introduced the figures, pores, and interstices of corpuscles which they never saw, and talked of the intestine motion of the parts, of the struggles and conflicts between the acid and alkali, with a variety of such other miraculous effects of the *Materia Subtilis*; all which were absurdities of the Cartesian philosophy, which still held a place in the esteem of the generality, notwithstanding the invincible foundation that had been laid for the mechanic philosophy, and the noble discoveries made therein by Mr Newton (23). In the first lecture he treats of the method of philosophizing, which he intends to take in the rest. This he divides into four branches, viz. (1.) The Pythagorean and Platonic; which explain the nature of things by numbers and geometrical figures. (2.) The Aristotelian, which does the same thing by matter and forms, privations, elementary virtues, occult qualities, sympathies, and antipathies, &c. (3.) Experimental; and (4.) Mechanical, proceeding by the laws and rules of Mechanism, as matter and motion, the various figures and contextures of the parts, subtile particles, and the like. From each of these our author takes what best suits his purpose, and to avoid error, prescribes to himself these three rules: first, to lay down requisite definitions; then to consider the qualities of things only as thus defined, abstracted from all others; and thirdly, beginning with the most simple cases, thence to proceed to the more compounded. Upon this plan, after he has treated of the solidity and extension of body, the divisibility of magnitude, (24) the subtilty of matter, and those minute particles into which it may be actually divided, of time, and of place, he proceeds to consider motion (25) in general. The first edition of this book contained only fourteen lectures, but to the second edition in 1705 he added two more upon the motions arising from given forces. About twenty years ago, when the Newtonian philosophy began to be cultivated in France, this piece was in great esteem there, being looked on as the best introduction to Sir Isaac's Principia, and a new edition in English was printed at London in 1736, at the instance of Monsieur Maupertuis (26), who was then in England; and after our author's much admired demonstrations of Mr Huygens's theorems of centrifugal force, printed at the end of it, subjoined a new hypothesis of his own concerning the ring of the planet Saturn.

[D] *The laws of attraction, and its physical Principles*.] This piece is built upon some propositions in Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, and our author gives the following account of the origin of it. 'After frequently revolving, says he, in my mind the divine discoveries of this most sagacious man, I fell at last upon this thought, that a certain principle might be applied, not unlike to those of Newton, to the explanation of the terrestrial phenomena; and after experiments often repeated, I perceived there was a certain attractive force in terrestrial matter, from whence the reason of many terrestrial phenomena is to be derived: And this thought of mine about five years ago I opened to Mr Newton, and I understood from him, that he had long ago observed the same thing; and I found that he had proposed some queries relating to this attractive force at the end of his Optics, published in Latin about two years ago. Now as it can't be expected, that this great man should

(23) He gives the following list of Sir Isaac's predecessors in this philosophy, viz. Archimedes, Roger Bacon, Cardan, Galilæo, Boyle, and Wallis, with others.

(24) Here, from the limited nature of body, he proves, that geometrical superficies, as lines and points, are not mere ideas, but have an actual existence in nature, since every natural body is actually bounded by such a superficies, the actual limits of which are lines, and the limits of those lines actually geometrical points.

(25) Our author maintains both the reality of space and of absolute motion.

(26) An eminent Mathematician, and one of those who were sent by the King of France to measure a degree of the meridian near the north-pole.

(27) Viz. Prop. 39 and 74. lib. i. and prop. 8. lib. iii.

(e) In answer to this Mr Whiston published a second defence of his new theory against Mr Keill and others; but of this our author took no notice.

(f) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 126.

\* The slip was the more unpardonable in Dr Bentley, as the sermon where this remark occurs is among those at Boyle's Lecture, a great part whereof is borrowed from Sir Isaac Newton's Principia, where this observation had been particularly inserted. Lib. iii. prop. 17.

(18) Examination of the Theory, p. 70.

(19) Page 3. 4, 5, 6. printed at the end of the Reflections, ubi supra.

† See more of this in Dr Wallis's article.

(20) The true space is 15 feet, 1 inch, and 2 lines.

(21) In Phil. Transf. No. 387.

(22) See chap. vi. in the Examination of the Theory; and his Defence of it, in the Examination of the Reflections on the Theory. And it is remarkable, that the result of this mensuration first brought Sir Isaac's philosophy into vogue in France.



(\*) Published in  
Phil. Transf. No.  
317.

the same time being offended at a passage in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ*, wherein Sir Isaac Newton's right to the first invention of the method of Fluxions was called in question, he communicated to the Royal Society (k) another paper, in which he asserted the justice of that claim [E]. In 1709 he was appointed Treasurer to the Palatines, and in that station attended them in their passage to New-England. Soon after his return in 1710, he was chosen Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. In 1711, being attacked by Mr Leibnitz, he entered the lists against that illustrious Mathematician in the dispute about the invention of Fluxions, which he maintained with great spirit and equal penetration for several years [F], with the approbation of the inventor (l). Nor did he content himself

(l) See a letter of Sir Isaac, in Recueil de divers Pièces, &c. Messieurs Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres auteurs célèbres, publié par Des Maizeaux, Tom. II. p. 121. Amsterd. 1724.

‘ proceed still to improve these studies, both by reason  
‘ of his age and other business, I thought it not amiss  
‘ if I should pursue his steps herein, though at a great  
‘ distance from him.’

[E] *A paper, wherein he asserted the justice of that claim.* The title of it is, *De Legibus virium Centripetarum*. In this piece Mr Keill not only asserted that Sir Isaac first invented the method of fluxions, as appeared by his letters published by Dr Wallis, but that Mr Leibnitz had taken this method from him, only changing the name and notation, *Hæc omniaque sequuntur, inquit, ex celebratissima nunc dierum fluxionem Arithmetica, quam sine dubio primus invenit Dominus Newtonus, ut cuilibet ejus epistolæ a Walliso editas facile constabit. Eadem tamen Arithmetica postea mutatis nomine & notationis modo a D. Leibnitio in Actis Eruditorum edita est.*

[F] *Being attacked by Mr. Leibnitz, &c.* That gentleman wrote a letter to Dr Hans Sloane, then Secretary to the Royal Society, dated March 4, 1711, where he required in effect that Mr Keill should make him satisfaction for the injury which he said had been done to him. ‘ He protested that he was so far from assuming to  
‘ himself the method of Sir Isaac Newton, after hav-  
‘ ing only changed the name and notation, that he  
‘ was absolutely ignorant of the name of the method of  
‘ fluxions, and of the notation used by Sir Isaac, till  
‘ they appeared in the mathematical works of Dr  
‘ Wallis.’ He desired, therefore, the Royal Society to oblige Mr Keill to disown publicly the bad sense which his words might bear. This letter was communicated to the Royal Society, and Mr Keill to justify himself to Sir Isaac Newton, shewed him the extract of his book of the *Quadrature of curves* in the *Acta Eruditorum*. (28) He desired the Society at the same time, not to condemn him without hearing him, and to give him leave to explain and defend what he had advanced. This was the more readily granted to him, as Sir Isaac, and several other members of the Society, found the same sense as he had done in the comparison

(28) In the  
Journal of Janu-  
ary 1705, p. 30,  
& seqq.

(29) They put  
him in the same  
relation to Leib-  
nitz, as Honora-  
tus Faber stood in  
with regard to  
Cavallerius.

(30) Commer-  
cium Epistolicum  
D. Johan. Col-  
lins, &c. No.  
LXXXI.

(29) of the *Acta Eruditorum*. Upon this, Mr Keill wrote to Dr Sloane a letter, (30) in which he observed, ‘ That when he asserted that Mr Leibnitz had publish-  
‘ ed as his own Sir Isaac Newton's method, after hav-  
‘ ing changed the name and notation, he did not mean,  
‘ that the name which Sir Isaac had given to his me-  
‘ thod, or the notation which he made use of, were  
‘ then known to Mr Leibnitz; but only that Sir Isaac  
‘ was the first inventor of the method of fluxions, or  
‘ differential method; and that the letters which he  
‘ had written to Mr Oldenburgh, and which had been  
‘ sent to Mr Leibnitz, furnished light enough to a man  
‘ of Mr Leibnitz's penetration, to discover the prin-  
‘ ciples of that method. But that not having found  
‘ the name which Sir Isaac Newton gave his method,  
‘ and the notation used by him, it was natural for him  
‘ to invent a new name, and a new manner of nota-  
‘ tion. Mr Keill added, that the authors of the *Acta  
‘ Eruditorum* had obliged him to publish what he had  
‘ asserted, by their having affirmed in their extract of the  
‘ book of *Quadratures*, that Mr Leibnitz had invented  
‘ the differential method, in the room of which, Sir  
‘ Isaac Newton had substituted his fluxions. That he ac-  
‘ knowledged with pleasure the great obligations which  
‘ the learned world had to Mr Leibnitz, and his pro-  
‘ found skill in the mathematics; but that as he had  
‘ so great a fund of his own, there was no occasion to  
‘ adorn him with the spoils of others. And that hav-  
‘ ing observed, that Mr Leibnitz's countrymen gave  
‘ him commendations which did not belong to him, he  
‘ thought that it would not be an instance of mistaken  
‘ zeal for the English nation, if he endeavoured to  
‘ maintain Sir Isaac Newton's right.’ He then enter-  
‘ ed upon the subject, and shews first, from a letter of  
‘ Sir Isaac's to Mr Collins, dated December 10, 1672,

that he had this method before 1670, when Dr Barrow's lectures were published, and then from his *Analysis per Equationes infinitas*, which was sent to Mr Collins in 1699, that he used it before that time; and lastly, from his two letters (and particularly the latter) to Mr Leibnitz in 1676, that he had invented it before the plague which happened in 1665 and 1666. Having thus clearly proved that Sir Isaac was the first and true inventor of the method of fluxions, or the differential method, in the next place he proceeds to evince in what particular manner the two letters of Sir Isaac to Mr Leibnitz in 1676, which he received from Mr Oldenburgh, contained hints of that method clear enough to enable him to discover it. He concludes with declaring, ‘ that among the great services which Mr Leibnitz had  
‘ done in regard to mathematicks, his having first pub-  
‘ lished this method was one, and that all lovers of  
‘ that science were obliged to him, because he had not  
‘ been willing that so useful an invention should be  
‘ longer concealed. And he did not doubt but that  
‘ what he had written would justify his zeal for his  
‘ country, and furnish a convincing proof, that he had  
‘ not asserted rashly, or out of a spirit of calumny, in  
‘ the Philosophical Transactions, what he had now de-  
‘ monstrated with so much clearness and evidence.’ This letter having been read to the Royal Society May 24, 1711, they ordered a copy of it to be sent to Mr Leibnitz, who found new matter of complaint in it; and in a second letter which he wrote to Dr Sloane, dated at Hanover December 29, 1711, he represented that Mr Keill had attacked his candor and sincerity more openly than before; adding, that it was not suitable for a man of his age and experience to engage in a contest with an *Upstart*, who was unacquainted with what had passed so long before, and acted without any authority from Sir Isaac Newton, who was the party concerned. That it was in vain for Mr Keill to pretend to justify his proceeding by the example of the *Acta Eruditorum*, since in that Journal no injustice had been done to any man, but every one had received what was his due. He concluded with desiring that the Royal Society would enjoin Mr Keill silence. Our author seeing himself treated as an *Upstart*, who was not informed of what had passed formerly, appealed to the Registers of the Royal Society, and affirmed that they would find there convincing proofs of what he had advanced. Upon this a special committee was appointed for the purpose, who made the following report. ‘ We have consulted the letters, and letter-books, in  
‘ the custody of the Royal Society, and those found  
‘ among the papers of Mr John Collins, dated between  
‘ the years 1699 and 1677 inclusive; and shewed them  
‘ to such as knew and avouched the hands of Mr Bar-  
‘ row, Mr Collins, Mr Oldenburgh, and Mr Leibnitz,  
‘ and compared those of Mr Gregory with one another,  
‘ and with copies of some of them taken in the hand  
‘ of Mr Collins; and have extracted from them what  
‘ relates to the matter referred to us; all which ex-  
‘ tracts herewith delivered to you, we believe to be  
‘ genuine and authentic, and by these letters and pa-  
‘ pers we find,

‘ I. That Mr Leibnitz was in London in the begin-  
‘ ning of the year 1673, and went thence, in or about  
‘ March, to Paris, where he kept a correspondence  
‘ with Mr Collins, by means of Mr Oldenburgh, till  
‘ about September 1676, and then returned by Lon-  
‘ don and Amsterdam to Hanover. And that Mr Col-  
‘ lins was very free in communicating to able mathe-  
‘ maticians what he received from Mr Newton and Mr  
‘ Gregory.

‘ II. That when Mr Leibnitz was the first time in  
‘ London, he contended for the invention of another  
‘ differential method, properly so called; and notwith-  
‘ standing that he was shewn by Dr Pell that it was  
‘ Mouton's method (31), persisted in maintaining it to be  
‘ his

(31) See the  
book intitled,  
*Observationes  
Diametrorum  
Solis & Lunæ  
apparentium*, &c.  
Auctore Gabrielis  
Mouton, Lugdu-  
nensi Sacerdote in  
eclesiâ collegiata  
S. Pauli Lyons,  
1670, in 4to.



himself with laying open to the root the ingratitude of his antagonist, as well as injustice of his pretensions, but much indirect art and industry under the conduct of the greatest skill and capacity being employed to gain credit to those pretensions, by disparaging the true inventor's mathematical abilities, our author extended the same spirit to the exposing of Mr John Bernoulli, whom he proved notoriously guilty of a like base attempt upon Sir Isaac Newton's character, in another point of that science [G]. About this time several

his own invention, by reason that he had found it by himself, without knowing what Mouton had done before, and had much improved it. And we find no mention of his having any other differential method than Mouton's, before his letter of the 21st of June, 1677, which was a year after a copy of Mr Newton's letter of the 10th of December 1672 had been sent to Paris to be communicated to him, and about four years after, Mr Collins began to communicate that letter to his correspondents; in which letter the method of Fluxions was sufficiently described to any intelligent person.

III. That by Mr Newton's letter of the 13th of June, 1676, it appears, that he had the method of Fluxions above five years before the writing of that letter. And by his *Analysis per Equationes numero terminorum infinitas*, communicated by Dr Barrow to Mr Collins in 1699, we find that he had invented the method before that time.

IV. That the differential method is one and the same with the method of Fluxions, excepting the name and mode of notation; Mr Leibnitz calling those quantities differences which Mr Newton calls moments, or fluxions, and marking them with the letter *d*, a mark not used by Mr Newton. And therefore we take the proper question to be not, who invented this or that method, but who was the first inventor of the method. And we believe that those who have reputed Mr Leibnitz the first inventor, knew little or nothing of his correspondence with Mr Collins and Mr Oldenburgh long before; nor of Mr Newton's having that method above 15 years before Mr Leibnitz began to publish it in the *Acta Eruditorum of Lipsic*.

For which reasons, we reckon Mr Newton the first inventor, and are of opinion, that Mr Keill, in asserting the same, has been no ways injurious to Mr Leibnitz.

After the publication of the *Commercium Epistolicum* in 1712, an extract of it being translated into French, and printed at London\*, was inserted afterwards in the 7th tome of the *Journal Litteraire*: Upon this occasion Mr Leibnitz, in the postscript of a letter to Count Bothmar, writes, that being at Vienna when the news of the publication of the *Com. Epist.* reached his ears, he did not think proper to send for it by the post, in an assurance that it must contain malicious falsties. That he wrote, therefore, to Mr Bernoulli, (a gentleman, he says, who perhaps in all Europe has succeeded best in the knowledge and use of this calculus, and who was absolutely neuter) to give him his sentiments. That Mr Bernoulli wrote him a letter, dated at Basil June 7, 1713, wherein, he said, it appeared probable, that Sir Isaac Newton had formed his calculus after he had seen that of Mr Leibnitz, having frequent occasion in his work to make use of this calculus, though there appears no trace of it; and that he had even committed some errors which seemed incompatible with a true knowledge of that calculus. One of my friends, continues Mr Leibnitz, published this letter, with reflections; and as I had enough of other affairs to employ me, I was unwilling to enter farther into this, especially since Sir Isaac Newton had not said any thing himself. I thought it sufficient to have opposed to the clamours of his adherents, the judgment of a person of Mr Bernoulli's learning and impartiality †: These two Latin pieces were published in Germany in a loose sheet, dated July 29, 1713; where in the letter ascribed above by Leibnitz to Bernoulli, this gentleman was cited in the third person with a compliment [*quemadmodum ab eminente quodam mathematico dudum notatum est*], which gave room to suspect it was not written by Bernoulli, and that suspicion was heightened by the same letter's being printed afterwards in French by Mr Leibnitz, without the compliment, in the *Nouvelles Litteraires* of December 28, 1715. Thus castrated, these two pieces were inserted in the 2d tome of the *Journal Litteraire*, with remarks upon a letter from London,

written in defence of Sir Isaac's right, which had been inserted in the first tome of the said *Journal*. The author of these remarks, a friend of Mr Leibnitz, charged the London letter-writer with ignorance in the dispute, and among other things asserted, that when Sir Isaac published his *Principia*, he did not understand the true differential method. To all these pieces Dr Keill published an answer at London in French, entitled, *Reponse de M. Keill, M. D. Professeur d'Astronomie Savilien, aux Auteurs des Remarques sur le different entre M. de Leibnitz & M. Newton, publiees dans le Journal Litteraire de la Haye de Novembre & Decembre 1713*. A few copies only were printed of this piece, but it was inserted in *Journal Litteraire*, Tom. IV. The dispute being still carried on, particularly in the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ*, our author published the following piece in 1720 at London, in 4to. *Johannis Keill, M. D. & R. S. S. in Academia Oxoniensi Astronomiæ Professoris Epistola ad virum clarissimum Johannem Bernoulli in Academia Basiliensi Mathematicum Professore; in qua Dominum Newtonum & seipsum defendit contra criminationes a Cruso quodam objectas, & in Actis Lipsiensibus publicatas: Ubi etiam quaeritur de nova calculandi methodo ab authoribus Actorum Lipsiensium inventa & usurpata, qua in indicibus suis probra & convitia in alios fundunt.* ‡

[G] Whom he proved guilty of a like base attempt upon Sir Isaac Newton's character in another subject.] This is printed in the *Phil. Transf.* Numb. 340. with this title, *The inverse problem of centripetal forces, with remarks on Mr John Bernoulli, by John Keill*. In which our author observes, that to find a curve described by a body which is urged by a given law of centripetal force, when projected with a given velocity from a given place, according to a given right line, is a problem of the greatest dignity. Sir Isaac Newton has given us long since (says he) a compleat solution of it in his *Principia*, granting the quadrature of curvilinear figures, since which the celebrated John Bernoulli has again undertaken the same problem. I have compared his solution with that of Sir Isaac Newton's, and made the following remarks upon them. 1. Mr Bernoulli premises the same proposition which Mr Newton makes use of for demonstrating his problem, which is the 40th in the *Principia*, and is no less elegant than easy to be understood. Mr Bernoulli says, the demonstration of this proposition is delivered by Mr Newton in too perplexed a manner; and therefore he substitutes his own in it's room, which he calls a more simple one. But Mr Newton's is more easy and less perplex. — He afterwards shews, that in reality Mr Bernoulli's formula for the solution of this problem does not differ from that of Mr Newton, any otherwise than as any thing written in Latin characters differs from the same thing, if written in Greek characters. 3. Mr Bernoulli complains that Mr Newton supposes, without any demonstration, that curves described with a force reciprocally as the square of the distance will be conic sections. But Mr Bernoulli must know, that Mr Newton was acquainted with the demonstration. For he knew very well that Mr Newton was the first and only one, that had treated of this doctrine about centripetal forces in a geometrical manner, and had brought it to such perfection. Mr Bernoulli also knows, that besides giving the general solution of the inverse problem, Mr Newton had shewn how curves might be constructed, which are described by a centripetal force decreasing in a triplicate proportion of the distance, and therefore he could not be ignorant of that case. Nor indeed can I see for what reason he objects to Mr Newton, that he had omitted the demonstration of this case, since he himself has even premised theorems, whose demonstration he has no where given; and why might not Mr Newton do the same, when in haste to proceed to other matters. But now in this new edition of the *Principia*, he has a demonstration of this very thing; which tho' very short, is yet much easier and clearer than that of Mr Bernoulli.

† In the title-page, our author put the arms of Scotland, viz. a thistle, with this motto, *Nemo me impune lacessit*. See an account of the contents in Sir Is. Newton's article.

\* With this title, *Extrait de Livre intitule, Commercium Epistolicum Collinii & aliorum, de Analysis promotu, publie par ordre de la Societe Royale, a l'occasion de la dispute elevee entre M. Leibnitz & D. Keill sur le droit d'Invention, a la methode des Fluxions, par quelq'uns appellee Methode differentiale*, 8vo. p. 38.

† Des Maizeaux's Recueil, ubi supra, tom. ii. p. 44, 45.



(m) No. 339.

several objections were also warmly urged against some parts of that great inventor's philosophy, in support of Des Cartes's notions of a Plenum. Hereupon Mr Keill drew up a paper, which he published in the Philosophical Transactions (m), containing some *Theorems on the rarity of matter, and the tenuity of its composition*; wherein he shews, that a quantity of air, not bigger than the smallest grain of sand, may be diffused through the whole orb of Saturn, in such a manner, as to leave therein no vacuity whose diameter shall exceed a given right line how small soever; hence it is manifest, that air may be so rarified as to be void of all sensible resistance. He observes likewise, that the quantity of matter in glass, for instance, is to its bulk, in a less proportion than a grain of sand is to the whole terrestrial globe; and that gold is not eight times denser than glass; whence it appears very possible for effluvia to pervade the densest gold; and hence it is that the rays of light passing through a small hole do not mutually hinder each other, but continue their motion in a straight line; a phenomenon, which can hardly be explained by the motion of impulse in the supposition of a Plenum. Whilst our author was engaged in this intricate controversy, wherein the honour of his country was so much concerned, her Majesty Queen Anne was pleased to appoint him her Decypherer, a post of great trust, and which requires singular sagacity [H]. The University likewise conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Physick, at the Public Act in 1713 (n). Two years after, he published an edition of Commandinus's Euclid [I], to which he added two tracts of his own; the first containing the elements of plain and spherical Trigonometry, and the other shewing the nature and arithmetic of Logarithms. In 1717 he intermarried with a person who recommended herself to his choice purely by her personal accomplishments [K]. And as our author, when weary with his studies, had usually sought his refreshment in the society of the fair sex, Mr Anthony Alsop, who had been a member of the same college, and an intimate acquaintance, addressed him on this occasion in a very singular Epithalamium, which we shall give in the note [L]. The following year the Doctor published

(n) The two degrees of B. and M. D. were accumulated July 9 this year. A Catalogue of Degrees, ubi supra.

\* An Essay on the Art of Decyphering, by J. Davies, M. A. Rector of Castle-Athby in Northamptonshire. Lond. 1737, 4to. p. 40, 41.

† These are marks without any meaning, inserted purely to render the cypher more intricate.

[H] *Singular sagacity.*] We have such an instance of the Doctor's talent this way, as sufficiently justifies her appointment. The ingenious author quoted in the margin \*, who after Dr Wallis, hath wrote more rationally than any body I know upon the art of decyphering, among other precognita necessary for those analytical operations observes, that it is requisite the decypherer should know or have probable reason to believe, in what language the letter (or paper) given him to decypher is written; and that he also be at least moderately skilled in that language. 'I can no otherwise, continues he, account for Dr Wallis's silence on this head, than by supposing that he took the thing for granted. Indeed it is so obvious, that I should hardly have mentioned it myself, had not a person of unquestionable credit assured me from the mouth of Dr John Keill, that he once decyphered a paper written in Swedish, without knowing a word of the Swedish tongue.' The account, as here given, contains such an astonishing unparallelled instance of sagacity in the decyphering art, that the relator could not let it pass without the following remark: 'This,' says he, as it is reported in gross, and commonly understood, is, in my opinion, impossible to be done. But as I would not hereby be thought to charge Dr Keill with an untruth, I will state a case, which I think to be possible, and consistent with his affirmation in a favourable sense. If then the cypher consisted of a single alphabet of letters, without nulls †, and the words were separated: If he were told before-hand, that the writing was in Swedish; and if he had with him an interpreter of that nation with whom he might consult upon all emergencies, I see no reason to dispute his performance. Yet with all these allowances I believe it must have been an awkward piece of work, and have taken up some time; but at length he might be able to compass it, notwithstanding his being unacquainted with the language, since that defect would in great measure be supplied by the assistance of his interpreter.'

[I] *He published Commandinus's Euclid.*] The title of this book runs thus: Euclidis Elementorum Libri priores sex, item undecimus & duodecimus; ex versione Latina Frederici Commandini, in usum juventutis Academicæ. Our author prefixed a preface, in which he gives us his motive for publishing this piece; which was, that the youth in the university might be taught Euclid in his own method, and thereby be trained up to have a just taste of the elegance and perspicuity of the ancient manner of demonstrating. This was the more necessary, as a custom had prevailed for some time with a few at Oxford (and almost universally at Cambridge) of teaching the Elements of Geometry from Pardie or Tacquet; the ill consequences of which

Mr Keill here labours to shew. At the end of this piece he added two small tracts, viz. *Trigonometriæ planæ et sphericæ Elementa*. Item, *Traçatus de Natura & Arithmetica Logarithmorum*. These were more esteemed by himself than any of his performances; and it must be owned they are drawn up with a peculiar elegance and perspicuity. There was another edition of this book printed at Oxford in 1723, with corrections and some slight additions.

[K] *Who recommended herself to his choice purely by her personal accomplishments.*] His brother Dr James Keill, upon the first hearing of this match was greatly disgusted; but soon after this change in her condition, his spouse being carried by her husband to make a visit to his brother, who then lay ill at Northampton, she behaved to him on this occasion with so much prudence and assiduity to please, as in a few months softened him into a perfect reconciliation; and at his death (which happened in a little time) he left the new married couple in possession of a considerable fortune.

[L] *A singular Epithalamium, &c.*] It is written in Sapphic verse, as follows:

Keile ni mendax mihi falsa mittit  
Freindus, de mœcho fieri maritus  
Cogeris, partesque agit usitatas  
Pellicis uxor.

Quid ni ego lætor tibi gratulari  
Conjugi conjux? Ego qui reliqui  
Connubii causa patriamque domumque ux-  
orius exul.

Dum sales spargunt lepidi sodales  
Te super vel me, cuperem interesse  
Magna pars risus: sed ab his acerba  
Lege remotus,

Perfruor dulci alloquio pudicæ  
Osculis sponsæ placidoque vultu.  
Nec videt sponsum mage amantem amatumve  
Ætherius sol.

Mille mi præter Paphiâ in palestrâ  
Gaudia: at, quod tu ingrediare castra,  
Quæ fuit causa ante Helenam duelli,  
Unica causa est.

Estre



lished at Oxford in 8vo. his *Introductio ad Veram Astronomiam* [M]. This treatise was afterwards,

- Estne quis, cunctos quot amant mathefin
- Inter, O Ductor Gregis, estne, qui te
- Rectius nôrit, vel acutiori
  - Lufrat ocello
- Siderum motus? Tibi si qua proles
- Nascitur, quicquid minitentur astra,
- Quid ferant lætum, docilis futuri
  - Ante videbis.
- Si tuos audax thalamos Adulter
- Scandere optabit, vetet ars & Æther
- Improbos ausus; & inermis esto, &
  - Incolumis frons.
- Quare age, & totis licitæ diebus,
- Noctibus totis Veneri litato:
- Non opus sylvæ, aut recubare subter
  - Tegmine fœni.
- Crede mihi, quoque veneris locorum
- Gravior posthac eris hospes, ex quo
- Nata fors matri, dominæque serva
  - Casta redibit.
- Interim quicquid vetulæ & puellæ
- Garriant, ne te jecur intus angat;
- Sed dñi sistens, ede, lude, pota, &
  - Temne quod ultra est.
- Sis amans sponsæ, & mea si valent quid
- Vota, sis felix; sed iniqua si fors
- Dempserit primam, mora nulla sponsam
  - Sume secundam.
- Est, uti nôsti, bene pasta Virgo
- Cuilibet fat-par oneri ferendo,
- Ipse quam, sed mî meliora divi,
  - Ducere rebar.
- Hanc cape; & nostro ex loculo repente
- Æra bis centum accipies, & ultra;
- Sed pari nullum, nisi te, procorum
  - Dote beabo.

[M] *Introductio ad Veram Astronomiam.* This was translated into English by Dr Keill himself, and published with many emendations at London, 1721, 8vo. under the following title, *An Introduction to the true Astronomy: or, Astronomical Lectures read in the Astronomical Schools of the University of Oxford.* The history of Physical Astronomy having been given by Dr David Gregory, our author's predecessor in the Savilian Chair, Dr Keill in his preface gives us the history of the other branch called Technical Astronomy; and observes, that 'as the art of sailing does in a great measure depend on the knowledge of the stars, so the impetuous and ambitious desires of kings and princes to discover unknown and foreign countries inclined them to cultivate Astronomy. The first of these sailors was Neptune, who upon the account of his skill in this art was celebrated as God of the Ocean. His son, Belus, being an Astronomer, by his knowledge therein carried the inhabitants of Lybia into Asia, where he instituted colleges of Astronomers (32). Before his time there was Atlas King of Mauritania, a great Astronomer, who first shewed the doctrine of the sphere; and therefore Virgil introduces Jopas singing what Atlas had taught mankind:

- ——— docuit quæ maximus Atlas,
- Hic canit errantem lunam solisque labores (33).

So Uranus king of the country situated on the shore of the Atlantic ocean, for his skill in Astronomy, is said to have been descended from the Gods. Zoroaster the Persian philosopher is celebrated by all antiquity as a skilful Astronomer; and the dignity of this science was esteemed so great, as to be called the Royal Science,

because kings were most delighted with it above all others; for the kings of Africa and Syria first invented and improved it, and that long before it was known in Greece. Thus Plato in his dialogue called *Epinomis*. The first, says he, who observed these things was a Barbarian, who lived in an ancient country, where, upon the account of the clearness of the summer season, they could first discover them, such as Egypt and Syria, where the stars are clearly seen, there being neither rain nor clouds to hinder their prospect. And because we are more remote from this summer clearness of weather than the Barbarians; we came later to the knowledge of these stars. So Lucian tells us, 'that the Ethiopians first took notice of the heavenly motions; and by finding the causes of the lunations, they knew that the Moon had no proper light of it's own, but borrowed it from the Sun.' After this our author proceeds to the story of Porphyry concerning the observations of Calisthenes for 1903 years (34), which, says he, bring us to 115 years after the Flood, and 15 years after the building of Babel. Pliny likewise in his *Natural History* relates from Epigenes, 'That the Babylonians had observations of 720 years all engraven upon bricks. And Achilles Tatius in the beginning of his Introduction to *Aratus's Phænomena* informs us, that the Egyptians were the first who measured the heavens and the earth; and their science in this matter was engraven on columns, and by that means delivered to posterity; yet the Chaldeans take the honour of the invention to themselves, and ascribe it to Belus.' In the next place he brings us into Greece, whither all the astronomical learning came from Egypt. For Diogenes Laërtius owns, that Thales, Pythagoras, Eudoxus, and many others went to that country to be instructed in the fidereal science. These men were not only the first but the greatest philosophers whom Greece produced; and from the same writer we know, that they who staid longest in that country, were most famous for their skill in Geometry and Astronomy after they returned home. So Pythagoras, who lived in society with the Egyptian priests seven years, and was initiated into their religion, carried home from thence besides several geometrical inventions, the true extent of the universe; and was the first who taught in Greece, that the earth and planets turned round the sun, which was immoveable in the center; and that the diurnal motion of the sun and fixed stars was not real, but apparent, arising from the motion of the earth round its axis. At that time no one was esteemed a philosopher, but who was well acquainted with the mathematical sciences. But these sciences were soon neglected by the philosophers who came after them; and who, much degenerating from their predecessors, had so little care and concern for the mathematical sciences, especially Astronomy, that almost all the observations sent from Babylon by Calisthenes were lost: so that Ptolmey was able to recover but a very few of them. For, says he, these pretenders to philosophy spent their time about trifles of no value; and in endeavouring to find out sophisms, whereby they might impose upon their own, and the common sense of mankind; such were Zeno's arguments against motion, and most of the philosopher's disputations against the divisibility of matter in infinitum; whereas a little knowledge of Geometry would easily have solved all the difficulties they could raise. But tho' Astronomy was thus banished out of the schools of the common philosophers, yet it was received and cultivated by some, tho' but a few, especially by the Pythagorean sect, which flourished in Italy many years; among whom was Philolaus and Aristarchus Samius. The Ptolemies, kings of Egypt were also great patrons of learning; they founded an academy for Astronomy at Alexandria, which furnished several great men, the chief of whom was Hypparchus, who first made a kind of catalogue of the stars (35), and left the heavens for an heritage to all that come after. This man foretold the eclipses of both sun and moon for 600 years; and upon his observations is founded that valuable work of Ptolemy, which he calls *Μεγάλαν Σύνταξιν*, or his *Great Construction*; for from them he gathered the præcession of the equinoxes, and the theory of the planets. When Egypt was conquered by the Saracens, and Alexandria reduced under their jurisdiction, the conquerors received Astronomy (36), with the rest of the liberal arts, under

(34) This story of Calisthenes is rendered at least very doubtful by Sir Isaac Newton in his *Chronology*.

(35) Pliny, in *Nat. Hist.* where he says, Hypparchus undertook to number the stars, a business which would have been a work for a God to perform.

(36) Upon their conquest of that city, they destroyed the astronomical as well as other books of learning, and neither cultivated that or any other science, nor translated any of the Grecian books therein, till above 100 years after. *Freind's History of Physics*, Vol. II. non longa ab initio.

(32) See Diod. Siculus, Lib. i.

(33) *Æneid*, lib. i.



(o) See the dedication to that Duchess.

(p) Communicated by his son.

(q) In St Mary's church, where there is a monument with an inscription erected to his memory.

(r) Historical Register for the year 1721, where Dr Keill's death is said to have happened on the 29th of August.

terwards, at the request of the Dukes of Chandos (o), translated by him into English [N], which, with several emendations, he likewise published in 1721 [O], under the following title, *An Introduction to the true Astronomy, or Astronomical Lectures read in the Astronomical schools of the University of Oxford*. This was his last gift to the learned world, and he did not long survive the donation. Though his constitution was of the robust kind, yet it was somewhat heavy, and from the time of changing his condition, but especially after the increase of his fortune, he indulged in a fuller diet, and used less exercise than he had done before. He was seized this summer with a violent fever, which put a period to his life on the first of September (p), being not then aged quite fifty years. He was buried at Oxford (q), where he died. He left a son, who is still living, a linen-draper of good repute near the Mansion-house in London. He was succeeded in the Savilian Professorship of Astronomy by the present Professor Dr James Bradley, who was chosen in his room on the 23d of October the same year (r).

der their protection, and took care that most part of the books concerning the liberal arts and sciences should be translated from the Greek into their own Arabian language. The Saracens passing from Africa into Spain, and having a commerce with the western European nations, imparted to them the science of Astronomy, which before was almost lost in Europe. So that about the year 1230, at the command of the Emperor Frederic, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, or his great *Syntaxis*, was translated from the Arabic into Latin. After that time Astronomy received many improvements from the patronage of the greatest princes, and the labours of the most celebrated philosophers; among whom in the first place is to be mentioned *Alphonso King of Castile*; who is never to be forgotten on account of the astronomical tables called after his name. *Nicolas Copernicus* was not only a diligent observer, but also a restorer of the ancient Pythagorean system. *Prince William Landgrave of Hesse*, who procured quadrants and sextants much larger than what were formerly used to observe the true places of the stars, and whose observations were published by *Snellius*. *Sir Henry Saville*, skilful both in Astronomy and Geometry, who founded two professorships for those sciences at Oxford. *Tycho Brahe*, superior in skill to all that went before him, who published a catalogue of 700 fixed stars, which he had diligently observed. *John Kepler*, who by the help of Tycho's labours found out the true system of the world, and the laws observed by the celestial bodies in their motions. *Galileo*, who first applied a telescope to the heavens, and by means of it discovered the Satellites of Jupiter, and their motions; the various phases of Saturn; the increase and decrease of the light of Venus; the mountainous and uneven surface of the moon; the spots of the sun; and the revolution of the sun about its own axis. *John Hevelius*, who has given us a catalogue of the fixed stars much larger than Tycho's composed from his own observations. *Huygens* and *Cassini*, who first saw the Satellites of Saturn, and discovered his ring. *Gassendi*, *Horrox*, *Bullialdus*, *Ward*, *Ricciolus*, *Flamsteed*, and many other eminent Astronomers. But we have one here, adds Dr Keill, who, on account of his great merits in Astronomy does excel them all, that is, the most learned Dr *Edmund Halley* Savilian Professor of Geometry in this university, my most friendly colleague, to whose labours Astronomy owes many great improvements. In him there shines out together (which I know not if they are to be found in any other person to such a degree) the greatest dexterity in Practical Astronomy, and a most profound and exquisite skill in Geometry, which will appear by his Astronomical Tables which he is shortly to publish; for they will far exceed all others that ever were, or perhaps ever will be, published. The doctor closes the whole with the illustrious name of Sir Isaac Newton, whom he extols infinitely above all his predecessors, and does not even scruple to stile him a *genius of a divine nature*.

[N] *Translated into English*.] This translation is dedicated to the Dukes at whose request it was undertaken. The Duke her consort, in the preceding reign, had been called upon by the House of Commons to give an account of the public money which he had received during the time of his being Paymaster to the army; upon this occasion, it has been said, he employed our author to prepare these accounts for the review: Upon the day appointed, the papers containing them were brought in a cart, which appeared to be well filled with them. The House being informed of this, came to a resolution to drop the affair, rather than be at the trouble of examining a cart load of accounts. However that be, so much is certain, that

Dr Keill constantly found Mr Bridges his friend and patron.

[O] *He published it in 1721*.] In this treatise he inserted the solution of Kepler's celebrated problem to divide the area of a semicircle in a given proportion, by a line drawn from a given point of the diameter, in order to find an universal rule for the motion of a body in an elliptic orbit. Our author had printed it before in *Philosoph. Transact.* No. 317, with this title, *Problematis Kepleriani de inveniendis vero motu Planetarum areas tempore proportionales in orbibus ellipticis circa focorum alterum describentium solutio Newtoniana* (37) a Dre Johanne Keill, *Astron. Prof. Savil. Oxon. & R. S. S. demonstrata & exemplis illustrata*. This problem had been demonstrated geometrically by several others, by which means the charge of ἀνεπιμετρία, brought at first against Kepler's hypothesis, was indeed taken off: But still the same difficulty remained in the calculation; to facilitate which, these geometrical solutions and demonstrations brought no assistance. An approximating series was the only method adapted for practice; and therefore many years after this we find Mr Machin, Professor of Astronomy at Gresham, observing (38) that tho' several attempts had been made at different times, yet, if he mistakes not, never any at that time with tolerable success, in order to the solution of this problem, and therefore he gave the solution in a different manner from all that went before him in this attempt. In support of this censure, which is made use of by way of apology for his own attempt, he observes, that among the several methods offered, some were only true in speculation, but really of no service; that others were not different from Kepler's own, which he judged improper; and as to the rest, they were all some way or other so limited and confined to particular conditions and circumstances, as still to leave the problem in general untouched. 'To be more particular, continues he, it is evident, that all constructions by mechanical curves are seeming solutions only, but in reality unapplicable; that the roots of infinite series are, on account of their unknown limitations, in all respects so far from affording an appearance of being sufficient rules, that they cannot well be supposed as offered for any thing more than exercises in a method of calculation. And then as to the universal method, which proceeds by a continued correction of the errors of a false position, it is, when duly considered, no method of solution at all in itself, because unless there be some antecedent rule, or hypothesis, directing where to begin the operation, as suppose that of an uniform motion about the upper focus for the orbit of a planet, or that of a motion in a parabola for the perihelion part of the orbit of a comet, or some such other, it would be impossible to proceed one step in it. But as no general rule has ever hitherto been laid down to assist this method, so as to make it always operate, it is the same in effect as if there were no method at all. And accordingly in experience it is found, that there is no rule now subsisting, but what is absolutely useless in the elliptic orbit of comets. For in such cases there is no other way to proceed, but that which was made use of by Kepler, namely, to compute a table for some part of the orbit, and therein examine if the time to which the place is required will fall out any where in that part: So that upon the whole, Mr Machin thinks it evident, that this problem, contrary to the received opinion, had then never advanced one step toward its true solution. A consideration, concludes he, which will furnish a plea for meddling with a subject so frequently handled, especially if what is offered shall appear to contribute towards supplying the main defect.'

(37) *Principia*, p. 101. 2d edit. Camb. 1713, 4to.

\* See James Gregory's article.

(38) *Phil. Transact.* No. 447.



KEILL [JAMES], an eminent Physician, and younger brother of the preceding, was likewise born in Scotland, March 27, 1673 (a), and received some part of his education in that country, which having completed by travelling into foreign parts, he applied himself early to dissections and the study of Anatomy (b). By which method great improvements had not long before been made in the art of Physic (c). He laid the first foundation of his character by reading Anatomical Lectures, with great applause, in both the universities, and had the degree of Doctor of Physick conferred upon him at Cambridge, having some time before published his *Anatomy of the human Body* (d) for the use of his pupils. In 1703 he settled at Northampton as a Physician, in which town and neighbourhood he practised with great reputation all his life afterwards (e). In 1706 he published a paper in the Philosophical Transactions, No. 306, containing an *Account of the death and dissection of John Bayles of Northampton, reputed to have been 130 years old* [A]. Our author was well skilled also in mathematical learning; and in 1708 he gave the world a good specimen of it in his book entitled, *An account of Animal Secretion, the quantity of blood in the Human Body, and muscular Motion* (f) [B]. He afterwards published the same treatise

(a) Communicated by Mr John Murray of Northampton, our author's nephew.

(b) See his epigraph, an account of which is mentioned below.

(c) Dr Freind's History of Physic, Vol. II. 8vo.

(d) The 7th edition in 1726.

(e) Mr Murray's Letter.

(f) It is printed in 8vo. and makes only a thin volume.

[A] *An account of the death and dissection of John Bayles.* In opening this subject, Dr Keill found the bottom of the stomach worn as thin as fine writing-paper, and the aorta quite cartilaginous; whence the greatest part of his blood was contained in the arteries (contrary to what is observed in recently dead bodies), for the aorta having lost the power of contracting itself, contained the blood it received by the last systole of the heart. These the Doctor judged to be the immediate causes of his death. He observed that the viscera in general were very sound and good, as the liver, kidneys (with the urinary passages), the intestines, with their mesentery, (which was even covered with fat, in a body quite emaciated) the lungs white and spongy, but, above all, the heart large, thick, and fat, and in a large chest: These he assigns for the causes of Bayles's longevity. He takes notice, that this account agrees with Dr Harvey's concerning old Parre (1), in every thing but his death. Here we cannot but observe, that no truth obtrudes itself more upon our notice, or is more vulgarly remarked, than that after a certain period the human frame naturally decays, and tends to a dissolution; yet notwithstanding this, 'tis as certain, that without such dissections as these of Bayles and Parre, we should never have known in what vital part nature begins to work this decay. From other dissections we learn, that the bones which are meer cartilages in a foetus, become perfectly ossified in an adult; and these teach us, that the coats of the arteries, which in a perfect adult are greatly elastic, grow from that state by the same fixed laws of the animal œconomy, to be absolutely cartilaginous in extreme old age; and thereby incapable of carrying on the circulation of the blood, that necessary condition of life: This we see is brought about by the natural frame of our constitution. Whence it appears, that life can never be extended to any very long duration by any art or contrivance of man. Upon the whole, it would be scarcely credible, were we not assured of it in fact, that the greatest geniï have employed a good share of their thoughts and studies in that view; and we know the *Methusalem Water* was invented by Lord Bacon (2). Upon this plan are the vain pretences of Des Cartes's secret (3), who told Sir Kenelm Digby, that though to render a man immortal was what he would not venture to promise; yet he was very sure it was possible to lengthen out his life to the period of the Patriarchs. 'Tis true he had the ill luck to be seized by death, that great confounder of human devices, before he was fifty-four years old, while he was composing a short system of medicines, containing a discovery of this grand arcanum (4).

[B] *An account of animal secretion, the quantity of blood in the human body, and muscular motion.* This piece took its birth from the theorems concerning the attraction of the small particles of matter, which were communicated to him about seven years before by his brother at Oxford (5). It was the consideration of the use of the *vena porta*, which gave him the first hint to think that the several humours of the body were formed by this attraction in the particles of the blood. My brother, says he, no sooner discovered this principle of attraction, than he deduced from it the cohesion of matter, and many of the operations of Chemistry; and since it will appear that the whole animal œconomy does likewise depend upon the same principle, who can doubt the truth of a principle so simple, and yet which, like a master-key, opens works of different

contrivances, and discloses an uniformity in all the operations of nature, so that every one may see and read the same thought and hand in the contrivance and formation of every part of the universe. He concludes his preface with remarking, that the *vis attractrix* was asserted by the most famous ancient Physicians, as Hippocrates and Galen, as well as the gravitation of the heavenly bodies one towards another was known by the best ancient philosophers, as well as to Kepler and Sir Isaac Newton (6). Upon the subject of animal secretion, and in explaining the manner how the fluids of the animal body are separated from the blood, Dr Keill undertakes to shew, 1. How they are formed in the blood before they come to the place appointed for secretion. 2. In what manner they are separated from the blood by the glands. Upon the former head he shews, that the blood consists of a simple fluid, in which swim corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with different degrees of attractive force. Hence he concludes, that of such particles as the blood consists, must the fluids be composed which are drawn from it; and as in the blood the particles attract one another, and cohere together, so likewise may the particles of the fluids which are separated from it. This he proceeds farther to shew to be not only possible, but actually so in several secretions, as milk, wine, &c. And if it is not evident in all, he looks upon it to be, because their constituent principles are more powerfully attracted by the particles of the fluids in which they swim than by one another, which hinders their separation from that fluid. From this principle, that the blood consists of corpuscles of various figures and magnitudes, and indued with various degrees of an attractive power, and that of such particles the fluids secreted by the glands are composed, the Doctor proceeds to shew how the corpuscles, which compose the secretions, are formed in the blood, before they arrive at their secreting glands. In order to this, he premises eleven propositions taken from his brother's theorems concerning the laws of attraction, as being fundamental to what he is about to advance. The demonstration of the third was communicated to him by his brother, and is as follows. *If particles of matter attract each other with a force that is in a reciprocal-triplicate, or greater proportion of their distances, the force by which a corpuscle is drawn to a body made up of such attractive particles, is infinitely greater at the contact, or extremely near it, than at any determined distance from it.* After this he first determines the force of the air upon the blood in breathing, in which he follows Dr Pitcairne\*, in order to shew, that by the pressure of the air the cohesion of the globules of the blood is dissolved. He then shews, how the union of the attractive particles of the blood is hindered near the heart; and that the particles which unite first, after the blood is thrown out of the great artery, must be such as have the strongest attractive force; and that such as have the least, must unite last; and all the intermediate ones, according to their respective attractive powers. He proceeds to deduce the reason of the situation of the kidneys; and observes, that though the gall, which is secreted by the liver, and the semen by the testiculi, seem to be two considerable objections against his hypothesis, yet they are so far from proving any thing against his doctrine of secretion, as to be the greatest arguments that could possibly be urged for the truth of it. This he demonstrates upon his hypothesis at large, and then shews likewise how, according to it,

(1) In Phil. Transf. No. 44. where it is observed, that Parre was brought up to London out of Shropshire by the Earl of Arundel; and that all his inwards appeared so sound at his death, that if he had not changed his diet, he must have lived a great while longer.

(2) See the paper called *Medical Remains*, in the third vol. of his works, published in 1730, in four vols. fol.

(3) See Des Maizeaux's Life of Mons. St Evremont, prefixed to the first vol. of that author's Works, p. 41. printed at London, 1728, in three volumes.

(4) Ibid. p. 42.

(5) Preface, towards the end.

(6) The ancient Philosophers understood just as much of this mutual gravitation, as the ancient Physicians did of the *vis attractrix*; that is, just nothing at all.

\* In Dissertatione de Causis diversis Molis, qua fluit Sanguis per Pulmonem in Natis & non Natis. Inter Pitcairni Opera, Lugduni Batav. 1737, 4to. p. 224, & seqq.



treatise in Latin, with the addition of a *Medicina Statica*; in which the calculations being reduced into tables, these were the first that had been seen in that branch of Physick. In 1717, our author printed a second edition of this work in English, having added an Essay concerning the force of the heart in driving the blood through the whole body. This drew him into a controversy with Dr Jurin upon that subject [C], which was carried on in several

it, some fluids may be secerned any where, and why the lymph is secerned in several places; he concludes what he had offered upon the first general proposition relating to secretions, with remarking that the knowledge of secretions is necessary for the understanding of the nature of diseases, instances of which he gives in the Diabetes, the Rheumatism, the Gout, and the Stone. Under the second general proposition he shews the manner in which the several fluids after they are formed in the blood are separated from it by the glands, and as this depends intirely upon the figure and structure of the glands, he determines them again, after Dr Pitcairne (7), to be nothing else but convolutions of small arteries, and consequently either concave cones, or cylinders, or at least a figure whose transverse section is a circle. Hence he concludes too with Dr Pitcairne, that the circular orifices of the glands can only differ in magnitude, and that all sorts of particles of less diameters than that of the orifice of a gland may enter it. The next subject he treats of is the quantity of the blood, or circulating fluids of what kind soever in the human body; in order to determine which, he supposes the whole body to be nothing but tubes or vessels full of blood, or liquors separated from it; and concludes with observing, that in a body weighing 160 pounds, there must needs be 127 pounds of blood; from which quantity, however, that he may put the matter out of all manner of dispute, he deducts the weight both of the fat and bones, (though he thinks that some arguments might be alledged to prove that even the fat circulates, and he had before shewn that there is a fluid in the bones) and after allowances made for both, concludes, that the fluids in the human body have the same proportion to the solids as 100 to 60, or 5 to 3. He finishes the whole of what he has to say about the blood with a pretty large discourse about its velocity, and observes, that when the whole mass of blood is to be altered, the course of physic ought to be continued for a long time, since the blood moves slower and slower, the farther it moves from the great artery (8); and consequently it must be a great while before the whole mass of blood can be mixed with the alterative medicine: And that since the circulation of the blood thro' the glands, which receive arteries immediately from a great vessel, is very quick, they may carry off a great proportion of the medicine in a very little time; and that, therefore, it is not the taking of great quantities, but the constant taking, which can alter the mass of blood. From this doctrine of attraction he infers the propriety of the elective purges of the Ancients. In his treatise of muscular motion he observes, that the vesicular structure of the fibres of the muscles is excellently contrived for contraction. This he ascribes (with others) to the operation of the animal spirits, which he supposes to consist of the simplest particles, and therefore to have the most attractive force, as he infers from what Sir Isaac Newton (9) has collected concerning the rays of light. These spirits dropping upon the blood attract it, and thence the air contained in the blood expanding by its elastic virtue, increases the breadth, and shortens the length of the vesicles of the muscular fibres. After this manner he conceives the vesicles to be distended without any ebullition or effervescence, as had been imagined without good foundation, by former writers upon this subject. The determination of the *Vis Elastica* he acknowledges was the thought of the learned Mr John Bernoulli, but the way of demonstrating it used by our author, he tells us, was communicated to him by his brother. Upon the whole, he is of opinion, that his Theory of muscular motion does follow so naturally and easily from the principle of attraction, that upon that account one would be almost tempted to believe it the genuine method of nature.

[C] *This drew him into a controversy with Dr Jurin.* The force of the heart in the human species was first reduced to a mathematical calculation by Borelli, who assuming it for a postulatam that the quantity of blood does not exceed 20 l. weight, determined its resistance to be equal to the pressure of 180000 lb.\*

To overcome which, finding by his method the power of the heart to be equal only to that of 3000 lb. he imputes the rest to the auxiliary force of percussion. This calculus was afterwards espoused here, with some inconsiderable variations, by Dr Dan. Morland, and shewing itself in a mathematical garb, was generally submitted to without any farther enquiry. But Dr Keill disdaining the mean subjection of implicit faith, resolved to re-examine the matter; and the result of it was, that he not only ventured to reject the former doctrine, but also to ascribe a force to the heart almost infinitely less than that had done. This new opinion is likewise founded upon a mathematical process, which terminates in discovering the said force to be equal to no more than such as a weight of five ounces † acquires by the force of gravity in  $\frac{1}{10}$  of a second of time, i. e. during one systole of the heart; and this too, notwithstanding the quantity of blood is supposed to be equal to 100 lb. The Doctor, however, agrees with Borelli in comparing the force of the heart to a weight at rest, and further assumes its action throughout the whole systole to be equable. Both these assumptions being disapproved by Dr Jurin, that gentleman published in the Philosoph. Transact. No. 358, 359, some remarks upon the three forementioned methods, and advanced a fourth, wherein considering the heart in its systole as a body in motion, and maintaining its action therein to be inequable, and chiefly exerted at the beginning, he estimates it as a stroke or percussion, the force whereof he determines to be equal to that of fifteen pounds four ounces, flowing with a velocity of an inch in a second of time, differing herein not greatly from one of twelve pounds moving with the same velocity, which he observes is the result of our author's *Calculus*, when rightly performed. Dr Keill then lying upon his death bed, under the most excruciating torments, printed a defence, or rather an apology for his *Postulata*; recommending at the same time his antagonist's method of instituting the *Calculus*, and encouraging him to pursue it, and expired shortly after. This paper was inserted in the Philosoph. Transact. No. 361; and the next Number, No. 362, conveyed Dr Jurin's reply in vindication of his remarks, wherein he takes occasion to make the following eulogium upon our author. *Apologiam præstantissimi viri Jacobi Keillii, qui acerba nuper & immatura morte præreptus magnum sui desiderium eruditae reliquit, studiose perlegimus. Quum inter legendum singularem simul eruditissimi ingenii humanitatem, qui nosmet utut a placitis suis dissentientes excipere dignatus est, simul animi magnitudinem & studium in rempublicam literariam tanto viro dignum magna admiratione prosequeremur. Huic enim illi non solum per omnem vitæ cursum diligenter & strenue operam navavit, sed etiam pulcherrimo exemplo confectus jam atroci morbo, & se perire sentiens, eruditam illam epistolam tanquam supremi amoris pignus idem legavit.* We must not omit, in justice to Dr Jurin, to observe, that being sensible how deficient the knowledge of the true state of this subject then was, he thought proper to draw up his *Calculus* indefinitely in algebraical expressions, leaving these to be expounded by particular numbers when those should be ascertained by further and more accurate researches. But this still remains among the *Desiderata* of the animal œconomy. In viewing the disagreement there is in the conclusions of these several calculators upon the force of the heart, especially when it is found that the most sagacious enquirers agree no better in estimating that of the lungs, one cannot help suspecting, that the infinite skill of the divine artist in framing the mechanism of the human body, as it has hitherto mocked, so will it for ever continue to mock the utmost efforts of human wit to discover it. When Dr Keill wrote these essays, the mechanical way of treating physical subjects was in full vogue; besides, we have seen, he was particularly led to it by a natural esteem for his brother, and by the authority of Dr Pitcairne; no wonder, therefore, that we find him asserting the great advancements that had been then made in the knowledge of the animal machine. The manner of vision, says he, is shewn in Optics. Borelli has given

† Or rather  $7\frac{1}{2}$  oz. as it comes out upon a right calculation. See *ibid.* No. 362.

(7) *Ibid.* De Circulatione Sanguinis per Vasa Minima, p. 207.

(8) He determines the velocity to be 5000 times lesser at the 40th branch from the great artery, than it is in this artery, before any ramification is made from it.

(9) See his Optics, p. 347. edit. Lond. 8vo. 1721.

\* Dr Jurin observes, that this pressure will be found, upon the principles of Borelli's reasoning, to be equal to 2,076,000 lb. weight. Phil. Trans. No. 358.



several papers printed in the Philosophical Transactions. It cannot be denied, that in his account of Animal Secretion, Dr Keill carried the Vis Attractrix farther than could then at least be warranted by the principles of the true mechanick philosophy [D]. He had now for some time laboured under a most painful disorder, viz. a Cancer in the roof of his mouth; the excruciating torments of which he underwent with a very remarkable firmness of mind; and in order, if possible, to procure some relief, he applied the Actual Cautey (a red hot iron) with his own hands, more than once, to that exquisitely sensible part (g). After this cruel operation had been tried several times without success, he was at length relieved by death July the 16th, 1719 (h), in the vigour of his age. He lies buried in St Giles's church at Northampton, near the Communion Table on the North side, and against the wall over it a handsome marble monument, with an inscription in Latin, too long to be inserted here, was erected by his brother Dr John Keill (i), to whom he left the bulk of his estate, having himself never been married.

(b) See his epitaph.

(i) Ibid.

us the mechanism of the bones and muscles for the moving of the joints, and since the discovery of the circulation of the blood by Dr Harvey (a); many useful propositions concerning its motion and velocity have been determined by Bellini. Dr Pitcairne has explained the mechanical structure of the lungs, and shewn us the reason of the different passages of the blood through the heart of the foetus; the necessity of breathing after birth, and how the antenatal ducts are stopped by breathing. He has likewise demonstrably explained the symptoms of the diseases of the eyes, and demonstrated the circular figure of the orifices of the glands. Dr Freind has wrote in a mechanical way upon the menfes, Dr Cheyne upon fevers, and Dr Mead upon poisons; and all of them have handled these subjects more rationally than ever any did before them; and the use of the Spleen and Vena Porta is now no longer a mystery. But notwithstanding what is here so confidently asserted, it is no secret at this time of day, that all these accounts have been shewn by later enquirers to be very deficient and unsatisfactory. 'Tis far from being true what our author observes in the preface to this treatise, that diseases being purely disorders of the animal œconomy, whatsoever can add any new light to our knowledge of this, must necessarily clear the nature of those, establish the practice of Physic upon a surer foundation, and enable Physicians to make truer and more certain judgments in most cases. For notwithstanding some inconsiderable improvements in our knowledge this way, which are rather ostentatious than useful with regard to Physic, 'tis evident that the nature of any particular disease depends upon so many other circumstances still unknown, that their true state is yet generally hid from our eyes, and involved in thick darkness. No doubt can be made, that if the animal œconomy were perfectly understood, and the history of diseases precisely known, the right method of curing each disease might evidently and certainly be deduced; but this remark amounts to no more for the use of repairing the disorders in the little system of man by medicine, than the vaunt which is attributed to Archimedes did towards disturbing the grand system of the world (10). Since it is not given to man to understand the animal œconomy to perfection, and any imperfect knowledge therein can at best only lead to an uncertain, and is too often seen to prompt an unsafe practice. In a word, though it may easily be granted, that the study

of nature and the knowledge of the body is not altogether as superfluous to a Physician as it would be to a sailor to know the reason of the tides, or how to explain the phenomena of the loadstone; yet the empirical method of Dr Sydenham, founded upon experience, observation, and analogical reasoning, joined to a natural sagacity, and assisted by such an accurate history of diseases, as can be had from a due attendance on the sick bed, is observed to produce both the safest and most successful practice, which that imperfect knowledge we have of the animal œconomy serves better to illustrate in some cases, than to direct in any.

[D] Farther than can be warranted by the principles of the true mechanical philosophy.] As the authority of Sir Isaac Newton is constantly produced to give a kind of sanction to this doctrine concerning the extent of the Vis Attractrix, it may not be amiss to give his opinion of this matter in his own words, as we find them in the general Scholium, at the end of his Principia. And now, says that great man, we might add something concerning a certain most subtle spirit, which pervades and lies hid in all gross bodies, by the force and action of which spirit, the particles of bodies mutually attract one another at near distances, and cohere, if contiguous, and electric bodies operate at greater distances, as well repelling as attracting the neighbouring corpuscles; and light is emitted, reflected, refracted, and inflected, and heats bodies; and all sensation is excited, and the members of animal bodies moved at the command of the will, namely by the vibrations of this spirit mutually propagated along the solid filaments of the nerves from the outward organs of the senses to the brain, and from the brain into the muscles; but these are things that cannot be explained in a few words, nor are we furnished with that sufficiency of experiments, which is required to an accurate determination and demonstration of the laws, by which this electric and elastic spirit operates. Thus wrote that cautious philosopher (11) several years after the death of Dr Keill, who, 'tis very remarkable, has not produced so much as a single experiment to ascertain the action of this Vis Attractrix in the subject of animal secretion. But he is not the only person, who instead of reflecting honour has thrown a blemish upon this part of the Newtonian philosophy, by overhastily and injudiciously assuming that for an undoubted principle, which is proposed by the author as a subject for further enquiry. P

(11) The third edition of the Principia, to which this scholium is subjoined, was printed in 1726.

(a) We must not slip the opportunity here given, of explaining a note\* in Dr Harvey's article, the sense of which, as there expressed, is apprehended to lie too open to misconstruction. It is there said, that the position of the simultaneous action of the auricles of the heart, as also that of the ventricles, by requiring the blood to pass from the ventricles through the whole length of the arteries and veins into the auricles, as suddenly as it passes from the auricles into the ventricles, is the main difficulty that attends the doctor's thesis concerning the manner of the circulation: intending thereby to suggest no more, than that this is all the difficulty, and not that it is an insuperable one. Far otherwise. We are very sensible, that the possibility thereof is easily conceived, by supposing the trunks of the two veins to be always kept full of blood; which, indeed, seems to be really their true state during the circulation. P

\* Viz. note †, at the end of remark [1].

K E N [THOMAS], the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose true simplicity of manners, and unaffected piety, justly intitles him to a place in these memoirs, was descended of a very antient family of his name seated at Ken-place in Somersetshire (a), which estate came into the possession of John Lord Powlet of Hinton St George, by marriage with the heiress of the Ken family (b). Our author was youngest son of Thomas Ken of Furnival's Inn, by Martha his wife, and was born at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire July 1637 (c). At thirteen years of age he was sent to Winchester school,\* and being chosen the following year a scholar upon that foundation (d), he was elected thence, in the ordinary way of rotation (e), to New-College in Oxford (f), and became a Probationer

(c) Short Account, &c. p. 1. Mr Wood is mistaken, in placing the time of his birth in July 1635. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 989.

\* His acquaintance with Dr Francis Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely,

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commenced at this school, and it grew afterwards into the closest friendship. author, intitled, Complaints of the Church, &c. Lond. 1711, 8vo. common Founder William of Wyckham, Bp of Winchester in Hen. IVth's time. supra, says, he was first admitted of Hart-hall the preceding year.

(d) See preface to a posthumous piece ascribed to our (e) This is the rule of those societies, prescribed by their (f) Short Account, &c. p. 3. Mr Wood, ubi

(g) See an account of the case of Dr James Keill of Northampton, by Mr Rushworth the Surgeon, who attended him, printed shortly after the doctor's death. N. B. The same Rushworth was the first discoverer of the specific virtue of the Jesuit's bark in mortifications.

(10) Give me a place to stand upon, and I will move the earth out of its place.

(a) Short Account of the Life of Bp Ken, &c. by Will. Hawkins. Lond. 1713, 8vo.

(b) Viz. Christian, daughter and heir of Christopher Ken, of Ken in Com' Som'. Dugdale's Baron.



(g) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(b) Id. ibid.

(i) Viz. that of A. B. May 3, 1661, and A. M. Jan. 21, 1664. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 140 and 158.

(k) Ath. Oxon. col. 989.

(l) Id. ibid.

(m) His Life, &c. p. 6.

(n) Out of a principal of conscience, thinking what he was possessed of besides to be sufficient. Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(o) See remark [R].

(p) This difference arises from the different styles then used in England and Italy.

(q) See remark [K].

(r) July 6, 1678. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 210.

(s) Ibid. col. 212.

(t) Viz. Mary, eldest daughter to King James II. and afterward Queen of England.

(u) So he always afterwards called her. Short Account, p. 8.

tioner Fellow there in 1657 (g). In this situation, while he prosecuted his academical studies with a commendable diligence, and made suitable advances therein, the strict probity and religious turn of his temper was particularly taken notice of, and procured him the general love and esteem of his Society (b) [A]. Proceeding regularly to take both the degrees in Arts (i), he entered into holy orders, and became Chaplain to William Lord Maynard, Comptroller of the Household to King Charles II. (k) In 1666 he removed to Winchester College, being chosen Fellow of that Society December 8 the same year [B]. Not long after this he was appointed domestic chaplain to Dr George Morley, Bishop of that See, who presented him first to the Rectory of Brixton in the isle of Wight and afterwards to a Prebend in the church of Winchester, in which he was installed April 12, 1669 (l). The same Patron gave him also the Rectory of Woodhey in Hampshire (m); but he did not hold it long, and chusing to resign (n), he was succeeded therein by his brother-chaplain, Dr George Hooper. This was about the year 1673 (o); and in the latter end of the ensuing year, which began that of the Jubilee in 1675 (p), he took a tour to Rome, in company of his nephew Mr Isaac Walton (q), then Bachelor of Arts of Christ-Church in Oxford. Two years after his return, he took his first degree in Divinity (r), and commenced Doctor in that faculty June 30, 1679 (s). Not long afterwards, being appointed chaplain to the Princess of Orange (t), he went to Holland. Here his prudent behaviour, and strict piety, gained him the esteem and intire confidence of his mistress (u). But in the course of his office, he happened to incur the displeasure of her consort, by obliging one of his favourites to perform his promise of marriage with a young lady of the princess's train, whom he had seduced by that contract. This singular zeal, however worthy of his religion and of his country, gave so much offence to the Prince, (afterwards King William) that he very warmly threatened to turn him from the service, which the Doctor as warmly resenting, begged leave of his mistress, and warned himself from it; nor would he yield to return, 'till intreated by the Prince in person; who courting him to his former post and respect, he consented to continue there for one year longer; during which he was taken into a shew of great familiarity: But at the expiration of the term he returned to England, where the King, who was no stranger to what had happened at his nephew's court, appeared to be well satisfied with the Chaplain's conduct, and appointed him in the like post to attend Lord Dartmouth, with the royal commission, to demolish the fortifications at Tangier (w) [C]. The Doctor returned with his Lordship in the beginning of April 1684 (x), and was immediately advanced to be chaplain to the King, by an order from his Majesty himself. Not only the nature of this post, but the particular most gracious manner of conferring it, clearly evinced, that it was intended as a step for future favours. This was so well understood, that upon the removal of the Court to pass the summer at Winchester, the Doctor's house, which he held in the right of his Prebend, was marked by the harbinger for the use of Mrs Eleanor Gwyn. But no worldly considerations whatever could move the chaplain to give up his concern for the interests of true religion and virtue; far from complying with an order which gave countenance to vice even in his royal benefactor, he positively refused to grant the mistress admittance, and she was forced to seek for lodgings in another place (y). This was a degree of religious intrepidity not unlike that which he had before

(w) Ibid. p. 7.

(x) Viz. on the 2d of that month. Salmon's Chron. Hist. p. 175. edit. 1723, 8vo.

(y) Bp. Ken's Life, &c. p. 99, 100.

[A] He gained the love and esteem of that Society.] Nor was Mr Ken wanting on his side in any degree of affectionate regard to the Society. Of which they had a sufficient proof as soon as his circumstances would permit; when he gave them upwards of one hundred pounds, as a small acknowledgment for his education, and towards the erecting of their new buildings (1).

[B] He was chosen Fellow of Winchester College.] This remove too was agreeable to the rule of rotation established by the munificent founder, who designed this college also chiefly for a retired and studious life, yet so as not to exclude, but rather to qualify the members better for the duties of the clerical function: And to this purpose Mr Ken kept a constant course of preaching at St John's church in the Soak near Winchester, (where there was no preaching minister, and which therefore he called his Cure) and brought many Anabaptists to the Church of England, whom he baptized himself. And that neither his study might be the aggressor on his hours of instruction; or what he judged his duty, prevent his improvement; or both, his closet addresses to God; he strictly accustomed himself to but one sleep, which often obliged him to rise at one or two o'clock in the morning, and sometimes sooner, and grew so habitual, that it continued with him almost to his last illness. Yet his temper was so lively and cheerful, that he would be very facetious and entertaining to his friends in the evening, even when it was perceived, that with difficulty he kept his eyes open; and then seemed to go to rest with no other purpose, than the refreshing and enabling him with more vigour and cheerfulness to sing his morning hymn, as he then used to do to his lute before he put on his

cloaths (2). As he had been a benefactor by his purse in temporalities to New-College in Oxford, so he was no less a benefactor to this of Winchester, in regard to it's spiritual state, by drawing a set of prayers and devotions for the scholars of that school, which were published under the following title, *A Manual of prayers for the use of the scholars of Winchester College, and all other devout Christians.* Lond. 1681, 12mo.

[C] He attended Lord Dartmouth to Tangier.] About this time he wrote an epic poem called *Edmund*. It is digested into thirteen books: In the first book Satan is represented at the head of an assembly of devils, consulting how to defeat St Edmund's design of passing to England, which terminates in a resolution to overset the ship, that was to bring him, by a storm, and so drown the saint and all his adherents. The disappointment in his first project is supposed to quicken the edge of the arch-fiend's malice, who thereupon sets all his engines agoing, in order to counterwork Providence, which had decreed to raise the saint to the throne. The several events of St Edmund's life after this, diversified and enlivened with proper episodes, make the subject of the rest of the poem, which ends with the martyrdom and canonization of the saint and hero, together with his ascent in a winged chariot to heaven (4). The reader will be before hand with me in observing, that the consultation of devils in the first book seems to be borrowed from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which was published a few years before. Upon the whole, both the imagery and machinery throughout are perfectly poetical, and the versification easy; but neither this nor the sentiments are enough spirited to raise them above the censure of flatness.

(2) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

(3) See his article.

(4) It was published in a collection of our author's poems after his death. See remark [T].

[D] A

(1) Short Account, &c. p. 3. This building was an addition of two attached wings to the old college; which opening by degrees to the garden, gives an extraordinary grace and beauty to the whole.



fore shewn in Holland, and as it proceeded from the same spirit in the servant, so it had a similar effect upon the master; for his Majesty, agreeable to that good sense which was a distinguishing part of his character, was so far from shewing any displeasure thereat, that the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells becoming vacant soon after, he stopped all attempts of the Doctor's friends, who of their own inclinations would have applied in his behalf, with this remarkable saying, that *Dr Ken should succeed, but that he designed it should be from his own peculiar appointment.* And accordingly the King himself gave order for a *Conge d'elire* to pass the Seals for that purpose, and he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells Jan. 25, on St Paul's day, 1684 (z). A few days after this his Majesty being seized with that disorder which soon put a period to his life; the Doctor was pitched upon to manage his spiritual concerns, and during his illness gave a close attendance to the royal bed, without any intermission, at least for three whole days and nights, suggesting such pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations, as were most fit on so solemn an occasion, as long as there was any appearance of the King's attention to any thing [D]. This duty the Bishop thought so absolutely necessary, that he thereupon delayed his admission to the temporalities of the See of Wells; so that when King James came to the Crown, new instruments were passed for that purpose (a a). He had not been long in full possession when he wrote his *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, which was published twice in the year 1685, 8vo. [E] The same year he also published *Prayers for the use of the Bath:*

(z) Ibid. p. 9.

(a a) Ibid. p. 12.

In

[D] *As long as there was any appearance of the King's attention to any thing.* Bishop Burnet speaking of this part of Dr Ken's conduct, gives such an account of it as terminates (according to his usual manner) with a most injurious censure, as follows. He begins with observing, that our Bishop 'applied himself much to the awaking the King's conscience, and spoke with an elevation both of thought and expression, like a man inspired; that he resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers, which affected all that were present except him that was most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made no answer. That he pressed the King six or seven times to receive the sacrament, but the King always declined it, saying he was very weak. A table, with the elements upon it ready to be consecrated, was brought into the room, which occasioned a report to be then spread about that he had received it. That Ken pressed the King to declare, that he desired the sacrament, and that he died in the communion of the Church of England, to which the King answered nothing.' Thus far the royal patient is made the victim of this historian's pen. He proceeds next to make the spiritual Doctor a victim to his malevolence, in these terms. 'The Bishop, says he, asked him [the King] if he desired absolution of his sins, which he pronounced over his Majesty, for which he was blamed, since the King expressed no sense of sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. It was thought, continues he, to be a prostitution of the peace of the Church, to give it to one, who after a life led, as the King's had been, seemed to harden himself against every thing that could be said to him.' Not satisfied with this single stroke, he proceeds to second it: 'Ken, concludes he, was also censured for another piece of indecency. He presented the duke of Richmond, lady Portsmouth's son, to be blessed by the King. Upon this some that were in the room cried out, that the King was their common father; and upon that all kneeled down for his blessing, which he gave them (5).' The malice of these aspersions, extracted from a very partial misrepresentation of the whole, is so gross, that, like many others in the same history, they can only hurt the author of them. We have the particulars of Bishop Ken's behaviour on this trying occasion, from a much more impartial, though more candid writer, who, though a relation to the Bishop, promises not to render the whole account he gives of his life suspicious, by inserting surmise, where he intends to advance nothing but what may evidently be made appear, and he has clearly kept his promise. His words are, 'The King's distemper seizing his head, and our Bishop well knowing how much had been put off to that last point, and fearing the strength of his distemper would give him but little time, as indeed it proved; his duty urging him, he gave a close attendance to the royal bed, without any intermission, at least for three whole days and nights; watching at proper intervals to suggest pious and proper thoughts and ejaculations on so serious an occasion; in which time the duchess of Portsmouth coming into the room, the Bishop prevailed with his

Majesty to have her removed, and took that occasion of representing the injury and injustice done to his Queen so effectually, that his Majesty was induced to send for the Queen, and asking pardon, had the satisfaction of her forgiveness before he died. The Bishop, continues this writer, having homely urged the necessity of a full, and prevailed, as is hoped, for a sincere repentance, several times proposed the administration of the holy sacrament. But although it was not absolutely rejected, it was yet delayed from time to time, 'till (I know not by what authority) the Bishop and all others present were put out from the Presence for about the space of half an hour, during which time it has been suggested, that Father Huddleston was admitted to give extreme unction; and the interval between this and death was so short, that nothing concerning the Bishop's behaviour happened worthy of notice in this account (6). We see here, contrary to what Burnet asserts, that the King gave a remarkable proof of his repentance, in respect to the greatest irregularities of his life, and that he was brought thereto by Dr Ken's ministration, who thereupon, according to the goodness of his nature, no doubt thought himself obliged by that charity, which hopeth all things, believeth all things, not to withhold the benefit of the Church's peace in pronouncing her form of absolution over him; and after the Bishop had prevailed to have the mother put out of the room, his presenting the son, though a bastard, to the father's blessing, is another lively effect of that same charity, which is the sum and perfection of the Christian life, and was a most amiable part of Bishop Ken's character.

(6) Short Account of Bishop Ken's Life, p. 10, 11, 12.

[E] *His Exposition of the Church Catechism was published twice in 1685.* This was occasioned by an expression in the first edition, which the Papists at that time laid hold of as if it favoured their doctrine of Transubstantiation, whereupon having altered the expression, he immediately republished it, with this advertisement prefixed. 'The author of the following work thinks himself obliged to declare, that he willingly submits it to the censure of the Church of England, to whose articles he desires every thing of his may be exactly conformable. Wherefore having observed that his meaning in some less material things has been misunderstood, he hath varied the expression in those places, but not his meaning in them, as was fitting in a work not intended for disputes, but devotion.' The whole title runs thus; *An Exposition of the Church Catechism; or practice of divine love, composed for the diocese of Bath and Wells;* and he afterwards added, *Directions for prayer, taken out of the Church Catechism*, which were printed with the Exposition. When he first came to his diocese, it was frequently said by many of eminence who knew him well, that they never knew any person so able and earnest to do good in such a station as he was. He had a very happy way of mixing his spiritual with his corporal alms. When any poor person begged of him, he would examine whether the party could say the Lord's Prayer or the Creed by heart; and he found so much deplorable ignorance among the grown poor people, that he feared little good was to be done upon them: But said he would try, whether he could not lay

(5) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I.



In these, and such like duties of pastoral care, he spent his time as a private Diocesan. Nor was he less zealous as a guardian of the national Church in general, in opposing the attempts which were made in this reign to introduce Popery [F]. Yet he held in a manner the same place in the favour of King James II. as he had in the former reign, and some attempts were made to gain him over to the interest of the Popish party at Court; but he was inaccessible on that side, however absolutely unreserved in his Loyalty: And of that, his conduct at the time of the Rebellion under the Duke of Monmouth sufficiently confirmed the King; insomuch that although he daily relieved some hundreds of the Rebel prisoners then in Wells, daily praying with them in person, his Majesty judging that it was only out of a principle of duty to distressed brethren, to save them from perishing both in body and soul, never so much as harboured any jealous thought of him [G]. But altho' that Prince did not mistake his integrity, yet certainly he was mistaken in

lay a foundation to make the next generation better. And this put him upon setting up many schools in all the great towns of his diocese for poor children to be taught to read, and say their catechism; and about this time, and for this purpose, it was that he wrote and published his *Exposition on the Church Catechism*. By this method and management he engaged the ministers to be more careful in catechizing the children of their respective parishes, and they were furnished by him with a stock of necessary books for the use of children (7); and the great and good ends he at that time proposed were seen and felt by the great and good success of the charity-schools, which became afterwards very numerous. In the summer time he went often to some great parish, where he would preach twice, confirm and catechize: And when he was at home on Sundays, he would have twelve poor men or women to dine with him in his hall: Always endeavouring while he fed their bodies, to comfort their spirits by some cheerful discourse, generally mixed with some useful instruction. And when they had dined, the remainder was divided among them to carry home to their families. He often deplored the condition of the poor at Wells, who were very numerous. And as he was charitably disposed, so he was very earnest in contriving proper expedients of relief: Among others, he thought no design could better answer all the ends of charity, than the setting up a work-house in that city; but judging it not practicable without the advice, or at least the assistance, of the gentlemen, he therefore often met and consulted with them; but not finding any suitable encouragement, he was forced to desist. In this he had a double view, to rescue the idle from vicious practice and conversation, and the industrious from the oppression of the tradesman; who to use his own expression, *did grind the face of the poor, growing rich by their labour, and making them a very scanty allowance for their work* (8). Thus the good Bishop, from the fulness of his concern for the distressed poor. But his aiming at this last design, if we may have leave at this distance to make a conjecture, was not improbably the cause of his miscarrying in both: For though he, who both by his function and naturally tender and charitable disposition, was the poor's advocate, had a particular eye to the instances of oppressing them, yet there can be no doubt but then as well as now the fault lay as often on the side of the poor. Whence it has been universally judged best to leave these latter sort to the conscience of the tradesmen, as the most able to manage them. But as to the former sort, his lordship's judgment has been since abundantly approved, as we see by the prodigious number of work-houses erected upon his model. There was indeed another thing which might be the principal cause of his failing in this attempt, viz. the little assistance he was for some time able to contribute towards it. It is certain his own purse was very short, insomuch that he could but scantily supply handsome necessities for himself; and we are assured, that at the time of his being made Bishop, Mr Francis Morley, nephew to the Bishop of that name, knowing how little he had provided for such an expence, as attends the entry and continuance in such a chair, most generously offered and lent him a considerable sum to defray his expences, and furnish him with an equipage as this station required; which he would often mention with a grateful acknowledgment, expressing a particular satisfaction when he found himself in a condition to discharge the debt; and he was often observed by one of his chaplains \* to complain, that for this very reason no great matter was to be expected from him, as thinking

himself obliged to be just, before he could be charitable (9).

[F] *He opposed the attempts to introduce Popery.* As the Bishop took no part in the famous Popish controversy, the expression in the text, at first reading, may perhaps incur the censure of partiality, but that reflection will vanish upon a clearer insight into his conduct. His temper was not turned to dispute; which also with how much superior learning and skill soever it was carried on by the Protestants, yet he could not but see tended more to inflame and widen, than to heal and unite the breach with the Papists; he therefore chose a method which was more agreeable to his nature, and more immediately suited to the genius and spirit of Christianity; the first principle of which is universal philanthropy, and this he made the ruling principle of his conduct out of the pulpit, and in the pulpit to impress and enforce the practice of it was the main business of his sermons, wherein having by a truly religious oratory got possession of the affections of his audience, he frequently took occasion, as the subject led him, to mark and confute some of the errors of Popery (10); nor did he spare, when his duty to the Church of England more especially called for it, to take the opportunity of the royal pulpit to set before the Court their injurious and unmanly politicks, in projecting a coalition and combination with the sectaries against it. Yet these things, though necessary not to be left undone, he esteemed only as the lesser duties of the gospel: Accordingly the King having not given his presence at divine service when this last sermon was preached, it was misrepresented by some of the Court to him, and he sent for the Bishop, and closeted him on the occasion, but received nothing in answer except this fatherly reprimand, *That if his Majesty had not neglected his own duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him; whereupon he was dismissed.* Thus he happily at this time reaped the fruits of his own behaviour, and as he dealt dutifully, respectfully, and affectionately to the King, so the King dealt gently with him, which he was no doubt the more inclined to, as he must have been informed that the subject of this discourse was the doctrine of Passive Obedience, which was very warmly inculcated throughout the whole; patience and penitence being represented as the only justifiable weapons to be made use of by the Church under persecution (11). This, and some other such like reasons, seems to have drawn that ill-natured remark from Bishop Burnet, who having told us that the Bishop was a man of an ascetic course of life, and yet of a very lively temper, but too hot and sudden, proceeds in these terms. 'He had a very edifying way of preaching, but it was more apt to move the passions than to instruct, so that his sermons were rather beautiful than solid; yet his way in them was very taking' (12).

[G] *With regard to the Duke of Monmouth, his Majesty harboured no jealous thought of him.* On the contrary, he was ordered to attend the duke before his execution, concerning which Bishop Burnet gives the following account. 'Turner and Ken, the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were ordered to wait on him [Duke of Monmouth]; but he called for Tenison. The Bishops tried to convince him of the sin of Rebellion; he answered that he was sorry for the blood that was shed in it, but he did not seem to repent of the design; yet he confessed that his father had often told him, that there was no truth in the report of his having married his mother.' The Historian then relates a conversation that passed between the Duke and his wife; after which he proceeds in these

(9) Ibid. p. 20, 21.

(7) He gave likewise at several times, both before and after his deprivation, several large catalogues to places that were populous, and had parochial libraries within his own diocese. Ibid. p. 13, 14, and 23, 24.

(8) Ibid. p. 15, 16.

\* Dr Thomas Cheyney, who communicated several particulars of the Bishop's Life.

(10) See his sermon preached at the King's chapel at Whitehall, in Lent 1685, on Dan. x. 11. Daniel, a man greatly beloved. At the end of the Account of his Life, p. 57, & seqq.

(11) Ibid. p. 17, 18. where this sermon is also printed, p. 99, & seqq. under the title of a sermon preached on Passion Sunday.

(12) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. B. iii. fol. edit.



in him on a much more fatal occasion, for when the declaration of Indulgence was strictly commanded to be read, by virtue of a power claimed by the King of dispensing with the penal laws, then this Bishop was one of the seven who openly opposed the reading it, suppressed those which were sent to him to be read in his diocese, and petitioned his Majesty not to pursue what was likely to prove so prejudicial both to Church and State. This being called a treasonable petition, he was committed to the Tower, in order to a tryal; upon which he was cleared by the Jury (bb). But though he dared to disobey his Sovereign, in order to preserve the purity of his religion, and the care of his flock was always nearest his heart; yet rather than violate his conscience by transferring his allegiance, he chose to leave both himself and them to the protection of the Almighty. And when the Prince of Orange came over, and the Revolution was grounded on the abdication of King James, the Bishop retired, and as soon as King William was seated on the throne, and the new oath of allegiance was required, he for his refusal being deprived by the state, did relinquish his revenue, though not his cure, with as clear a conscience, and as generous a mind as that by which it was once bestowed on him (cc) [H]. After his deprivation he resided at Long-lead, a seat of the Lord Viscount Weymouth in Wiltshire

(bb) See the trial of the Seven Bishops.

(cc) Short Account, &c. p. 20.

terms. 'The Bishops continued still to press on him a deep sense of the sin of rebellion, at which he grew so uneasy, that he desired them to speak to him of other matters. They next charged him with the sin of living as he had done with Lady Wentworth. In regard to that he justified himself, he had married his Duchesses too young to give a true consent. He said that lady was a pious worthy woman, and that he had never lived so well in all respects, as since his engagements with her. All the pains they took to convince him of the unlawfulness of that course of life had no effect.' He concludes the story with the following reflection. 'They [the Bishops] did certainly very well in discharging their consciences, and speaking so plainly to him; but they did very ill to talk so much of the matter, and to make it so public as they did: For divines ought not to repeat what they say to dying penitents, no more than what the penitents say to them. By this means the Duke of Monmouth had little satisfaction in them, and they had as little in him. He was much better pleased with Dr Tenison, who did very plainly speak to him with relation to his public actings, and to his course of life, but he did it in a foster and less peremptory manner, and having said all that he thought proper, he left those points in which he saw he could not convince him to his own conscience, and turned to other points fit to be laid before a dying man (13). Thus that Reverend Historian. And in the same spirit of defamation we are told by another, that Dr Ken teased the Duke of Monmouth in vain on the scaffold to profess the doctrine of Passive Obedience (14). This censure being in print at the time of writing the Doctor's life, that author having repeated the words makes the following declaration: 'I think it proper in this place boldly to affirm, that our Bishop (for such he was at that time, and did attend on the scaffold) never acted or assisted there, but in the devotional part only. And this, though a negative, may be proved to satisfaction (15). The truth is, it was the Bishop of Ely, Dr Turner, and not Dr Ken, that talked on the scaffold to the Duke on that subject (16). This then was an easy mistake: But the same excuse cannot be made for Bishop Burnet, who was so strictly blinded by malice, as not to see the palpable contradiction which he was betrayed into in order to gratify it; otherwise he had too good an understanding to represent the Duke of Monmouth as a dying penitent, and as dying impenitent in the same paragraph. But the solemn charge of the Bishops failing in their regard to the sacredness of their function must have been dropped, without the supposition of a dying penitent, which it was therefore necessary to advance, notwithstanding the whole subject of the public talk which constituted that charge, consisted in bewailing the Duke, on account of his dying impenitent.

[H] Upon his deprivation he resigned his revenue, but not his cure, with a clear conscience.] No steps in our author's life have been more misrepresented than those he took at the Revolution; wherefore the present remark will be properly employed in setting his whole conduct at this critical juncture in its true light. We shall begin with the author of the Secret History of Europe, already cited upon another occasion, who relates very confidently, that our Bishop's name was among those which were subscribed to the invitation of

the Prince of Orange (17). Had this author produced any such subscription, the fact could not have been denied, but no such subscription being ever any where produced, we ought to subscribe to what the writer of his life asserts on this occasion, that there were very strong arguments to be urged, that he never had any the least hand in that matter (18). Yet this, if he had done it, in the view of redressing grievances, was consistent enough with his allegiance to King James. But Bishop Burnet, who never does these things by halves, goes roundly to work, in the following terms. 'Ken, says he, was a man of a warm imagination, and at the time of the King's first landing, he declared heartily for him, and advised all the gentlemen that he saw to go and join with him: But during the debate of the Convention, he went with great heat into the notion of a Prince Regent; and now upon the call of the house [to take the oaths to King William] he withdrew into his diocese. He changed his mind again, and wrote a paper, persuading the clergy to take the oaths, which he shewed to Dr Whitby, [author of the Annotation on the New Testament, and Precentor of Salisbury] who read it, as the Doctor has told me often. His chaplain Dr Eyre, continues the Right Reverend Historian, did also tell me, that he came with him to London, where at first, he said, he was resolved to take the oaths; but the first day after he came to town, he was prevailed on to change his mind; and he has continued ever since in a very warm opposition to the government (19). The reader will perhaps be surprised to find this passage standing uncorrected in that history, after he has perused the following letters which passed between the author of it and Bishop Ken, just before his suspension (20). The first was wrote by Dr Burnet, then Bishop of Salisbury, as follows.

(17) Secret History of Europe, p. 46 to p. 51.

(18) Short Account, &c. p. 39.

(19) Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 617. folio edit.

(20) Which was on the 13th of that month. Salmon's Chron. Hist. p. 198. first edit.

'My Lord,

'This gentleman who is presented to a living in your lordship's diocese, came to me to receive institution, but I have declined the doing of it, and so have sent him over to your lordship, that you being satisfied with relation to him, may order your chancellor to do it. I was willing to lay hold on this occasion to let your lordship know, that I intend to make no other use of the commission that was sent me, than to obey any orders that you may send me, in such things as my hand and seal may be necessary. I am extremely concerned to see your lordship so unhappily possessed with that, which is likely to prove so fatal to the Church, if we are deprived of one that has served in it with so much honour as you have done; especially at such a time, when there are fair hopes of reforming of several abuses. I am the more amazed to find your lordship so positive, because some have told myself, that you had advised them to take that which you refuse yourself: And others have told me, that they read a pastoral letter which you had prepared for your diocese, and were resolved to print it when you went to London. Your lordship it seems changed your mind there, which gave great advantages to those who were so severe as to say, that there was somewhat else than conscience at the bottom. I take the liberty to write this freely to your lordship, for I don't deny that I am in some pain, 'till I know whether it is true or not. I

31 O

'pray

(13) Ibid. Vol. I. p. 645.

(14) Secret History of Europe, Part II. p. 27.

(15) Short Account, &c. p. 38.

(16) See below in remark [2].



Wiltshire [1], whence he sometimes made a visit to his nephew Mr Isaac Walton at Salisbury

' pray God to prevent a new breach in a Church, which  
' has suffered so severely under the old one.

' My Lord,

' Your Lordship's most faithful

' Servant and Brother,

Sarum, Oct. 1.

' GI. SARUM.'

To this Bishop Ken returned the following answer.

All glory be to God (21).

' My Lord,

' I am obliged to your lordship for the continued concern you express for me, and for the kind freedom you are pleased to take with me; and though I have already in publick fully declared my mind to my diocese concerning the oath, to prevent my being misunderstood; yet since you seem to expect it of me, I will give such an account, which if it does not satisfy your lordship, will at least satisfy myself. I dare assure you, I never advised any one to take the oath; though some who came to talk insidiously with me, may have raised such a report: So far have I been from it, that I never would administer it to any one person whom I was to collate. And therefore before the act took place, I gave a particular commission to my chancellor, who himself did not scruple it; so that he was authorized, not only to institute, but also to collate in my stead\*. If any came to discourse with me about the oath, I usually told them I durst not take it myself. I told them my reasons, if they urged me to it, and were of my diocese: And then remitted them to their study and prayers for farther directions. 'Tis true, having been scandalized at many persons of our own coat, who for several years together preached up passive obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, it being a subject with which I very rarely meddled, and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgment of their past error, preached and acted the quite contrary; I did prepare a pastoral letter, which if I had seen reason to alter my judgment, I thought to have published; at least that part of it on which I laid the greatest stress, to justify my conduct to my flock; and before I went to London, I told some of my friends, that if THAT (22) proved true, which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurances, and which I think more proper for discourse than a letter, it would be an inducement to me to comply; but when I came to town I found it was false, and without being influenced by any one, or making any words of it, I burnt my paper, and adhered to my former opinion. If this is to be called change of mind, and a change so criminal, that people who are very discerning, and know my own heart better than myself, have pronounced sentence upon me, That there is something else than conscience at the bottom, I am much afraid that some of these who censure me, may be chargeable with more notorious changes than that; whether more conscientious or no, God only is the judge. If your lordship gives credit to the many misrepresentations which are made of me, and which I being so used to can easily disregard, you may naturally enough be in pain for me: For to see one of your brethren throwing himself headlong into a wilful deprivation, not only of honour and of income, but of a good conscience also, are particulars, out of which may be framed an idea very deplorable. But though I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God, I cannot accuse myself of any insincerity; so that deprivation will not reach my conscience, and I am in no pain at all for myself. I perceive, that after we have been sufficiently ridiculed, the last mortal stab designed to be given us, is to expose us to the world for men of no conscience. And if God is pleased to permit it, his most holy will be done, though what that particular passion of corrupt nature it is, which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify in losing all we have, will be hard to determine. God grant such reproaches as these may not revert on the authors. I heartily

' join with your lordship in your desires for the peace of this Church; and I shall conceive great hopes, that God will have compassion of her, if I see that she compassions and supports her sister of Scotland. I beseech God to make you an instrument to promote that peace and that charity (23). I myself can only contribute to both by my prayers and by my deprecations against schism and against sacrilege.

' My Lord,

' Your Lordship's very faithful

Oct. 5, 1689.

' Servant and Brother,

' Tho. Bath & Wells.'

We need not observe, that these two letters are a proper contrast to each other; the crafty malice that lurks in the first could never have been dragged out into a fuller light, than that which reflects upon it from the inimitable fortitude and undisguised simplicity of the latter, which in its turn too is seen to advantage, by comparing it with the former. The date of Bishop Ken's letter shews that it was wrote after he had retired to his diocese from the House of Peers, to avoid taking the oaths upon the call of that house. While he staid in town, he lodged with his old friend Dr Hooper, then rector of Lambeth, who had daily and earnestly discoursed him on the subject of compliance with the oaths; to whom he at last expressed himself thus: *'I question not but you, and several others, have taken the oaths with as good a conscience as myself shall refuse them, and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used; but I beg you to urge them no further; for should I be persuaded to comply, and after see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world.'*

(24) About this time he was also remarked for shewing himself openly, thoughtless of any danger that might attend his person. This was particularly taken notice of by Archbishop Sancroft, who, soon after his leaving Lambeth, in a letter to a friend, wrote thus, 'It grieves me to have missed (when I was so nigh it) the seeing of my Reverend Brother of Bath and Wells. I am not surprized to hear that his innocency and courage was so bold, as to appear openly, but am, I confess, that he did it safely (25).'

[1] He resided at Lord Weymouth's seat in Wiltshire.] Notwithstanding our Bishop cannot be supposed not to have foreseen for some time the probability of the change which happened at the Revolution, and must have been sensible what would be his own fate, as well as many others therein; yet had he none of that wisdom of this world which governs those who never fail to provide against a rainy day; so far from it, that on the other hand, if there can be an extravagant in good works, he was such in that most excellent gift of charity. His whole fortune lying in his preferments, those of his relations who were necessitous, but whom he would never regard the less for their being so, were a continual drain upon his revenue; and he seemed to joy with those who lived in more plenty, not more for their own well-being, than that thereby he was at liberty to disperse the remainder of his income to necessitous strangers; which he always did with so open a bounty, that he became a common father to all the sons and daughters of affliction. His charity was so extensive, that not long before the Revolution, having received from his bishopric a fine of 4000 l. great part of it was given to the French Protestants; and so little regard had he to future contingencies, that on his deprivation, which was not long after, all his effects, after the sale of every thing, excepting his books (which he never sold), would raise no more than seven hundred pounds. And this, with the generosity of his noble friend and eminent benefactor mentioned above, procured him a clear annuity of four score pounds, which he received in quarterly payments of twenty pounds from that noble peer, who made it a rent-charge on part of his own estate: Which, among many other and greater favours, is thus thankfully acknowledged in the last will and testament of our grateful Bishop, viz. *'I leave and bequeath to the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Viscount Weymouth, in case he outlives me, all*

(23) Episcopacy had been abolished by an act of the Scots Parliament July 22 before; but several methods of accommodating matters between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, were at this time in deliberation at the English Court. See the History of the Church of Scotland.

(24) Short Account, &c. p. 39, 40.

(25) Familiar Letters of Dr William Sancroft late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to Mr North, &c. Lond. 1757, 8vo. p. 13.

(21) This was his constant pre-script to all his letters and papers. Short Account, &c. p. 4.

\* Bp Burnet has passed his censure too upon this proceeding in Vol. I. of his History.

(32) The Bishop was about this time constantly assured, that King James had by some special instrument made over the kingdom of Ireland to the French King.



Salisbury (*d d*). In which church that kinsman was then possessed of a Prebend [*K*]. The Bishop had always a great relish for divine poetry, and in this retirement he composed many excellent, useful, and pious pieces; especially after his cholic pains rendered him incapable of more serious study, this favourite entertainment served in some measure to palliate the acuteness of his pain [*L*]. So close was his application to these studies, and so much was his mind bent upon quietness, that as he meddled not with any of the disputes or attempts of his party [*M*], so he was never once disturbed in that quiet enjoyment of himself, and never suspected of any ill design [*N*]. Though he did not concur in opinion with those Nonjurors,

(*d d*) Preface to  
The Complaints  
of the Church,  
&c. edit. 1711,  
8vo.

*' my books of which his lordship has not the duplicates, as a memorial of my gratitude for his signal and continued favours.'* He likewise dedicated his poems to his lordship, as the fruits of his favours. The dedication is a poem too consisting of several stanzas; the two first of which run thus.

## I.

' I, if the least may with the greatest (*26*) dare,  
' In grief, not gifts or graces, will compare;  
' Forc'd from my flock by uncanonic heat,  
' In singing hymns thus solace my retreat:  
' Retreat, in which when by the world depriv'd,  
' 'Twas chiefly you, my lord, who me reviv'd.

## II.

' When I, my lord, crush'd by powerful might,  
' No cottage had where to direct my flight;  
' Kind Heav'n me with a friend illustrious blest,  
' Who gives me shelter, affluence, and rest,  
' In this alone, I Gregory outdo,  
' That I much happier refuge have in you;  
' Where to my closet I to hymn retire,  
' On this side Heav'n have nothing to desire (*27*).'

[*K*] *He sometimes visited Mr Walton at Salisbury.* He was with this relation at Salisbury when the great storm happened in November 1703, whereby, it is said, a stack of chimnies was blown down, and broke into his bedchamber, but without doing him any hurt; which is mentioned, because his successor at Wells, Dr Kidder, was killed by the fall of a stack of chimnies into his bed-chamber, blown down by the same storm (*28*).

[*L*] *He diverted his pain with making verses.* We have this fact from his own pen, in the dedication already mentioned, of which the third stanza consists of the following lines.

' 'Tis now two annual weeks and more since pain  
' Within my tender nerves began to reign.  
' Between my couch and chair my days I waste,  
' And of a book have but evanid taste,  
' As thirsty deer at Nile's refreshing brink,  
' E'er he forsakes his bed, by snatches drink;  
' Still rolling to and fro their timorous eyes,  
' Least the Leviathan should them surprize;  
' Thus I on authors sup, can make no stay,  
' Pain from attention forces me away.  
' Pain haunting me, I court the sacred muse,  
' Verse is the only laudanum I use:  
' Verse, in which harmony and picture join'd,  
' My dolours damp, and recreate my mind.'

[*M*] *He meddled not in any of the disputes of his party.* 'Tis not improbable that he had been often solicited to engage in these, especially since we find his particular friend, Dr Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, so deeply involved therein. But our author, it seems, cared for none of those things, and he never spoke more sincerely the truth from his heart, than we see it expressed in the following lines.

' I gladly wars ecclesiastic fly,  
' Where'er contentious spirits I descry;  
' Eas'd of my sacred load, I live content;  
' In hymns, not in disputes, my passion vent. (*29*)

[*N*] *He never was disturbed in that quiet, &c.* He was indeed once sent for to appear before the Privy-Council in the year 1696, an account of which we have from himself as follows. *' All glory be to God. After the favourable hearing which this day the Lords of the most honourable Privy-Council gave me, Mr Bridgman came out to me to tell me, That their Lordships expected a copy of my answers, which as far as I can recollect, I here offer to their Lordships.'*

*' The printed paper, subscribed by the deprived Bishops, to beg the alms of charitable people, being shewed me, I was asked,*

*' Did you subscribe this paper?'*

*Ans. ' My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy effect; for the will of my blessed Redeemer was fulfilled by it, and what we were not able to do ourselves, was done by others; the hungry were fed, and the naked were clothed; and to feed the hungry, to cloath the naked, and to visit those who are sick, or in prison, is that plea, which all your lordships, as well as I, as far as you have had opportunities, must make for yourselves at the great day; and that which you must all plead at God's tribunal for your eternal absolution, shall not I hope, be made my condemnation here.'*

*' It was then said to this purpose; No one here condemns charity, but the way you have taken to procure it, your paper is illegal.'*

*Ans. ' My Lords, I can plead to the evangelical part: I am no lawyer, but shall went lawyers to plead to that; and I have been very well assured, that it is legal. My Lords, I will sincerely give your Lordships an account of the part I had in it. The first person who proposed it to me was Mr Kettlewell, that holy man, who is now with God: And after some time it was brought to this form, and I subscribed it, and then went into the country, to my retirement in an obscure village, where I live above the suspicion of giving any the least umbrage to the government.'*

*' My Lords, I was not active in making collections in the country, where there are but few such objects of charity; but good people, of their own accord, sent me towards fourscore pounds, of which about one half is still in my hands.'*

*' I beg your Lordships to observe this clause in our paper, As far as in law we may; and to receive such charity is I presume, which in law I may; and to distribute it is a thing also, which in law I may.'*

*' It was objected to this purpose: This money has been abused, and given to very ill and immoral men; and particularly to one, who goes in a gown one day, and in a blue silk waistcoat another.'*

*Ans. ' My Lords, to give to an ill man may be a mistake and no crime, unless what was given him, was given to an ill purpose; nay, to give to an ill man and knowingly is our duty, if that ill man wants necessaries of life, for as long as God's patience and forbearance indulges that ill man life to lead him to repentance, we ought to support that life God indulges him, hoping for the happy effect of it.'*

*' My Lords, in King James's time there were about a thousand, or more, imprisoned in my diocese, who were engaged in the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth; and many of them were such which I had reason to believe to be ill men, and void of all religion; and yet for all that I thought it my duty to relieve them. 'Tis well known to the diocese, that I visited them night and day, and, I thank God, I supplied them with necessaries myself as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the same; and yet King James never found the least fault with me. And if I am now charged with misapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordships, that St Paul's apostolical rule may be observed, Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses;*

(*26*) Viz. Gregory Nazianzen; the plan of this poem being formed upon the affinity of his case to that of Gregory, when persecuted by Julian the Apostate.

(*27*) His Works, &c. Vol. I. published in 1721, 8vo.

(*28*) Preface to Complaints of the Church, &c. ubi supra.

(*29*) Dedication, &c. stanza 8.



Nonjurors, who were for continuing a separation from the established Church by private consecrations among themselves [O], yet he looked on the spiritual relation to his diocese to be still in full force during the life of his first successor Dr Kidder [P]; but after his decease in 1703, upon the nomination of Dr Hooper to the diocese by Q. Anne, he requested that gentleman to accept it, and afterwards subscribed himself late Bishop of Bath and Wells [Q], and the Queen settled upon him a pension of two hundred pounds a year, which

'nesses; for I am sure none can testify that against me. What I gave, I gave in the country, and I gave to none but those who did both want and deserve it: The last that I gave, was to two poor widows of deprived clergymen, one whereof was left with six, the other with seven small children.

'It was said to this purpose: *You are not charged yourself with giving to ill men, though it has been done by others; but the paper comes out with a pretence of authority, and it is illegal, and in the nature of a Brief; and if such practices are permitted, private men may supersede all the briefs granted by the King.*

'My Lords, I must beg your pardon, if I cannot give a full answer to this; I am no lawyer, and am not prepared to argue it in law.

'It was further objected to this purpose: *By sending forth this paper, you have usurped ecclesiastical jurisdiction.*

*Ans.* 'My Lords, I never heard, that begging was a part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and in this paper we are only beggars, which privilege I hope may be allowed us.

'I make no doubt but your Lordships may have had strange misinformations concerning this paper; but having sincerely told you what part I had in it, I humbly submit myself to your Lordships justice.

'I presume your Lordships will come to no immediate resolution concerning me; and having voluntarily surrendered myself, and the warrant never having been served on me, 'till I had twice attended here, this being the third time, and my health being infirm, I beg this favour of your Lordships, that I may return to my sister's house, where I have hitherto lodged, which is a place the messenger knows well, and that I may be no otherwise confined, 'till I have received your Lordships final resolution.

'This favour your Lordships were pleased very readily to grant me; for which I return my humble acknowledgments, beseeching God to be gracious to your Lordships.

'Tho. Bath and Wells,  
'deprived (30).

'April 28, 1696.

[O] *He was against continuing the separation, &c.* This appears from several letters of his upon that subject, written in answer to the applications that were frequently made to him, as to a person who was held in the highest esteem among his party. One of these was sent to Mr Robert Nelson, who having applied to him on the occasion, received an answer, which we shall present to the reader, because it shews how greatly his opinion was revered by the very best of his non-juring brethren, and because it discovers his opinion and practice in another point, which had bred a division among these sectaries. It begins thus,

'Sir,

'In order to satisfy your enquiry, I can acquaint you, that I have received a letter from Bishop Ken, who assures me, *That he was always against that practice, which he foresaw would perpetuate the schism, and declared against it, and that he had acted accordingly, and would not have laid it at his door, having made a recess, as he says, for a much more worthy person: And he apprehends, it was always the judgment of his brethren, that the death of the canonical Bishops would render the invaders canonical, in regard the schism is not to last always.*

Afterwards his lordship adds this; 'I presume Mr Dodwell, and others with him, go to church, though I myself do not, being a public person; but to communicate with my successor in that part of the office, which is unexceptionable, I should make no difficulty.

'This letter I communicated to Mr Dodwell, as soon as he came to town, which he thought clear enough for discontinuing the schism, and I suppose

'in a short time he may have one to the same purpose (31).

[P] *He deemed himself bishop of his diocese during the life of Dr Kidder.* We have already seen Dr Burnet remarking that our bishop ever after his resolution not to take the oaths to King William, continued in a very warm opposition to the government; but this can only be understood with regard to the use of all such spiritual means as were not illegal; for it has been fully shewn, that as to any other opposition he meddled not. In the first sense he thought himself obliged to the same pastoral care over his diocese as before his deprivation, and the more so as he had no good opinion of the principles of the invader, as he called his successor Dr Kidder. To this purpose, we find him expressing himself with great warmth, in the dedication already cited of his poems; the fifth stanza whereof run thus.

'Bless'd Gregory, from his flock when forc'd away,

'Resolv'd, in verse, truths heav'nly to display.

'I, by a stranger, from my fold exil'd,

'While my flock strays on the unhurdled wild,

'Still for my charge a tender care retain,

'Expos'd to Latitudinarian bane.

'Like Gregory, of blessed Paul I learn to teach,

'And warn in hymns all souls within my reach.'

This is temperate enough, but he grew warmer by thinking and writing on the subject; and in stanza the tenth, against those who complied with the Revolution, after they had preached up Passive Obedience in higher terms, as he observes on another occasion (22), than ever he did, he breaks out into the following excess of heat,

'To his dear flock, when Gregory bad adieu,

'He warn'd them seal baptismal to renew,

'And rather die glad martyrs at the stake,

'Than the depositum he left forsake.

'With like, tho' with inferior, sacred heat,

'The same request I to my flock repeat.

'Versatile priests may flatter laick might,

'For lucre may invade canonic right.

'For rule of faith Leviathan instil,

'And prostitute God's truth to human will.

'Wolves on the vitals of their faith will pray;

'Their safety is, their shepherd to obey.'

[Q] *He desired Dr Hooper to accept the bishoprick, &c.* We have had occasion more than once to mention this worthy friend of Dr Ken, and as he was likewise one of the brightest stars in the English hierarchy, this memoir may be thought deficient if he be let pass without some more particular notice, which is therefore given as follows. Dr George Hooper had his birth at Grimley in Worcestershire, whence his father removed for the sake of his better education to Westminster, and sending him to that school, he became King's scholar, and from that student of Christ Church in Oxford in 1656, where he took both his degrees in arts at the regular times (33), and distinguished himself above his contemporaries by his superior knowledge in philosophy, mathematics, Greek and Roman antiquities, and the oriental languages. In 1672 he became fellow-chaplain with Dr Ken to Bishop Morley, who gave him the rectory of Havant, but that being an unhealthy situation, he changed it for Woodhey, which was resigned probably with that view by Dr Ken. In 1673 he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (34), and not long after removed to Lambeth, being made chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon (35), who had begged this favour of the Bishop of Winchester, and who in

(31) This letter is dated Feb. 21, 1709-10, and printed in Dr Marshall's Defence of our Constitution, &c. Lond. 1717, 8vo. in the appendix.

(32) Viz. in his Answer to Bp Burnet in remark [K].

(33) Viz. A. B. Jan. 16, 1660, and A. M. in 1664, together with his friend Bp Ken. Wood's Fasti. Vol. II. p. 127 and 158.

(34) Viz. July 9. Ibid. p. 191.

(35) Ath. Ox. 1048, upon the death of Dr Tomkins.

(30) Short Account, p. 48 to 56 inclusive.



which was punctually paid out of the Treasury as long as he lived (ee). He had been afflicted many years with severe cholic pains (ff), and at length was observed to make bloody

(ee) The Queen often complained that it was too little for his thanks, which

he dutifully sent her every year upon the receipt of it. Short Account, p. 41. 1696. See the two first lines of the dedication to his Poems, stanza 3, in remark [L].

(ff) He was seized with them about the year

1675 gave him the rectory of Lambeth, and afterwards the Precentorship of Exeter, an option of his Grace's. In 1677, he commenced Doctor in Divinity (36), and the same year being made almoner to the Princess of Orange, he crossed the sea to Holland, where, at the request of her Royal Highness, he regulated her chapel according to the usage of the Church of England. After one year's attendance, he repassed the sea, in order to compleat his marriage, the treaty for which had been set on foot before his departure. This done, he went back to her Highness, who had obtained a promise from him to that purpose, but after a stay of about eight months, she consented to his return home. Upon the death of Dr Allestree in 1680, he was offered the Divinity Professorship at Oxford, which he declined, but was made King's chaplain about the same time. In 1685, by the King's command, as well as his friend Dr Ken, he attended the Duke of Monmouth, and had much free conversation with him in the Tower both the evening before, and in the morning of the day of his execution (37). The following year he took a share in the popish controversy (38). In 1691 he succeeded Dr Sharp in the Deanery of Canterbury. As he never made any application for preferment, Queen Mary surprized him with this offer, for which she took the opportunity of the absence of her consort in Holland. Upon this promotion he resigned the rectory of Woodhey, notwithstanding the Queen's express order to keep both his livings: he was also made chaplain to their Majesties the same year (39). But though both the royal parents of the Duke of Gloucester pressed very earnestly to have him for his Royal Highness's preceptor in 1698, and no pretence of any objection was ever made against him, yet the King appointed Bishop Burnet for that service (40). In 1701 he was chosen Prolocutor to the lower house of Convocation, and the same year was offered the Primacy of Ireland by the Earl of Rochester, then Lord Lieutenant there. Soon after the accession of Queen Anne to the throne, the following year she nominated him to the Bishoprick of St Asaph. This he accepted, though against his inclination, and in half a year afterwards receiving a like command to remove to that of Bath and Wells, he earnestly requested her Majesty to dispense with the order, not only on account of the sudden charge of such a translation, as well as a reluctance to remove, but also in regard to his friend Dr Ken, for whom he begged this Bishoprick, which the Queen readily granted; but the offer being declined by Bishop Ken, this friend, at his importunity, yielded to become his successor, but not 'till he had obtained the Queen's leave; who also commended him for making the proposal, to hold the precentorship of Exeter *in commendam*, with a dispensation for non-residence, for the sole benefit of Bishop Ken. But the then Bishop of Exeter objecting against it, the Queen to satisfy him desired Bishop Hooper to resign it, saying that she would take care of the deprived Bishop, and then ordered him a pension of 200*l. per ann.* as has been already mentioned above. Bishop Hooper was not more acceptable to Bishop Ken than he was to his diocese, whose affections both of gentry and clergy he was fully possessed of: And in return no offers could prevail upon him to yield to a translation from them. For he several times refused a seat in the Privy-Council, and could not be persuaded to accept either the Bishoprick of London on the death of Dr Compton, or the Archbishoprick of York on the death of Dr Sharp. He sat in the see of Bath and Wells twenty-four years and six months, and died at Barkley in Somersetshire, whither he sometimes retired, on the 6th of September, 1727, and was interred, in pursuance of his own request, in the cathedral of Wells, under a marble monument erected, with an elegant Latin inscription upon it, to his memory. Besides his sermons (41), he published several books in his life-time, and left several manuscripts behind him, some of which he gave leave to be printed. The following is a catalogue of both. 1. *The Church of England free from the imputation of Popery*, printed in 1682, and bound up with the London Cases. 2. *A fair and methodical discussion of the first and great controversy between the Church of England*

and the Church of Rome, concerning the infallible guide. In three discourses. The two first of which were licensed by Dr Maurice in 1687, but the last was never printed. 3. *The parson's case under the present Land-tax, recommended in a letter to a member of the House of Commons*, 1689. 4. *A discourse concerning Lent, in two parts. The first an historical account of its observation; the second an essay concerning its original: This subdivided into two repartitions, whereof the first is preparatory, and shews, that most of our Christian ordinances are derived from the Jews; and the second conjectures, that Lent is of the same original.* Lond. 1694, 8vo. 5. *A paper in the Philosophical Transactions for October 1699, entitled, A Calculation of the Credibility of human testimony.* 6. *New danger of Presbytery*, Lond. 1713. 7. *Marks of a defenceless cause.* 8. *The narrative of the proceeding of the lower house of Convocation vindicated.* 9. *De Valentinianorum Herefi Conjecturae, quibus illius origo ex Aegyptiaca Theologia deducitur*, Lond. 1711, 4to. 10. *An inquiry into the state of the ancient measures, the Attic, the Roman, and especially the Jewish. With an appendix concerning our old English money and measures of Content*, Lond. 1721, 8vo. 11. *De Patriarchae Jacobi Benedictione Gen.* 49. *Conjecturae*, published by the Reverend Mr Hunt, of Hart-hall in Oxford, with a preface and notes, according to our author's directions a little before his death to the editor. The manuscripts before-mentioned are the two following. 1. A Latin sermon, preached in 1672, when he took his Bachelor of Divinity's degree; and, 2. A Latin tract on Divorce.

We must not conclude this remark, without reverting to the immediate cause of it, the satisfaction which Bishop Ken had in this successor. This in the fulness of his heart he frequently took occasion to declare, but no where more warmly than in the dedication of his hymns on the Attributes, addressed in verse to this friend, under the title of George Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, where he thus expresses himself.

' But that which most of all my eye-lids drained,  
' My lambs, my sheep, were by their wand'rings  
' baned :  
' They broke from Catholic, and hallow'd bounds,  
' And for the wholesome chose th' impoison'd  
grounds  
' Contracting Latitudinarian taint ;  
' In faith, in morals, suffering no restraint.  
' New heresies they form'd, or old reviv'd,  
' Or, Corah-like, outrageous schisms contriv'd :  
' And in such dangers while his sheep abide,  
' A shepherd's eye-lids never should be dry'd.

' Thus griev'd, I, like Valerius, wept and pray'd,  
' For all the sheep which from my pasture stray'd ;  
' His prayer was ardent, violenc'd God's ear,  
' Mine languid was, and too restrain'd my tear ;  
' He, David-like, had rivers in his head,  
' I, drop by drop, tears intermitting shed.  
' But I adore benignity divine,  
' Who did to hear my worthless cares incline,  
' And while I mourn'd for the tremendous stroke,  
' Which freed my flock from uncanonic yoke,  
' Heaven, my lord, supereffluently kind,  
' In you sent a successor to my mind ;  
' In you all Austin's virtues are supplied,  
' Too bright for your humility to hide :  
' I, on a load presum'd, I could not bear,  
' Happy presumption ! which enforc'd my pray'r ;  
' Since Heaven thence took occasion you to rear,  
' You who irradiate all the sacred sphere ;  
' You, in whose care I feel as full repose,  
' As old Valerius when he Austin chose.

(36) Viz. July 3. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 207.

(37) See more of his behaviour at this time in the article of Archbishop Tenison.

(38) See his treatise on that occasion, the title of which will be given presently.

(39) Ath. Oxon: where last cited.

(40) Boyer's History of Queen Anne, under that year.

(41) Of these he printed eight; the first was preached before the Lord-Mayor at Guildhall chapel in 1681, and the last on the day of thanksgiving for the peace, July 7, 1713.



(g g) As he had for many years travelled with his shroud in his portmanteau; he put it on as soon as he came to Long-Leate, giving notice of it the day before his death by way of prevention, that his body might not be stripped.

(b b) Account, &c. p. 42.

(i i) This specimen consists of two sermons already mentioned, and hymns and odes, 1. On the Annunciation. 2. Heaven. 3. On the Attributes of God. 4. On Good-Friday. 5. Thirst for Jesus. 6. Resignation of Jesus. Selected chiefly for the variety of measure which appears in them.

bloody water. This symptom being ascribed to an ulcer in his kidneys, he went to Bristol in the beginning of the year 1710 for the benefit of the hot well, where he spent the summer and 'till November following, when he removed to Leweston near Shirburne in Dorsetshire, a seat belonging to the honourable Mrs Thynne. There he was seized with a dead palsy one one side, which confined him to his chamber 'till about the middle of March; when being, as he thought, able to take such a journey, he resolved for the Bath, in hopes to find relief from those waters. Nor could the persuasions of that good lady, or his physician, divert his design, though he laboured under another distemper, viz. the Dropsy. So in his way thither, calling at Long-Leate on Saturday, he spent that evening in adjusting some papers; all the next day he confined himself to his chamber, and on Monday he was confined to his bed, 'till on Monday following, March 19, 1710-11, his soul was set free by a dissolution (g g). Froome Selwood being the nearest parish within his own diocese to the place where he died, he was buried, conformable to his own request, in the church-yard, under the East window of the chancel of that church, just at sun-rising, without any manner of pomp or ceremony, besides that of the order for burial in the Liturgy of the Church of England, on the 21st of March, 1710 (b b), in the 73d year of his age. His Lordship was never married, and left behind him but few relations [R]; and by his last will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [S], April 24, 1711, appointed his nephew William Hawkins, of the Middle-Temple, Esq; his executor, who published *A short account of his life, &c. to which was added, A small Specimen, in order to a Publication of his works at large* (i i). Lond. 1719, 8vo. And accordingly these were published in 1721 by the same gentleman, under this title, *The Works of the Right Reverend, learned, and pious Thomas Ken, D. D. late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells*, Lond. 1721. An account of which, together with other pieces printed by himself besides those already mentioned, the reader will find below. [T].

- ' Accept, my lord, the product of that ease
- ' You gave, when you accepted of my keys.
- ' O may the flock a grateful sense retain,
- ' Of blessings, which they in your conduct gain.
- ' I, in my requiem hymns, God's love will sing,
- ' For shelt'ring them in your paternal wing.'

Not content with this single opportunity of declaring his full satisfaction and delight on the occasion, we find the same repeated in the general dedication of his poems to Lord Weymouth, finished, as it seems, not long before his death, where his heart swells into the highest tide of joy upon the same subject, in the following lines.

#### Stanza 8.

- ' Forc'd from my flock, I daily saw with tears,
- ' A stranger's ravage two sabbatic years \*;
- ' But I forbear to tell the dreadful stroke,
- ' Which freed my sheep from their Erastian yoke;
- ' While Heav'n was superfluently kind,
- ' In sending them a pastor to my mind;
- ' In whom my spirit feels the like repose,
- ' As old Valerius, when he Austin chose.

#### Stanza 9.

- ' I, crush'd by state decree, and griev'd with pain,
- ' The pastoral toil unable to sustain,
- ' More gladly off the hallow'd burthen shake,
- ' Than I at first the weight could undertake;
- ' And shall rejoice when sinking to my grave,
- ' That my dear sheep a worthier pastor have;
- ' That, living, I had buried pastoral care,
- ' And for my last was freer to prepare.

[R] *He left few relations.*] These were, Martha the daughter of his brother Mr John Ken by Rose his wife, which Martha married to the honourable Christopher Frederick Krienberg, Resident of his Electoral Highness of Hanover in London. John Beacham in 1713 Fellow of Trinity-College, and William Beacham, sometime Fellow of New-College in Oxford, who were both the sons of his sister Martha by her husband Mr James Beacham. Isaac Walton, Residentiary of the cathedral church of Sarum, and Anne Walton, issue of his sister Anne by her husband Mr Isaac Walton of London, which Anne having been married to William Hawkins, D. D. sometime prebendary of

Winchester, had issue by him William and Anne, both living in 1713, of whom William was appointed the Bishop's executor, as above-mentioned (42).

[S] *His last will, &c.*] Various reports having been frequently and industriously spread, that he was tainted with some Popish errors, and was not so steadfast to the doctrine of the Church of England, it was thought proper to publish the following paragraph, transcribed from his will. 'As for my religion, I die in the holy catholic and apostolic faith, professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West; more particularly, I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.'

[T] *An account of the rest of his works below*] Those printed by himself are, 1. *A sermon preached at the funeral of the Right Hon. the lady Margaret Maynard, at Little Easton in Essex, June 30, 1682, on Prov. ii. 16.* Lond. 1682, 4to. 2. *A sermon preached in the cathedral church of Bath on Ascension-Day, May 5, 1687.* In this his lordship had dropt some less guarded expressions, which were made the subject of a piece, intitled, *Animadversions on the bishop of Bath's sermon on Ascension-Day, May 5, 1687.* Lond. 1687, 4to. 3. *A pastoral letter to the clergy of the diocese of Bath and Wells, concerning their behaviour during Lent, dated Feb. 18, 1687.* Lond. 1688, 4to. 4. His works in four volumes. Vol. 1. containing, *Hymns Evangelical. Hymns on the Festivals. Christophil.* Vol. 2. *Edmund, an epic poem. Hymns on the Attributes.* Vol. 3. *Hymns on the penitent. Anodynes, or the alleviation of pain.* Vol. 4. *Preparations for death. Psyche, or Magdalen, and Sion or Philotheos. Urania, or the spacious garden. Damoret, Thyrsil, and Dorilla, or chaste love described.* In the dedication to Lord Weymouth, son of that Lord to whom the bishop addressed them, Mr Hawkins assures us, that he had the Bishop's leave at Leweston to publish these poems; 'whereof, says he, the verse will be found not strained, but generally easy and familiar, as being designed for contemplation and devotion; and when his subject requires it, lofty and sublime. His frequently joining the syllable Co, continues the editor, to words, (as in Co-eval, Co-spire, Co-glorious, Co-une, Co-trine, Co-harmonious, &c) besides the great propriety thereby preserved, may be taken, (though I dare not aver it to be so intended) for a designed characteristic of his genuine performances from such as are spurious (43), he having met with ill treatment of that nature in his lifetime; and for the further prevention of which (as far as in me lies) I beg leave to assure your lordship, that nothing more of his performances are ever to be published.'

(42) Short Account, p. 46, 47.

(43) Among these was published, under his name, *The Retired Christian, &c.* the seventh edition of which came out in 1756, 12mo.



KENNET [WHITE], Bishop of Peterborough, a learned Antiquarian, was the son of Mr Basil Kennet, Rector of Dinchurch and Vicar of Postling near Hythe in Kent (a); and was born August 10, 1660, in the parish of St Mary's in Dover, his mother being the eldest daughter of Mr Thomas White, a wealthy magistrate there, from whom he had his name at the font [A]. As he grew up, he was first put to school at Elham, and then to Wye, both in the neighbourhood; whence, having made a great proficiency in grammar-learning, he was removed to Westminster, in the view of obtaining a place upon that foundation; and he was admitted above the curtain†. But being unfortunately seized with the small pox at the time of election, rather than wait another year, his father accepted an offer made to him by Mr Tolson, his neighbour at Beaksborne, and sent him to be tutor to the three sons of that gentleman. He acquitted himself in this post, much to the satisfaction of the family; till his removal to Oxford, whither he went in June 1678; and, by the recommendation of his countryman the learned Dr Wallis, was entered into Edmund-hall\*, and placed under the care of Mr Andrew Allam, a celebrated tutor at that time [B]. In this society he applied closely to his studies, and with such distinguished success, that though he wore the gown of a Battler or Semi-commoner only, the lowest condition of such as are wholly supported at their own expence, yet he was admitted to the conversation, and procured the friendship, of the highest, which proved of great service to him. But though he made a figure in some other branches of polite literature, yet the bent of his inclination and genius led him particularly to the study of Antiquities and History; and being of a lively and forward temper, he commenced author in the political way while he was undergraduate; and, in 1680 (b), published in 8vo. *A Letter from a Student at Oxford to a Friend in the Country, concerning the approaching Parliament, in Vindication of his Majesty, the Church of England, and the University* [C]. And soon after, in the same spirit, he printed *A Poem to Mr E. L. on his Majesty's dissolving the late Parliament at Oxford* (c) 28th of March, 1681. He took his first degree in Arts May 2,

1682

[A] *From whom he had his Christian name.* Alderman White had been a master shipwright, and after the Restoration had been employed by the government in that way, and upon a petition of several merchants and tradesmen, for arrears due to them, delivered to the House of Commons in 1664, *die Sabbati 28 Januarii*, it was allowed by a committee, that there was due to Mr Thomas White of Dover, for refitting his Majesty's ships, as unpaid on a warrant granted by the Commissioners for discharging the debts of his Majesty's navy, 223*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* Being both grandfather and godfather to our author, he consented to give him his own name, probably in the view of making him his heir; but those hopes were defeated by his entering afterwards into a second marriage, the issue of which, with their mother, went away with the whole estate (1).

[B] *Mr Allam, a celebrated tutor at that time.* No doubt Mr Kennet was greatly influenced by the example of his tutor, in turning his studies to the subject of History and Antiquities, for which Mr Allam had a peculiar taste. There is indeed so great an affinity between the tenor of his life, and the first step in that of the pupil, that the following short account of it will not, 'tis presumed, be thought altogether foreign to the business of the present memoir. Mr Allam then being born in 1655 at Garsington near Oxford, was educated in the neighbourhood, in a private school at Denton in the parish of Cuddesden, where he went to St Edmund's-hall, and was entered a Battler there in Easter term 1671. After he had taken the degrees in arts, he became a tutor, moderator, lecturer in the chapel, and at length Vice-Principal of his house; in all which offices he behaved himself much to the honour and flourishing thereof; being a person of eminent virtues, sober, temperate, and modest, even to example. He understood the controversial writings between Conformists and Nonconformists, Protestants and Papists, far beyond his years, which were advanced by a great and happy memory. He understood the world of men well, authors better, and nothing but years and experience were wanting to make him a compleat walking library (2). There are extant of his works, 1. A preface, with an epistle dedicatory in the printer's name, prefixed to the *Epistle congratulatory of Lysimachus Nicanor, &c. to the Covenanters of Scotland, &c.* Oxon. 1684. 2. The epistle, with the account therein, of Dr Richard Cofin's life prefixed to that author's piece, entitled, *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politeia in Tabulas digesta*, Oxon. 1684, in fol. 3. The epistle prefixed, with a review and correction of the book intitled, *Some plain discourses on the Lord's Supper*, by Dr George Griffith, Bishop of St Asaph. Oxon. 1684. 8vo. 4. Five or six sheets of corrections and additions to a piece intitled, *Angliæ Notitiæ*, or the Present state of England. 5. He be-

gan and made several additions to Helvicus's Historical and Chronological Theatre, as occasion required, and would have finished the Supplement at the end from 1660 to 1685, had he not been prevented by death. 6. He had laid the foundation of *Notitiæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, giving an account of all cathedrals, with their statutes and customs, and a list of the names of the present bishop, dean, archdeacon, canons, and officers of each cathedral. 7. He translated into English the life of *Iphicrates*, which was printed among those of Cornelius Nepos, by several hands, at Oxford 1684, 8vo. He also frequently assisted Mr Antony Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxoniens.* especially in the *Notitia* of certain modern writers of our own nation. He died of the small pox, June 17, 1685, and was buried at St Peter's in the East in Oxon (3). This excellent tutor was much pleased with Mr Kennet, and took a particular delight in imposing tasks and exercises on him, which he would often read in the common room, before the masters and gentlemen commoners, for an occasion of commending his pupil. He set him several books to translate from the Latin, which he not only approved, but recommended to the Oxford book-sellers for an impression of them. The translation of the *Moriæ Encomium*, mentioned in the text, was one of these, and that of Pliny's panegyric, &c. was another, of which more hereafter. The tutor also became, we see, a fellow-writer with his pupil, among others, in the translation of the lives of *Cornelius Nepos*. And to conclude, he likewise introduced him very early, while Undergraduate, into the acquaintance of Mr Ant Wood, who employed him in collecting several epitaphs and other notices of eminent Oxford men, and in writing to his father for intelligences of that kind, particularly of Mr John Reading\*, Dr Meric Casaubon, and others (4).

[C] *A letter from a student at Oxford, &c.* This pamphlet was printed in March, and divers copies sent to Oxford about the 15th of that month, An. 1680-1, against the time that the parliament was to sit, viz. on the 21st of the said month. Where the whig party, as it was then begun to be called in the house of Commons, were so much offended with it, that enquiries were made after the author, in order to have him punished. Among other members, John Trenchard, Esq; sometime a fellow of New College, but then a Burgess for Taunton in Somersetshire, was very active on this occasion, and affirming that he knew it was written by an Oxford scholar, the Vice-chancellor was desired to find out the author; but the sudden dissolution of the parliament put an end to the whole matter; and that occasioned the publication of Mr Kennet's second piece above-mentioned (5).

(b) In the title-page the date is 1681, from the custom of the book-sellers in beginning the year at Michaelmas.

(c) This was a ballad, printed on one side of a sheet of paper, and begun, *An Atchist now must a monster be, &c.* It was reprinted in a pamphlet, intitled, *The Conduct of Dr Kennet*. Lond. 1717, 8vo.

(3) Ibid. col. 785, 786.

\* See Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 406, & seqq.

(4) Life of White Kennet, &c. p. 3, 4. and Mr Wood accordingly gives him the character of an excellent philologist, a good preacher, whether in English or Latin, and well versed in the history and antiquities of our nation, and much deserving of the Church of England, for which he hath a zealous respect. Athen. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 1131.

(5) Id. ibid.

[D] A

(a) This gentleman was bred at Trinity-college in Dublin, where he took the degree of Master of Arts. The Life of the Right Rev. Dr White Kennet, with several original Letters, &c. Lond. 1730, 8vo. p. 1.

† That is in the upper school, which is separated from the lower by a curtain.

• Ibid. p. 3.

(1) Life of White Kennet, ubi supra, p. 2.

(2) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 784, 785.



(d) Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. col. 219.

(e) After his promotion to the see of Peterborough, the doctor collated this gentleman to a prebend in that church. Life of Bishop Kennet, &c. p. 4.

(f) Ibid. p. 43.

(g) See more of this in the sequel.

(h) Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(i) Life of Bishop Kennet, p. 6.

(k) That is the date of the letter.

1682 (d); and the following year, he published a translation into English of Erasmus's *Moriae Encomium*; and among the lives of illustrious men, written by Cornelius Nepos, and done into English by several hands of Oxford, and printed there in 1684 [D], 8vo, *The Life of Chabrias* has Mr Kennet's name at the head of it. About this time he entered into Holy Orders, and became curate and assistant to Mr Samuel Blackwell, B. D. (e), Vicar and Schoolmaster of Burcester in Oxfordshire. In 1685 he proceeded Master of Arts, and in the beginning of September the same year, he was presented by Sir William Glynn, Bart, to the vicarage of Amerstden, or Ambrosden, in Oxfordshire, where he made several improvements in the church, and recovered an estate which had been left for that use, and alienated from it [E]. He was too young a divine to engage in the famous Popish controversy; but he preached a set of sermons against Popery. In the same spirit he likewise refused to read the declaration for Liberty of Conscience in 1688, and went with the body of the clergy in the diocese of Oxford, when they rejected an address to King James, recommended by Bishop Parker the same year (f). While he was in the country, he sometimes used the exercise of shooting for his health; and he was upon that diversion in the neighbouring parish of Middleton-Stoney, in January 1689, when his gun bursting in the discharge, he received a dangerous wound in the forehead from a splinter, which broke both the tables of his skull. He lay a considerable time under this unlucky accident [F]; and, as he constantly wore a black velvet to cover the part, that was made a mark to distinguish his person on a particular occasion several years afterwards (g). In September 1691, he was chosen Lecturer of St Martin's, commonly called Carfax, in Oxford (h), having some time before been invited back to Edmund-hall, to be Tutor and Vice-principal there [G]. Soon after which, he was appointed a public Lecturer in the University-schools, and as a man of discipline and spirit, was chosen Pro-proctor two successive years (i). February 15, 1692 (k), he addressed a letter from Edmund-hall, to the editor of Somner's *Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent*, containing an account of the life of that famous Antiquary [H]. This being prefixed to that treatise

[D] *A translation of Erasmus's Moriae Encomium, &c.* The title of it is, *Wit against wisdom, or a panegyric upon folly*. It was ushered into the favour of the public by several copies of verses made by Matth. Morgan, A. M. of St John's college; Will. Osborne, A. M. James Shute, A. B. both of Edmund's hall; and Tho. Wood, Fellow of New-College; at the end of these is a copy by the translator, on the argument of the book, which has gone through several editions since.

[E] *He was presented by Sir Will. Glynn to Ambrosden, where he made several improvements.* This favour was procured for him by the patron's eldest son, who was his contemporary in the hall. At his entrance upon it, he immediately had the vicarage-house beautified, the garden walled round, and an inscription put upon the grave-stone of Dr Stubbing, his predecessor, who built the house: He then set himself to repair and adorn the church; had the bells new cast; a new pulpit and font, a fane on the steeple, the church-yard enclosed with a strong high wall, and gates with piers. The expence of these, among other improvements of strength and beauty, was supplied from the profits of an estate, which, though left for the repairing the church, had been afterwards granted to a private person as given to superstitious uses, and when recovered was by degrees alienated from the uses of the church to that of the parish, and laid out on the highways, bridges, and poor; till Mr Kennet, by the advice and assistance of Bishop Fell, obtained a trial before commissioners for charitable uses, and a decree to invest the estate in new trustees (of which the patron and vicar of the parish were always to be two, and the rest of their nomination), to be employed according to the first purpose of repairing the church. And the rents accordingly were applied to that purpose very faithfully, to the great improvement of the church, and by degrees to the great satisfaction, as well as credit, of the parish (6).

[F] *He lay sick a considerable time under this accident.* While he lay under great disorder and pain of body and brain, just after he had undergone the severe operation of trepanning, for want of sleep, he made a copy of Latin verses, and dictated them to a friend at his bedside. The copy was transmitted to Sir William Glynn, in whose study it was found after the author had forgot every thing but the sad occasion; and the writer of his life tells us, it was then in his possession, and thought by good judges to be no reproach to the author (7).

[G] *Tutor and vice-principal of Edmund-Hall.* The famous Dr John Mill was then Principal, with whom Mr Kennet lived on better terms of peace and friend-

ship than any other vice-principal either before or after. That eminent divine was at this time employed in preparing for the press his celebrated edition of the New Testament; and he was greatly assisted therein by one of our author's pupils, Mr Thomas Hearne, (8) the noted Antiquarian, probably recommended for that purpose by his tutor.

[H] *He wrote the life of Somner.* This undertaking gave him an opportunity of displaying his knowledge in the history of the Saxon language in England. Upon which subject he observes, that when the Saxons had made the Britons strangers in their own land, the language which the conquerors brought with them soon grew into contempt among themselves. Even so early as the year 652, many out of this island were sent to the monasteries of France for education, and to bring back the manners and language of those parts (9). That in the reign of Edward the Confessor, 'by the great resort of Normans to his court, the whole island began to lose their English rites, and to imitate the manners of the Franks, especially it was esteemed a piece of breeding for all the lesser sort to speak the Gallic idiom, and to despise the language and customs of their own country (10). This inglorious affectation is confessed by an historian, who lived in that age. It looked like an omen of their approaching conquest by that nation, of whose language and fashions they were so fond. The event proved so. Three and twenty years after came in the Norman Lords, who threatened an extirpation to that language of which the natives began to be ashamed. For these new masters hated the English, and so much abhorred their idiom, that the laws were all administered in the French tongue; the very children in the schools were kept from learning to read their mother language, and were instructed only in the Norman; the English manner of writing too was omitted (11). The same author, from his own experience, again laments, that the Saxon hand, which had been used in all writings, grew into disgrace, and the French hand, because it was more legible and more pleasing to the eye, did every where obtain (12), so as in the very next reign, the Saxon letters were so obsolete and so unknown, that but few of the elder people were able to read them (13). Nay, in the year 1095 Walstan Bishop of Worcester was deposed, when scarce any other thing was objected against him, but that he was an old English idiot, who did not understand the French tongue (14). It is true the next successor Henry I. gave a charter to Will. Archbishop of Canterbury, confirming to him the possession of his see in Saxon characters (15). This was but a single instance, and perhaps done to oblige the queen of this Saxon line, and to ingratiate himself with the English subjects,

(8) See his article.

(9) Monast. Anglic. Tom. I. p. 89.

(10) Hist. Ingulph. p. 62. sub ann. 1043.

(11) Ibid. p. 71. sub. ann. 1066.

(12) Ibid. p. 85.

(13) Ibid. p. 98. sub ann. 1091.

(14) Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1095.

(15) Hen. Wharton Auctar. Hist. Dogmat. p. 388.

(6) Life of Dr Kennet, &c. p. 5, 6.

(7) Ibid. p. 7.



treatise, was published along with it in the beginning of 1693; and, in Feb. (l) following, he was presented by William Cherry, Esq; to the rectory of Shottebrook near Bray in Berkshire (m). However, he still continued to reside chiefly at Oxford, where the study of Antiquities particularly flourished under the influence of his example, and by the advantage of his instructions [I]. But he became most eminent in that way, by his celebrated work published there in 1695, 4to. under the title of, *Parochial Antiquities attempted in the History of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent Parishes in the Counties of Oxford and Bucks* [K]. This work leading him to consider the state of the Church, in respect of impropriations, he published in 1698, 8vo. *The History and Fate of Sacrilege*, written by Sir Henry Spelman, Knight [L]. The same year he improved himself farther in these studies, by learning the Saxon and Septentrional tongues of the learned Dr George Hickes;

(l) Ath. Oxon. where last cited.

(m) At the request of his eldest son, who had been contemporary with our author at Remond-hall. Life of Dr Kennet, p. 4. and Ath. Oxon. ubi supra.

(16) De Re Diplomatic. p. 52.

(17) Gervas Tilbur. de Ottis imper. MS. in Biblioth. Bodl.

(18) Lect. 2. super Sapient.

(19) Pulton's Statutes, 39 Edw. III. p. 119.

(20) Ingulphi Hist. p. 98.

(21) Camdeni Britan. in Duanon.

subjects, who might hope by this marriage they had a better title in him. And that therefore it is a mistake in Mabillon (16), and some other authors, who assert that the Saxon way of writing was lost from the very time of the Norman conquest. It is with the Saxon characters as with the signs of the cross in public deeds, which were for the most part changed into the Norman way of seals and subscriptions, yet some characters were with the old form of crosses. That the Saxon dialect obtained no doubt in country villages, with some variation borrowed from the French; and some remains of it intermixed with the court language. But the barons and knights, who were most of them Normans, were so much afraid of their childrens taking the old English, that in the reign of Henry II. they sent them into France for education, to wear off the barbarousness (as they called it) of their native tongue.

(17) At the beginning of the reign of Edward III. Robert Holeot, a Dominican (18), confesses, that there was no institution of children in the old English, but they first learned the French, and from the French the Latin tongue, which he observes to have been a practice observed by William the Conqueror, and to have obtained ever since. That though from the first decline of the Barons, and advance of the Commons, who were more of English blood, the country language grew more into request, 'till at last the Commons in Parliament at Westminster, 30th of Edward III. shewed so much of the English spirit, as to represent to the King the great mischiefs which would happen to divers of the realm, if that the laws were pleaded, shewed, and judged in the French tongue, which is much unknown in the said realm, &c. Upon which it was ordained and established, that all pleas, &c. should be pleaded, shewed, and defended, answered, debated, and judged, in the English tongue, &c. (19). Yet this law did by no means restore the Saxon either in the Alphabet, or in the prime dialect; it only redeemed the kingdom from an old token of subjection, and did honour to the then compound language, much vitiated by imported words and phrases. And still there seemed some remains of the Norman spirit, which by the same law provided, that all such pleas should be entered and enrolled in the Latin. If there was any conveyance of the true Saxon tongue, it was in the monasteries; but in those only which were founded before the Norman conquest, for in such, interest obliged them to understand the language of their original charters. It was for this reason, that in the abbey of Croyland, 'a tutor was appointed to teach Saxon to some of the younger brethren, that in their old age they might be more fit to alledge the records of their monastery against their adversaries (20). And it was no doubt for the like reason, that in the abbey of Tavistoke, which had a Saxon foundation about 691, there were solemn lectures in the Saxon tongue, even to the time of our fathers, that the knowledge of the language might not fail, as it has since well nigh done (21).

[I] The study of Antiquities flourished by his example and instructions.] We have a conspicuous attestation to this part of our author's merit from Mr Gibson (afterwards Bishop of London), himself eminently versed in this branch of learning, who in 1684 publishing a translation into English of Mr Somner's treatise, written in answer to Chifflet, concerning the situation of the *Portus Icius* on the coast of France opposite to Kent, where Cæsar embarked for the invasion of this island, &c. introduced it into the world with an elegant Latin dedication to Mr Kennet, where having observed, 'that the study of Antiquities is very much discouraged by being represented as dry and barren, and the bane of all delicacy and politeness,' he remarks, 'That by this means those who applied

themselves to it would be wholly discouraged, but that they were kept in countenance by his example and authority. And that there cannot be a more effectual answer to the reproaches that are cast on this sort of learning, than that quickness of parts, that strength and delicacy of understanding, so remarkable in him. That from his politeness of mind, easiness and affability of manners, and perfect mastery in all the parts of genteel learning, joined with the exactest knowledge in Antiquities, the world might see, that this kind of study does by no means cramp the genius, or sour the temper; and from his soundness and strength of judgment, might be learned, that the more unguarded flights and sallies of imagination were by this means best of all kept under and corrected. Upon these accounts he proceeds to declare, that he esteems himself particularly happy in that the nature of his studies and his private obligations do both conspire to engage him to direct that address to him. For who has a better title, says he, to these golden remains of Somner, than one who by writing his life so copiously and exactly, had at the same time conferred immortality upon him. To whom can I more properly pay this public acknowledgment, than to one who by his instruction and example I am emboldened to engage in this kind of studies.' He then concludes in these terms, 'Go on therefore, Sir, to be the ornament of the Church by your exemplary piety, and of our university by your extraordinary learning. And remember at the same time, that your's is the glory of supporting and encouraging the study of Antiquities.'

[K] His *Parochial Antiquities*, &c.] This treatise from its first appearance was, and still continues to be, in the highest esteem among the learned in such matters; in its use extensive, and in its authority decisive. Mr Tanner, afterwards bishop of St Asaph, in his *Notitia Monastica* often refers to it, and particularly stiles Mr Kennet the friend and foreman of his studies; and under the priory of Burcester, he gives it this character, '*Hic liber accuratissime, &c.*—This book gives us a most exact history of this priory from its foundation to its dissolution, which the reverend author with great care and faithfulness collected from original manuscripts, now in the possession of Sir Wm Glynne of Ambrosden in Oxfordshire, and from several other books, both printed and manuscript.' It is true, the persons and places are but few of which it treats, yet has it been often acknowledged to be a work of great use to the whole diocese and county, as well as to the adjoining parishes. And the glossary at the end is and will be so in all times and places.

[L] He published the history and fate of Sacrilege.] He had this part of the Church's revenue much at heart, and in the same view he published in 1704, *The case of impropriations, and of the augmentation of vicarages, and other insufficient cures, stated by history and law, from the first usurpation of the Popes and Monks, to her Majesty's royal bounty lately extended to the poorer clergy of the Church of England, with an appendix of records and memorials relating to that subject.* The same year he also reprinted in one small volume under this title, two tracts, intitled, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis, &c.* by Sir Henry Spelman, Knt. Tract 2. *The poor vicar's plea for tythes, &c.* by Thomas Ryves, Doctor of the Civil Laws; with a prefatory account of the authors, and these works, which he begins thus. 'Her Majesty's late pious munificence to the clergy of the Church of England', hath made glad the hearts of her best subjects, the best of Christians, and has made them reflect on the alienation of tythes and offerings, as the great scanda of Popery, and the great defect in our Reformation. To make up a compleat maintenance for the parochial ministers, and so the better to pro-

\* Viz. the grant of first-fruits and tenths, for the augmentation of poor livings, the act for which had the royal assent April 3, this year.



(n) It was published in 1705, in two vols. folio, under this title. *Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, libri duo, &c.* commonly called Hickes's *Theſaurus*.

(o) His Life, p. 15.

Hickes; and in this pursuit he made a large dictionary of our oldest English words, derived from the Gothic and other northern dialects, as he had them from that great master, who lived at this time with him at Ambrosden [M]; where, by his intreaty, he formed the design of that learned work upon the northern literature (n), which is so great an honour to his name [N]. About the year 1699, our author took the degree of Doctor of Divinity (o), and the following year was presented to the living of St Botolph Aldgate in London [O]. As this was a large and populous parish, he immediately resigned the vicarage of Ambrosden (p), though he might have made it legally consistent therewith [P]. However, he did not obtain quiet possession of his new preferment, without the trouble of a law-suit. In the midst of which, he engaged likewise in the dispute about the constitution of English synods [Q], whereof he became a member about this time, as Archdeacon of

Huntingdon,

(p) He also resigned the rectory of Shotterbrook afterwards, though consistent with his other preferments. He e, indeed, his patron Mr Cherry took a different turn from him in politics at the Revolution, when Mr Cherry became a Nonjuror. See the article of HEARNE [THOMAS.]

vide for the service of God, and the care of souls, has been the continual subject of all good mens wishes, proposals, and attempts.'

The Doctor omitted no opportunity of collecting authorities and instances of facts, which, with the due inferences he drew from them, would make a new edition of this work far more useful.

[M] *Dr Hickes lived at Ambrosden.* Mr Kennet had commenced an acquaintance with the Doctor long before, on account both of the affinity of their studies, and their agreement in Church principles before the Revolution; and afterwards, notwithstanding their difference in opinions upon the latter point, yet there remained a mutual respect for each other as still united in the former view. The Doctor, upon his deprivation from the deanery of Worcester, had drawn up a claim of right to it, directed to all the members of that church, and affixed the paper in his own handwriting over the great entrance into the choir, May 2, 1691 (22). This was thought such an insult upon the government, that the Attorney-General was ordered to enter a prosecution against him, whereupon the Doctor presently absconded, and kept private for many years. He was in that situation when he came to Ambrosden, where he was kindly received by the old partner in his studies. Here he continued for some time, wearing a lay-habit to avoid being known, 'till a fellow of a college in Oxford making a visit there, addressed him by his name. Upon that he thought himself in some danger, and immediately taking leave of Mr Kennet, went first to some obscure retreat, and thence in a little time to London (23), where he continued in the same privacy 'till May 18, 1699, when Lord Sommers, then Lord Chancellor, procured an act of Council, ordering, a *Noli Prosequi* to be entered to all proceedings against him (24).

[N] *His work upon the ancient Northern literature was first projected at Ambrosden.* Mr Kennet, to divert the discourse from the disagreeable subject of politics, having prevailed with this learned guest to instruct him in the Northern languages, took the opportunity to intreat him to look farther into those studies, to review his Saxon and Islandic grammar, and to embellish them with notes and observations, that might revive and improve the knowledge of our antiquities in the rise and conveyance of our laws, customs, tenures, and other national rights. It was upon this frequent discourse and importunity of Mr Kennet, that the Doctor then and there laid the foundation of the learned work mentioned in the text. This is acknowledged in the preface to that work, which being published in 1705, the learned author has these words. Rev. & Doctissimus Vir Whiteus Kennet, &c. The Reverend and most learned White Kennet, &c. more than seven years ago intreated me to undertake this work of the ancient Northern words; which in his opinion deserving to be more generally understood, I immediately set about it in his house, and having at length finished it, if it shall be found to be of any advantage to the learned world, 'tis intirely owing to him, as the encourager and promoter of it. We are likewise told, that had the Doctor continued at Ambrosden, where he was well accommodated, and well pleased, it had probably prevented his writing or acting upon any other subject but that of our national antiquities: For in daily talk he had projected several schemes about illustrating the dark history of the Britons, describing the manners of the Germans, tracing them in the Norman customs, and more especially enquiring into the religion of the Saxons before it was adulterated by Popery, &c. (25) But this is too fond an opinion to gain entire credit, considering the natural warmth of the

Doctor's temper, and the strength of his prepossessions, which are remarked too even by this writer, who gives it for a certain truth, that Dr Kennet at his first coming to London, laboured to keep up a friendship with Dr Hickes, hoping they might agree in their common studies of our English and other Northern antiquities. And to this purpose he sent the Doctor some presents of wine, procured him now and then some necessary books and papers to carry on his great work, and obtained for him several subscriptions to it, doing all he could to be a little serviceable, and altogether inoffensive to him. But he found that the Doctor was going into notions and measures utterly inconsistent with their former freedom, and so by degrees there grew a coldness, a distance, and mutual complaints of one another, owing only to their very different principles in church and state affairs, both being very much in earnest in what they professed (26). This was afterwards improved into an open rupture, many instances whereof will be seen in the sequel.

[O] *He was presented to St Botolph, &c.* This preferment was likewise obtained for him, without any sollicitation of his own, by a member of Edmund-Hall, William Salkeld, Esq; afterwards Serjeant at law, and one of his Majesty's Judges for Wales, who, upon the ejection of Dr Hollingworth, recommended him to the impropiator (27), Samuel Brewster, Esq; by whom he was recommended to the parishioners, in a letter, as follows.

*I think it at all times my duty to promote the interest of religion, and the good of your parish, and have therefore, upon your late vacancy, endeavoured to make the best choice I could of a minister to instruct you for your souls health. I am verily persuaded, that I have placed one among you, who is both able and willing to discharge the duty of his place; and who, I doubt not, will be careful to watch over you, as becomes a faithful pastor (28).*

[P] *He resigned Ambrosden, &c.* In this his moderation was the more conspicuous, as he had reason to apprehend some difficulties in getting quiet possession of St Botolph, which happened accordingly: For Dr Hollingworth pretended a title from the crown, and under that pretence laboured for a repossession; and when that would not do in any course of law, he made a surrendry of that feigned title to another, the Lord Keeper Wright's chaplain, who got a seal, and maintained a suit for it, 'till he happened to be otherwise provided for; and yet even then he entailed the quarrel, by consenting to another grant made to a third person, who upon that began a fresh suit in the Queen's name, and (what was extraordinary) at the Queen's expence, 'till judgment was given in the Exchequer in affirmance of the impropiator's right to nominate a curate. To this account the writer of our author's life adds, that he had heard the good issue of this cause was in great measure owing to the diligent searches and discoveries made by Dr Kennet himself, and to his solliciting and suggesting, and having once the means leave to argue in it (29).

[Q] *He engaged in the dispute about the rights of the Convocation.* An historical narrative of this remarkable controversy, which began in 1697, as well as of the several pieces written in it on each side, has been already given in the course of this work (30), where the reader may see an account of two of our author's pamphlets on the occasion, 1. *Ecclesiastical synods and parliamentary Convocations historically stated and vindicated from the misrepresentations of Mr Atterbury, and an occasional letter on the subject of English convocations*, both printed in 1701, 8vo. Besides which, he is said to be the author of a third treatise, not mentioned in that account, intitled, *The history of the Convocation*

(26) Ibid. p. 15.

(27) Ibid. p. 16.

(28) Mr Brewster's Letter to the Parishioners of St Botolph Aldgate, &c. Lond. 1700, 4to.

(29) Life, p. 17, 18.

(30) See the article ATTERBURY [FRANCIS] in remark. [I].

of

(22) There is a copy of it in the Life of Mr Kettlewell, appendix, No. IV. under this title, *The Protestation of Dr George Hickes, and Claim of Right fixed up in the Cathedral Church of Worcester.*

(23) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 14.

(24) He procured him this favour out of regard to his great learning, and particularly in the view of encouraging him to proceed in that great work, his *Theſaurus*, which his Lordship was very sensible would be (as it really proved) an honour to his country.

(25) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 14.



Huntingdon, to which dignity he was promoted May 16, 1701\*, by Dr Gardiner Bishop of Lincoln, who had made him his chaplain some time before (q). He now grew into great esteem among those of his party in the Church, and particularly with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Tenison; by whose recommendation he was appointed, in 1701, a member of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts (r). In the promoting of which, he gave his utmost assistance, and was very serviceable with his pen [R]. The following year he preached the annual sermon before the corporation for the relief of poor widows and children of clergymen, and published his sermon under this title, *The Glory of Children in their Fathers: a Sermon preached at the Cathedral Church of St Paul London, December 3, 1702*, 4to [S]. In 1705, Dr Wake being advanced to the see of Lincoln, our Archdeacon was appointed to preach his consecration sermon. This he performed and published under the following title, *The Office and good Work of a Bishop: a Sermon preached in Lambeth-Chapel, at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Father in God William Lord Bishop of Lincoln, on Sunday October 21, 1705. Published at the desire of the Archbishop and Bishops.* This discourse was much admired by the late Lord Chief Justice Holt, who declared it had more in it to the purpose of the legal and christian constitution of this Church, than any volume of discourses (s); and he was ordered to preach before the House of Commons on the 30th of January following [T]. About the same time, some Booksellers having undertaken to print a collection of the best writers of the English history, as far as to the reign of Charles the First, in two folio volumes (t), prevailed with our author to prepare a third volume, which should carry the history down to the then present reign of Queen Anne. This being finished with a particular preface, was published with the other two, under the title of, *A Compleat History of England, &c.* in 1706 [U]. Not long after this,

\* Willis's Cathedral, Vol. III. p. 109.

(q) Life, p. 27.

(r) His name is in the original charter of that corporation in 1701.

(s) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 28.

(t) These two were compiled by Mr Hughes, who wrote also the general preface, without any participation of Dr Kennet. In 1719, there was published the second edition with notes, said to be inserted by Mr Strype, and several alterations and additions.

of the Prelates and Clergy of the province of Canterbury, &c. in answer to a narrative of the proceedings of the lower house of Convocation, 1702, 4to. (31)

[R] He was very serviceable with his pen. He drew up a full account of their proceedings to the year 1706, under this title, *An account of the Society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, established by the royal charter of King William III. with their proceedings and success, and hopes of continual progress under the happy reign of her most excellent Majesty Queen Anne, Lond. 1706*, 4to. And within four years after, he continued and improved that account by an historical deduction of what had been further transacted by the same society, and especially what steps and measures had been taken by the society *De Propaganda Fide* at Rome, and what more Christian methods by reformed states and princes. This was a work of great labour and pains, and brought to some tolerable perfection, but reserved in the writer's hands, because the circumstances of the corporation would not bear the expence of printing it.

[S] His sermon before the corporation of the sons of the Clergy. In this sermon he proposed some excellent ways and means of benefaction to clergymen's sons, well worthy a review by those who are able to make them effectual. And the better to promote that design, he intended to write an historical account of the corporation, and of the several benefactions given to it, as well as of the manifold good services done by it. For which purpose he had gathered up a great many notices of things and persons; picked up the several sermons before the sons of the clergy, from the first by Mr George Hall (afterward Archdeacon of Canterbury and Bishop of Chester), intitled, *The Tribe of Levi* in 1658; searched the last wills of several donors and benefactors; and would by degrees have connected the materials into some order for the press, but that he was unkindly used by the spirit of party (32).

[T] He preached before the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1705. In this discourse, which was printed at the request of the House, the Doctor made it his business to shew, that whatever unhappy grounds and occasions were given for that unnatural rebellion and civil war, yet nothing could justify or excuse the horrid and execrable murder of King Charles I. of which he demonstrated the illegality and wickedness, by a multitude of proofs both from history and law in the body of the sermon, corroborated by a great many other authorities in the margin. That fact was set in this light by him on the present occasion, in the view of silencing some censures that had passed upon a former sermon on the day, preached in his own church the preceding year, wherein he had made the counterpart of that transaction his subject, and enquiring whence and by what means the evil of the day came, he set himself to prove, that the leading causes of it, improved by wicked arts and designs, were chiefly these: First, a French interest and alliance, and from thence arising, secondly, the apprehensions and fears

of Popery, which led on, thirdly, the jealousies of oppression and illegal power, which tended more and more to, fourthly, the growth of profaneness and immorality, and even this helped to produce that hypocrisy and perfidiousness which accomplished the sin, and the infinite scandal of the day. This doctrine of laying the chief and primary blame upon the King, as the cause of his own murder, raised a great outcry, at a time when the sovereign on the throne was known to revere the memory of her grandfather as sacred, and who copied his example in a most sincere regard and ardent affection to the Church, which was now said to be in danger from the Presbyterians and sectaries, encouraged by some members of the Church. Hereupon the Doctor thought himself obliged to appeal to the world in the printing of his sermon, as he did, under the title of, *A compassionate enquiry into the causes of the civil war, &c.* 1704, 4to. prefixing an advertisement to this effect, 'That the sermon was not designed for the press, but was challenged to appear there by the misapprehensions of some few who heard it, and by the confident report of a far greater number who did not hear it, &c.'

[U] He wrote the 3d volume of a *Complete History of England*. Notwithstanding the Doctor's name did not appear before this work, yet it was soon known that he was the author of it, and the same party that had so freely censured his conduct from the time of his engaging in the Convocation controversy, continued in the same temper to make this work a fresh handle of complaint, and declared that the Doctor's design in it was to expose them and their cause. Among those, Dr Hickes was the first, who observed with some warmth, that the author had shewn himself particularly base and disingenuous in taking no notice of his *Jovian* [which was indeed the case], though he expressly gives an account of Mr S. Johnson's *Julian*, to which the other was an answer (33). The Jacobites were not the only persons who took offence at the history, even some persons who had gone into the Revolution with forwardness enough, and yet had not found their full account in it, were displeased that too much or too little notice was taken of the parts they acted about that time. And above all, an eminent peer, very instrumental in that revolution, by taking up arms in the north, had made such an improvement of his honours and fortunes by it, that he thought himself privileged and protected from any retrospect upon his conduct in the court and treasury of King Charles II. and therefore finding in that history a narrative of what appeared to be male-administration, though taken from the parliament journals and printed trials, and other public papers, he was much offended, and taking an opportunity upon the death of the Duke of Montagu, to give some account of his transactions with France from his own papers and letters, complained of the misrepresentation of his services made by the late historian; who really did not seem to mean any thing of reflection on his noble person and family; but related facts

(31) The narrative was written by Dr G. Hooper, Prolocutor of the Lower House.

(32) Life, &c. p. 22.

(33) See an account of both these books in Sam. Johnson's article.



(\*) Ibid. p. 38.

(w) Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson, p. 212. edit. 1753. This seeming inconsistency in the years is owing to the custom of the Bookellers, in beginning the year at Michaelmas. And here it serves to shew, that this sermon was not printed 'till after Michaelmas-day, that month in which it was preached.

(x) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 49.

this, he was appointed Chaplain in Ordinary to her Majesty, at the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin; and, by the application of Bishop Burnet, he preached the funeral sermon on the death of the first Duke of Devonshire, September 5, 1707. This discourse being printed the following year, at the request of his son and heir, the second Duke of Devonshire, our author took that opportunity of addressing it in a dedication to his Grace; with which that nobleman was so well pleased, that he recommended the doctor to the Queen for the deanery of Peterborough (u), vacant soon after by the death of Dr Freeman, October 14, 1707 (w). And notwithstanding some complaints were made of his sermon, wherein he was charged with having sacrificed a fundamental point of Religion to his ambitious views [W], yet this did not put a stop to the favour shewn him at Court; for, by the interest of the last mentioned Archbishop, upon the promotion of Dr Blackall to the see of Exeter the same year, he succeeded him in the rectory of St Mary Aldermary in London, at the Queen's presentation (x). By this change the Dean lost above 100 pounds per annum [X]; but he consulted his ease in it as a parochial minister, and chose to be more at leisure than he had been for other views, which the dignity and revenue of his deanery gave him an opportunity to pursue \*. One of these was, the settling his brother, Mr Basil Kennet, in the chaplainship to the English factory at Leghorn; an account of which is given in the ensuing article. While the Dean was employed in this service, the famous Dr Henry Sacheverell

\* He was made a trustee of the charity for building a church in the district of O-bur-Barmen in the duchy of Berg, and to support a minister there in 1707; and when finished, drew up a Latin inscription, placed near the great door of the church, which he transmitted with a Latin letter to the minister, both printed in the doctor's Life, p. 115, & seq.

(34) Life of Dr Kennet, p. 34, 35.

as he found them before related.—However on that occasion of his Grace's complaint, the Doctor enquired more narrowly into those matters, and stated them over again in a most authentic manner; but finding that the more full discovery would only create the greater offence, he would not suffer what he had written to be published to the world (34). These attacks were made in the Doctor's life-time, and after his death there came out, *Examen, or An enquiry into the credit and veracity of a pretended complete history; shewing the perverse and wicked design of it, and the many falsities and abuses of truth contained in it. Together with some memoirs occasionally inserted; all tending to vindicate the honour of King Charles the Second, and his happy reign, from the intended aspersions of that foul pen*, by the Hon. Roger North, Esq; Lond. 1740, 4to. containing 692 pages. The author informs us (35), *that upon the first appearance of the history, dipping a little into it, he found divers matters that gave him distaste enough, but minded not much the why, or the wherefore, and so let the book pass from him, 'till it was cried up, and the reverend author named: And then (being no buyer of such mighty works) he borrowed of a friend all the three volumes. He found the two first to be a collection of all the common English chronicles since the Conquest, with advantage pretended to be given to some, concluding with Wilson's K. James I. with Wellwood's notes to help out the libel. Then came on the third volume, a new work, passing cursorily over the reigns of James I. and Charles I. and having got into the depths of King Charles II. it appeared plainly, that instead of corresponding to the title—by an impartial hand (36), and what the preface declared—with strict regard to truth and justice (37), the book was a continued libel, or rather Cloaca of libels; and those touching the chief turns of state in his Majesty's reign, misconstruing to an evil sense even the best acts of his government, full of most abominable falsities, suppositions, flatteries, and malicious insinuations, in order to magnify the faction aforehinted, and to make all their wicked machinations appear heroic exploits; but the King himself, his loyal ministry, and happy reign, base and odious to posterity; and all this put in a way no less treacherous than impudent and undutiful. In a word, so grossly abusive of truth and good manners, as not to be endured in a lettered state, and where people have any value or honour for government and laws. He had observed before (38), that this pretended history contains the sum and substance of that party's project [to defame King Charles], using their very modes of speech as well as of invention, and condescends to chime in with the basest abused rabble of the time. Some, continues he, have given out that it is the work of —; and to shew that filthy lucre, as well as malice, conduced, his articles with the booksellers express, were 100 l. to be given, and — pages to be wrote.*

(35) In the preface, p. ii.

(36) These words were inserted by the Bookellers, Life of Kennet, p. 33.

(37) In p. 3.

(38) Viz. in p. i. where it is called a malevolent faction, that, during King Charles II's life, continually plotted to destroy him, and since his death as busily plotted to defame him.

(39) In p. 34, & seq.

[W] *Sacrificed a fundamental point of religion to his ambitious views.* The point was the danger of a death bed repentance, which it was alledged the Doctor had encouraged, and taken away all the hazard of it. The charge was grounded upon the following passage, (39) where speaking of a late repentance, he says,

'That this rarely happens but in men of distinguished sense and judgment. Ordinary abilities may be altogether sunk by a long vicious course of life. The duller flame is easily extinguished. The meaner sinful wretches are commonly given up to a reprobate mind, and die as stupidly as they lived; while the nobler and brighter parts have an advantage of understanding the worth of their souls before they resign it. If they are allowed the benefit of sickness, they commonly awake out of their dream of sin, and reflect and look upward. They acknowledge an infinite being; they feel their own immortal part; they recollect and relish the holy scriptures; they call for the elders of the Church; they think what to answer at a judgment-seat. Not that God, continues the Doctor, is a respecter of persons; but the difference is in men, and the more intelligent nature is the more susceptible of divine grace. It was an effect of Solomon's wisdom to see at last his vanity, and to leave his penitence upon record. We have had in our own age and nation, men of illustrious honour, and of the most celebrated parts, who had been carried away by the course of this world into extravagant vices and follies. And yet upon the prospect of death, these men of understanding have felt the excellent spirit to move in them; they have retracted their loose opinions, they have repented of their grievous sins; they have made their peace with God, and have died, nay have sometimes recovered, and lived like true unfeigned Christians converts (40); so great are the powers of religion to work most upon the largest capacities.' Besides this, exceptions were taken at several other passages, where the preacher manifested the same courtly spirit. However, the author of his life undertakes to vindicate him against them all, and particularly with regard to this now before us, having observed that it had been insinuated by some, 'That the preacher had built a bridge to Heaven for men of wit and parts; but that the duller sort of mankind must not hope to pass that way, declares (41), that he had said nothing at all to that effect, but in this sound truth, that the more understanding a man has, the sooner he may come to a sense of God and religion. He says nothing but what common experience and observation justifies, that the ignorant and unnurtured multitude are not, in the nature of the thing, so likely to be wrought upon by the powers of religion, as wise and understanding men, those of a higher and better education.'

[X] *By this change he lost above 100 l. a year.* Notwithstanding this disadvantage in point of profit, he was a benefactor to the living of St Mary Aldermary: For finding he could not obtain the consent of the parishioners to build a parsonage-house, though there was none, and he offered 200 l. towards it himself; he resolved not to renew the several leases of ground rents for the rector's glebe; for which renewals he might afterwards have received several fines and sums of money; but to let them run out, that the full house rents might fall in to him and his successors, and so there might be room for some future rector to contrive a convenient manse \*.

(40) Lee Earl of Marlborough and Sir Duncomb Colchester are instances of this. See an account of them in the article of Wilmot Earl of Rochester.

(41) Ibid. p. 50.

\* P. 40, 41.

[Y] A



Sacheverell preached his remarkable sermon before the Lord-Mayor of London, on the 5th of November 1709. Upon this occasion the Dean addressed a *Letter to an Alderman of the City*, which was printed under the title of *A True Answer to Dr Sacheverell's Sermon, &c.* [Y]. And the same year he published, *A Vindication of the Church and Clergy of England, from some late Reproaches rudely and unjustly cast upon them.* Lond. 1709, 8vo (y). He preached the Latin sermon at the opening of the Convocation in 1710, which was printed immediately; and soon afterwards he published an English translation of it, to which he subjoined a postscript, vindicating himself from some reproaches cast upon him [Z]. He likewise refused to join in the London Clergy's address to the Queen, upon the change of the Ministry the same year [A A]. In 1712 he was, by the appointment of Archbishop Tenison, called upon again to preach the anniversary sermon before the society for propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, which upon desire he published, and added at the bottom of each page the full authorities, as references to matters of fact; and further drew up with his own hand, *An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society within the year last past* [B B]. In a few days after preaching this sermon, there was published a letter about the proceedings in Convocation, on complaint of a sermon published by Dr Brett, intituled, *A Sermon of Remission of Sins, according to the Scriptures, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, &c.* This sermon had many expressions in it, tending to advance the necessity of Private Confession and Sacerdotal Absolution. However, the complaint was dropped in the House\*, and the preacher, as well as his discourse, being rather justified and commended, our author published *A Letter to the Reverend Thomas Brett, L. L. D. Rector of Betteshanger in Kent, about a Motion in Convocation.* Lond. 1712. And in the same view he also published *A Memorial for Protestants on the fifth of November, containing a more full Discovery of some Particulars relating to the happy Deliverance of King James I. &c. from the most traiterous and bloody-intended massacre by gunpowder, anno 1605. In a Letter to a Peer of Great-Britain, dated October 25, 1712* (z). In the like spirit he printed the following year, a sermon of Archbishop Whitgift, preached before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, with a preface

[Y] *A true answer to Dr Sacheverell's sermon.*] The letter begins thus,

'Hon. Sir,  
'You asked me last night what I thought the best way of answering Dr Sacheverell's sermon on Nov. 5, I told you one way was to let it drop into silence and contempt, for that there was not one argument to answer, but a jumble of words and periods that made the crackling of thorns, noise, and flame, and therefore it was better to pity the man and despise the stuff. It could do no harm, but rather great service, to make his own party-friends ashamed of him, and to convince the world, that *madness* is as bad as *moderation*. But, said you, there be some answers in print, and will be more: Pray, what is the best course that a new answerer can take with him? Why, Sir, said I, let him answer himself; that is, to produce his own words, and to let him stand or fall by them, without calling him any names, or raking into his life and conversation. You pressed me, Sir, to give a specimen of it. Here it is cool and calm under these heads; propriety, pertinence, good sense, veracity, seriousness, charity, and allegiance; which being completed, he concludes in these terms, 'I must say thus much, that since the foundation of the city of London, and the conversion of this island, there has not been in any age, in any cathedral or parochial church, such a sermon, so insolent, uncharitable, untrue, as this, delivered, (though long before composed) before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, at the cathedral church of St Paul, on the 5th of November, 1709, by H. S. D. D.'

[Z] *A postscript vindicating himself against some reproaches cast upon him.*] One of these aspersions was founded upon a translation of Pliny's panegyric, published by our author in 1686, under the title of *An address of thanks to a good prince, presented in the panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan the best of Roman emperors.* Before which he had put a large preface, and the life of Pliny, as Sir Rob. Stapylton had done to his translation of the said panegyric, printed at Oxford in 1644. Several scandalous reflections having been made on the dean, since his change of principles, for this performance, he took occasion in this postscript to give the following account of it. 'He (that is the remarker) says, the Doctor dedicated Pliny's panegyric to the late King James; and what if he had, only it happens he had not. This is an idle tale among the party, who perhaps have told it till they believe it; when the truth is, there was no such dedication, and

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'the translation itself of Pliny was not designed for any court address. The young translator's tutor, Mr Allam, directed his pupil by way of exercise, to turn some Latin tracts into English: The first was a little book of Erasmus, intituled *Moriae Encomium*, which the tutor was pleased to give to a bookseller in Oxford, who put it to the press, while the translator was but an under-graduate. Another sort of task required by the tutor, was this Panegyric of Pliny upon Trajan, which he likewise gave to a bookseller in Oxford, before the translator was Master of Arts, designing to have it published in the reign of King Charles II. and a small cut of that prince at full length was prepared, and afterwards put before several of the books; though the impression happened to be retarded till the death of King Charles; and then the same tutor (not long before his own death) advised a new preface, adapted to the then received opinion of King James, being a just and good prince. However, there was no dedication to King James, but to a private patron, a very worthy baronet (42), who came in heartily to the beginning of the late happy revolution. This is the whole truth of that story, that hath been so often cast at the Doctor, not that he thinks himself obliged to defend every thought and expression of his juvenile studies, when he had possibly been trained up to some notions, which he afterwards found reason to put away as childish things.'

[A A] He refused to join in the address to the Queen, &c.] Advice was sent of this by Mr Dyer, who in his [news] letter of Aug. 24, 1710, writes thus. 'The address of the bishop and clergy of London was inserted in this day's Gazette, by order of the Queen, as a distinguishing favour to them. The clergymen who refused to sign it, were Dr Barton, and Mr Baker; and those who did not answer to the Bishop's summons, were Dr Kennet, Dr Bradford, Dr Hancock, and Mr Hoadley; and therefore as they have no share in the Queen's thanks, so I hope they will have as little share in her favours.'

[B B] He published his sermon before the society for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts.] The title of it is, *The lets and impediments in planting the gospel of Christ, &c.* These anniversary sermons are distributed in order to excite the charity of pious persons to promote that glorious design, and upon the Dean's presenting this sermon to a rich and religious widow, she resolved to leave a legacy of 50 l. to the corporation, and upon her decease it was paid by her executor into his hands, and by him delivered to the board at a public meeting (43).

31 R

[CC] With

\* Dr Cannon made two motions to have it censured; and Dr Brett afterwards owned he had gone too far in it. Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by Rob. Masters, B. D. &c. Camb. 1753, 4to. in the appendix, p. 88.

(z) As a sequel of this, he afterwards printed a sermon before the Lord-Mayor, Nov. 5, 1715, containing several historical observations applied to the then present season.

(42) Sir William Glynne, who had just before presented him to his first living of Ambroden.

(43) Life, &c. p. 128, 129.

(y) This was wrote in answer to An Appeal of the Clergy of the Church of England, to my Lords the Bishops; humbly beseeching them to relieve their grievances, &c. by a Curate near the city, then a noisy High-Church man, and afterwards a Nonjuror.



preface of his own [CC]. This zealous conduct raised so great an odium upon him among the opposite party, that a very uncommon method was taken to expose him by Dr Welton, Rector of Whitechapel (a a). In an altar-piece of that church, the subject whereof was a representation of Christ and the twelve Apostles eating the Passover and Last Supper, Judas the traitor was drawn sitting in an elbow chair, dressed in a black garment, between a gown and a cloak, with a black scarf and a white band, a short wig, and a mark in his forehead between a lock and a patch, and with so much of the countenance of Dr Kennet, that under it in effect, was written, *The Dean the Traytor* [DD]. Such an outrageous piece of insolence served to animate rather than deter him (b b); and the same year, upon the appearance in print of Mr Bedford's *Hereditary Right*, &c. the Dean published an answer to it, under the title of *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, concerning one of his Predecessors, Bishop Merks, on occasion of a new volume for the Pretender, intitled, The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted*. Printed in 1713 [E E]. In the mean

(a a) He was afterwards a Non-juror, and deprived of this rectory on that account in 1716. Salmon's Chron. Historian, p. 365. edit. 1723.

(b b) This spirit was made a topic of ridicule by his adversaries and competitors, and in that sense the Bishop of Carlisle gives him the character of a man of Christian courage and integrity. See Remarks, &c. printed in 1717 by that Bishop.

[CC] With a preface of his own.] As this preface contains an account of all the points in dispute between the Dean and his antagonist, with regard to the Church. We shall give an abstract of it as follows. He begins with the reasons that induced him to reprint this sermon, which he observes might be serviceable at that time upon several accounts. 1. 'That it would bear some testimony of respect and honour to the good way of preaching in the age of Queen Elizabeth; sober, serious gospel truth, in a just and easy stile, which degenerated by the introduction of school terms, and scraps of the poets under King James, and ran too far into the reign of King Charles I. whereby the pulpit became rather a place of diversion than instruction and salvation. That at the Restoration the preacher ran into another extreme, that of words and periods, strong and stiff, a false oratory, till Dr Tillotson, and some other judicious divines, dared to restore good sense and plain learning, which now, says he, generally obtain. 2. It will do another honour to that age, by shewing the probity and courage of our English divines, in preaching at court against the flattering of great men, as well as the inconsistency of the common people, as likewise against their curiosity and love of strange doctrines; such as the invalidity of lay-baptism; a doctrine of the most narrow and uncharitable spirit, invented by schismatics, and urged by the leader of them Mr Cartwright, but confuted by Archbishop Whitgift, in his admonition, &c. and condemned in this sermon. 3. It will give a further proof of the integrity of preachers in that reign, that they preached freely and earnestly against the errors and corruptions of Popery. But they found, it seems, some of the common people growing sick and weary of that necessary subject, and rather intent upon newfangled doctrines and devices of upstart men. That however no Protestant preachers had been then so fond of strange notions, as to preach upon the necessity of private confession to a priest, or the inefficacy of faith and repentance to a sinner, without sacerdotal absolution; or a real propitiatory sacrifice in an oblation of the elements of bread and wine; or a middle state of souls after death in neither heaven nor hell; or an independency of the Church upon a Christian state, even where the civil magistrate is by law supreme head and governor; or the unchurching of all other reformed Churches; and the unchristening of all foreign Protestants; to say nothing of our brethren and fathers at home, or any such unscriptural fancies bordering on the Church of Rome, and to be supported by nothing but an infallible chair.'

[DD] The Dean the traitor.] It was generally said, that the original sketch was designed for a Bishop [Bishop Burnet] under Dr Welton's displeasure, which occasioned the elbow-chair. But the fears of a Scandalum Magnatum rising before the Painter's eyes, leave was given to drop the Bishop and make the Dean, which he did as well as he could; multitudes of people came daily to the church to admire the meaning of the sight, but it was esteemed so insolent a contempt of all that is sacred, that upon the complaint of others (for the Dean himself never saw it, or seemed to regard it) the Bishop of London obliged those that set the picture up to take it down (44).

[EE] A letter concerning Bishop Merks, &c.] When the hereditary right, &c. came out, the Dean made it his business to examine the strength of the arguments, and the truth of the authorities in it, and was prepared to shew the unreasonableness and insincerity of that new scheme, and the very wrong turns of history and law,

that are drawn in to support it. But finding the whole examination would run into too great a length for the patience of common readers, who most wanted to be undeceived, he resolved to take a single instance only, by way of specimen, that from thence might be inferred what credit was to be given to the rest of that bulky work. This instance was in the case of Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, whom this author had applauded as a man of conscience and integrity, because he adhered to King Richard II. after his resignation and deposition, and took up arms (after a speech in parliament) against King Henry IV. in legal possession of the Crown; for which he was tried, condemned, and pardoned. The Dean well knew that this applauded Bishop was one of the worst tools in the ministry of Richard II. and helped to bring that prince to his miserable end; and was attached to him not upon any principle of honour, but for his own interest and preservation, and that he was by no means the deliverer of that speech in parliament long since invented for him, and that his flying into arms in assistance of a French invasion, was, in the most apparent manner, a base treason and rebellion, for which he was legally tried, convicted, and adjudged to die: But after an effectual deprivation by the civil power, and a mock translation by the Pope, he made his submission, and obtained his pardon, and accordingly after that revolution lived in a peaceable allegiance to King Henry IV. who was perfectly reconciled to him as to a faithful subject, and was not only his friend but his royal patron, bestowing a good benefice on him, though for the honour of the Church and nation, he would never trust him in an English bishopric, and he never pretended to act as a bishop of his see. This character of the man, and history of his life and actions, was the very reverse of what the author of hereditary right had given, and to shew that to the world, was the subject of the Dean's letter, who rested the matter 'till the death of Dr Hicke (45) in 1715. Soon after which, there came out a collection of papers written by him, wherein it appeared, that he had been consecrated to the title of Suffragan of Thetford, by some few of the deprived bishops, and after their decease, had made himself the principal of orthodox unity, and Jacobite loyalty; condemning the established Church of England as schismatical, and the civil government as tyranny and usurpation, the bench of bishops and their whole clergy as of invalid orders; their ministrations of the sacraments as null and void; and their very prayers a sin. About the same time, the beginning of the rebellion, there was found a printed tract of schism (46), charged on the Church of England, and the whole body of the clergy, by Mr Lawrence Howell, one of the same Jacobite separation. And in a search made for the person and papers of the said Mr Howell, among other notable discoveries, there was one sheet superscribed, A letter to Dr Kennet, that seemed to be an insulting dedication, or preface of a book, called, *An answer to the brief History of the Crown of England, written at the time when the bill of exclusion was attempted against the Queen's father, then Duke of York*. The said letter prefixed, complained grievously that Dr Kennet had given a vile character of Bishop Merks, and yet, against his will, had made him strictly faithful to his rightful sovereign, &c. Whereupon the Dean drew up and published, *A second letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle upon the subject of Bishop Merks, &c.* dated Octob. 22, 1716. Neither did he think this sufficient. The controversy of the new schism made a much greater noise, he observed, upon the late tumults and rebellion,

(45) He died December 15 that year. See the inscription upon his tomb-stone in St Margaret's church-yard, Westminster. He was consecrated Suffragan Bishop Feb. 24, 1693, after his return from France, with a nomination from King James, to whom he undertook a voyage for the purpose.

(46) The title was, *The Case of Schism truly stated*. For which he was tried and convicted at the Old Bailey, Feb. 28, 1716, and sentenced to be twice whipped, to pay a fine of 500 l. and to be imprisoned for three years, and to find sureties for his good behaviour for life; and after sentence his gown was stripped off by the hangman by order of the Court. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under the year 1716.

(44) General History of England, by N. Tindal, under the year 1712.



mean time, he employed his leisure hours in improving the good ends of the society for propagating the Gospel, &c. To that purpose, having made a large collection of suitable books, charts, maps, papers, &c. at his own expence, in the design of writing *A full History of the Propagation of Christianity in the English American Colonies*, he made a free present thereof to the corporation, and published a catalogue of all the distinct treatises and papers, in order of time as they were first printed or written, under this title, *Bibliotheca Americana Primordia: An Attempt towards laying the Foundation of an American Library, in several Books, Papers, and Writings, humbly given to the Society for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the perpetual Use and Benefit of their Members, their Missionaries, Friends, Correspondents, and others, concerned in the good design of planting and promoting Christianity within her Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in the West Indies*, 4to. Lond. 1713 [FF]. About this time he likewise founded an antiquarian and historical library at Peterborough [GG], and enriched the common library of that church with some very useful books, and improved their stock of monuments and records with an abstract of the collections made by Dr John Cofins, one of his predecessors (cc). After the accession of King George I. to the throne, as soon as the Dean saw the rebellion opening in the North, and the disposition of many to countenance and cover it, he preached boldly in rebuking that spirit, and published, at the request of some of his parishioners, *The Witchcraft of the present*

(cc) Life of Dr. Kennet, p. 157.

lion, than it had ever done since the filling of the deprived sees by King William, and the Jacobite conventicles were more frequented in London and Westminster, and priests of that way were sent down to gather the like congregations in country towns; and many of the high church, especially the women, would not join in any part of the prayers for King George and his royal family, but at the mention of these names would rise up, or sit down, or at least express their dissent in some visible manner. Several of the Church clergy also, tho' offended with Dr Hickee for urging a separation, yet gave in very much to the principles upon which that practice was founded, viz. the independency of the Church upon the State, the more than spiritual powers of the Church; the legislature of the Bishops and clergy; the Church above and before the King; and such like notions of assuming authority and jurisdiction by divine right, unaccountable to the prince and people. At this critical juncture, the Dean thought it necessary to write a third letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle upon the subject of Bishop Merks, wherein the nomination, election, investiture, and deprivation of English prelates, are shewn to be originally constituted and governed by the sovereign power of kings and their parliaments, against the pretensions of our new fanatics, who have withdrawn themselves from the established Church into a separate communion, under the name of some deprived bishops, and their supposed successors, dated Jan. 25, 1716. In this letter he resumes the subject of the speech said to be spoken by this bishop in parliament, and observes, that the first notice given of it to the world came from Mr Edward Hall, who died about 150 years after the speaking, and yet pretends no manuscript copy; that it was immediately caught up by Mr Grafton, who cites Mr Hall for it. That Stowe, in his Annals, published by himself, takes no notice of any speech or opposition of this bishop in this parliament, nor has Mr Edmund Howes inserted it, but Mr Hollinshead and his friends, who were to be general collectors, took hold of it, but refer to Mr Hall, and let it rest again singly upon his testimony. But soon after comes a bolder man, Sir John Hayward, L.L.D. to give an essay upon Henry IV. and he not only supposes a speech to have been really delivered, but gives a new and larger copy of it, i. e. He made a new speech, and dressed it up in argument and language as unlike to Bishop Merks, as his own military sword was to that prelate's mitre; and yet he introduces it with great ceremony. *The inheritance of the kingdom*, says he, *being in this sort settled in King Henry and his line, it was moved in the parliament, what should be done with King Richard. The Bishop of Caerliel, who was a man learned and wise, and one that always used both liberty and constancy in a good cause, in his secret judgment did never give allowance to these proceedings, yet dissimbled his dislike, until he might to some purpose declare it. Therefore now being in a place to be heard of all, and by order of the House to be interrupted by none, he rose up, and with a bold presence uttered his mind as followeth, &c.* All which, says Dr Kennet, is an imaginary entrance into an enchanted castle, or a meer fiction, pleasant enough to any who love to be deceived. The author, like other diverting writers, would not

bind himself to relate what another said, but would make an exercise upon what might be now said upon that subject. This speech for Bishop Merks was not his first essay of that kind in this life and reign of Henry IV. He made a fine speech for Archbishop Arundel to Duke Henry in France, which he calls a solemn oration; and a pretty speech of the Duke in answer to it, with reply and rejoinder very agreeable. He makes a most bemoaning speech for King Richard, when *his bitterness did in this manner break from him*; and another farewell speech in the Tower, when he delivered up his crown and scepter. In short, he is a profest speech-maker through all his little history. — The true occasion of his making that elaborate speech for Bishop Merks seems to have been this: He was employed by the Earl of Essex to answer the book of titles, called Doleman, written by Father Parsons, and cautiously to recommend the hereditary right of the King of Scots; and upon that view he took a step out of the way, and put his own thoughts into the form of a speech for Bishop Merks, in defence of hereditary right; for which he suffered in the jealous times of Queen Elizabeth, and was honourably rewarded by King James I. who knighted him, and made him historiographer of Chelsea college (47).

[FF] *Bibliotheca Americana Primordia*, &c.] This consists of books, charts, and maps, together with a collection of voyages and travels, and other notices of those parts. In the preface he gives an account of the several uses of it, one of which he intimates in the conclusion to be, that 'Any person in running it over would please to remember, that if they have any books or papers of the kind, not therein mentioned, or better editions of those books and papers that are inserted, and transmit them to the Society to enrich and enlarge the common stock.'

[GG] *An historical library at Peterborough.*] To this purpose he had been long gathering up pieces, from the very beginning of printing in England, to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. This collection, amounting to about 1500 volumes and small tracts, was placed in a private room at Peterborough, in the view of being daily supplied and augmented, under the care of the Rev. Mr Joseph Sparke, a member of that church, of very good literature, and very able to assist in the design; and there is a large written catalogue of them thus inscribed, *Index librorum aliquot vetustorum quos in commune bonum congeffit W. K. Decan. Petriburgh, MDCCXII.* In it there are most of the printed legends of saints; the oldest rituals and liturgies; the first printed statutes and laws; the most antient homilies and sermons; the first editions of the English schoolmen, postillers, expounders, &c. with a great many fragments of our ancient language, usage, customs, rites, tenures, and such other things as tend to illustrate the history of Great Britain and Ireland, and the successive state of religion and learning, in them. In a letter to a friend, dated at Peterborough July 27, 1717, the Dean writes thus: *I have improved the collection I have been long making for an historical antiquarian library, consisting of the oldest books relating to English writers and affairs: I have considerably increased my catalogue of the lives of eminent men.*

[HH] A

(47) Third Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, p. 49. N. P. Some Remarks, &c. upon these two last letters, were published by Mr Jer. Collier. See his article.



*present Rebellion: A Sermon preached in the Parish-Church of St Mary Aldermary, in the City of London, on Sunday the 25th of September, 1715. The Time of a publick Ordination. Published upon Request of the Hearers.* Lond. 1715 [HH]. The same year, upon the motion of his great friend and patron Archbishop Tenison, he printed a tract, intitled, *The Wisdom of looking Backwards, to judge the better of one Side and the other, by the Speeches, Writings, Actions, and other Matters of Fact, on both sides, for the four last years past.* Lond. 1715, 8vo. In the two following years, he was very zealous for the repeal of the acts against Occasional Conformity and the growth of Schism [II]; he also warmly opposed the proceedings in the Convocation against Dr Hoadley, then Bishop of Bangor, and was deeply engaged on the side of that prelate, in what is usually called the Bangorian controversy [KK]. His reputation was particularly concerned in this last affair, and seemed to be hurt thereby so essentially, as to prove an effectual bar to his farther advancement in the Church. But, by the assistance of Dr Charles Trimmel Bishop of Norwich (dd), and afterwards of Winchester, he was promoted, upon the death of Dr Cumberland, to the see of Peterborough, and was consecrated Bishop at Lambeth-chapel, on Sunday November 9, 1718. He continued to employ the press in printing several pieces after this last promotion [LL], which he lived to enjoy something above ten years, and died

(dd) Ibid, p. 183.

[HH] *A sermon, intitled, The witchcraft of the present rebellion* This sermon, which was preached in the height of the rebellion, exposed him to the wit and malice of several. Two or three private letter-writers told him, that it was preaching *treason against the lawful king*, and the time was coming when he should certainly answer for it; and even some friends of less spirit intimated, that it was not so wise and cautious—No exasperating an enemy when he had a sword in his hand, and the like. But he was used to say, that he was prepared to live and die in the cause against Popery and the Pretender, and he would go out to fight, when he could no longer stay to preach against them (49). After the rebellion was suppressed, he preached and published, *A thanksgiving sermon for the blessing of God, in suppressing the late unnatural rebellion, delivered in the parish church of St Mary Aldermary, &c. on Thursday June 7, 1716.*

(49) Life, &c. p. 152.

[II] He was very zealous for the repeal of the act against occasional conformity, &c. In a letter dated April 13, 1717, he has these words. 'The bill for relieving the dissenters in matters of civil right and property, consistent with the security of the established Church, seems to be due to them as English Protestants, and faithful Protestants.—However, it must be opposed in the name of the Church. Had the ministry been more early fixed, and steady measures taken, it had met with less opposition. I wish the Bishops had declared nothing, till they had seen the Bill, and kept it more in their power of reconciling it to the peace and true interest of religion, as by law established in the Church of England. I doubt, if it go on, some who were against it will find an odd expedient for it, and rather than be thought to justify occasional communion, will offer more than the first demand, even to abrogate the Test-Act, when all had been content with restoring Toleration to the state of the Revolution (50). By this extract it appears, that the Dean had incurred the jealousy and displeasure of some of his old friends, in not running into the measures taken by them upon the business of the repeal of the two bills above-mentioned, which was upon the anvil at this time. One of these old friends was the Bishop of Carlisle, then Almoner to the King, as will be seen in the following remark.

(50) Ibid. p. 182, 183.

[KK] He was deeply engaged in the Bangorian controversy. His share in this famous dispute was not immediately upon the doctrine about the powers of the Church, advanced by Dr Hoadley, but only upon an incident which fell out in the course of it. The Bishop's sermon having been attacked by Dr Andrew Snape, his lordship wrote an answer; in which, upon occasion of a report spread by some persons about the town, that he was put upon preaching that sermon at court to serve some political ends, he uses these words, *God knows I preached what I found there* [in the New Testament], *without the knowledge of any man living* (51). This positive and solemn declaration was flatly inconsistent with a story which had been told to Dr Snape, namely, that the sermon was preached with the knowledge, and submitted to the correction of a certain person, who advised the making alterations in it. Whereupon, in the conclusion of his second letter to the Bishop, having taken notice of his entertaining Pillionere, a Jesuit, in his house, he addresses himself

(51) Answer to the Rev. Dr Snape's Letter to the Bishop of Bangor, p. 45. 3d edit.

to his Lordship thus, 'I must needs say your evasive equivocal way of writing, favours very strongly of such communication [as that of a Jesuit], and whether the same person may not have helped you to a mental reservation to justify a solemn appeal to God, that what you preached was without the knowledge of any man living, when a living man has testified, that it was preached with his knowledge, and submitted to his correction, your Lordship best knows.' This was no sooner published, then the Bishop called upon Dr Snape for the proof of what he had asserted, who presently declared, that he had received that account from Dr Hutchinson, who had heard the Bishop of Carlisle say, that he had spoken with the person that advised the Bishop of Bangor to insert such words as *absolutely, properly, &c.* And that some days after the same divine again assured him, that he had heard the same prelate a second time declare that matter to be true, and that he would justify it to all the world. Upon this Dr Snape drew up that passage, waited upon the Bishop of Carlisle, read it to him, and was allowed by him to publish it, with an assurance that he would stand to it. This was the substance of Dr Snape's advertisement (52), to which the Bishop of Carlisle set his hand in these words, *this is true.* And being called upon to name the man, he fixed upon Dr Kennet, who he declared, according to the best of his remembrance, was the person that told him, the sermon was preached with his knowledge, and submitted to his correction, and that he advised, and with difficulty prevailed, for the inserting the words above-mentioned. A great number of papers and letters passed on the occasion between the Bishop of Carlisle and the Dean; in all which the charge was affirmed on one side, and denied on the other, with equal warmth; so that the matter rested upon the comparative characters of the disputants, and the Dean had the hardest part to manage, that of proving a negative. This, and the great esteem in which the Bishop was held, even among several of the Dean's best friends then in favour at court, where the Bishop was almoner, would probably have sunk the Dean\*, had not there been luckily a change of hands, upon which the Bishop was removed from the almoner's place (53), which was given to Dr Willis, then lately made Bishop of Gloucester; the Occasional Conformity and Schism acts were repealed in the manner chalked out by the Dean, in the letter mentioned in the foregoing remark, and he was lucky enough to have it in his power to lend a helping vote to the passing of it in the House of Lords, where he was then a member, being Bishop of Peterborough (54).

(52) The following year, our author published a piece, intitled, *Dr Snape instructed in some Matters, especially relating to Convocations and Converts from Popery.* Lond. 1718.

\* He was so greatly affected with it, that he preserved a place for it in his last Will, where he solemnly declared, that he neither said nor thought any such thing.

(53) Viz. on the 18th of March, 1717. Salmon's Chron. Hist. p. 378. first edit. 1723.

(54) He was consecrated Bishop in November, and the act passed after Christmas, and had the royal assent Feb. 18, 1718. It was intitled, *An Act for strengthening the Protestant Kingdoms.* Ibid. p. 384, 385.

[LL] He printed several pieces after he was made Bishop. These are, 1. *Charity and Restitution; a spital sermon, preached at St Bridget's before the Lord Mayor, on Easter Monday March 30. 1719, with an application to the vain attempts of a Spanish invasion in 1588.* 2. *A sermon preached before the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Westminster-Abbey, Jan. 30, 1719.* 3. *Monitions and advices delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Peterborough, at the primary visitation held in the months of July and August 1720; in two parts; published at the request of the clergy for their use and service, 4to.* 4. *An introduction to the new edition of a book, intitled, A discourse concerning the laws ecclesiastical*



(ee) That is in the half street, looking into St James's Park.

\* He assisted Mr Maynwaring in the 15th and 16th papers of the Medley, upon the affairs relating to Conventions. Life of Maynwaring, p. 190.

(55) See 12 sermons preached at the cathedral church of Sarum, p. 256. also A Short Account, of Dr Whitby, p. 5. prefixed to his Last Thoughts.

died in his house in St James's-street Westminster (ee), on the 19th of December, 1728. In viewing his character, the quality that shews itself foremost is his party zeal \*, which the writer of his life intimates was carried to excess. But drawing that veil aside, there appears many excellent virtues in the moral part, and many rare talents and acquisitions in the intellectual part of it. He was a man of incredible diligence and application, not only in his youth, but to the very last. He was very communicative (ff), and would go through any fatigue to serve either a friend or the public. Neither was he wanting in acts of charity; especially in respect to almsgiving, he both gave largely himself, and had a singular influence in disposing others to do the like [MM]; and was particularly liberal, and even bountiful, to some of his relations, whose circumstances stood in need of it (gg). As all his passions were naturally strong; so the love of his country, and regard for it's honour, glowed among them with a distinguished warmth. Nor was his affection for the Church less true and hearty, though tempered with great charity and moderation towards the Dissenters.

(ff) He had a noble library of books, collected with great pains and much expense, and took delight in it, and studied to make it useful both to himself and others.

(gg) The writer of his Life assures us, that very large sums were disposed of in this way, as he was informed by a Clergyman, thro' whose hands it came. Life, p. 190.

fical and civil, made against Hereticks by Popes, Emperors, and Kings, provincial and general councils, approved by the Church of Rome, &c. Lond. 1723. He seems to think the said discourse was wrote by Dr Maurice, but it appears that Dr Whitby was the true author (55). 5. A treatise of Gavelkind, both name and thing, shewing the etymology and true derivation of the one, the nature, antiquity, and original of the other; with sundry emergent observations, both pleasant and profitable to be known of Kentish men, and others, especially such as are studious either of the ancient custom or common law of this kingdom. By (a well-willer to both) William Somner. The second edition, corrected from the many errors of the former impression. To which is added, the life of the author, written, newly revised, and much enlarged, Lond. 1726, 4to. 6. A register and chronicle, ecclesiastical and civil, containing matters of fact, delivered in the words of the most authentic books, papers, and records, digested in exact order of time; with proper notes and references towards discovering and connecting the true history of England, from the Restoration of King Charles II. Lond. 1728, 2 vols. fol. These are all that he published after he was Bishop; as to those he wrote or published before, several have been occasionally mentioned in the course of this memoir; the rest are as follow:

1. A manuscript treatise about the Test, against Dr Parker.
2. The righteous taken away from the evil to come, applied to the death of Queen Mary, in a sermon preached at St Martyn's church in Oxford, Jan. 20, 1694.
3. A sermon preached at Bow-church, London, before the Societies of Reformation, on Monday Sept. 24, 1701, published at their request, Lond. 1702.
4. A sermon preached in the parish church of St Botolph Aldgate in London, December 17, 1704, the day of solemn thanksgiving for the late glorious victory obtained over the French and Bavarians by the Forces of her Majesty and her Allies under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, Lond. 1704.
- (5.) A Thanksgiving Sermon at St Paul's, March 8. 1704-5.
- (6.) The Charity of Schools for poor Children recommended, in a Sermon preached at the Parish Church of St Sepulchres, May 16, 1708, Lond. 1708.
- (7) The Duties of rejoicing in a Day of Prosperity recommended; in a Sermon preached before the Queen at her Royal Chapel at Windsor, on Sunday June 23, 1706.
- (8.) The Christian Scholar, in Rules and Directions for Children and Youth sent to English Schools; more especially designed for the poor-boys, taught and clothed by Charity in the parish of St Botolph Aldgate, Lond. 1708.
- (9.) The excellent Daughter. A Sermon for the Relief of the poor Girls taught and clothed within the Parish of St Botolph Aldgate: with proper Lessons of the Duties of Daughters. Lond 1708.
- (10) Glory to God and Gratitude to Benefactors: A Sermon preached before the Queen in her Royal Chapel of St James, on Tuesday 22d of Novemb. 1709; the Day of Publick Thanksgiving for the signal and glorious victory at Blaregnies, near Mons in Hainault: published by her Majesty's special command. Lond. 1709.
- (11.) A Letter to Mr Barville, a Roman Priest, upon his Desire of being reconciled to the Church of England, dated from Golden Square, Crutched Fryars, Novemb. 30, 1709, printed in a book intituled, An Account of the late Conversion of Mr John Barville, alias Barton, from Popery to the Reformed Church of England. With the Form of his solemn Abjuration of the Romish Religion, written by

himself, Lond. 1710. 8vo. (12.) The Works of Charity, in a sermon preached before the right honourable the Lord Mayor in the Church of St Bridget, on Tuesday in Easter Week, 1710. Lond. 1710. (13.) The Christian Neighbour: A Sermon preached in the Church of St Laurence Jewry, before the right honourable the Lord Mayor, &c. upon the Election of a Mayor for the Year ensuing, on the Feast of St Michael, 1711. Lond. 1711. (14) Doing Good the Way to Eternal Life; recommended in a Spital Sermon, before the right honourable the Lord Mayor, on Tuesday in Easter Week, 7th April, 1712. Lond. 1712. (15.) The Faithful Steward. A Spital Sermon, preached on Tuesday in Easter Week, April 3, 1716.

[MM] He had a particular influence in disposing others to charity] The following remarkable instances of this shall conclude this memoir. The alderman of his ward, Sir Charles Thorold, Bart. suffered him to suggest some proper objects of charity in his life and at his death. His last will had so many noble charities bequeathed in it, that for the honour of the city, as well as of that worthy family, Dr Kennett, thought fit to give an abstract of it in his spital sermon, on Tuesday in Easter week 1710 (56). The exhibitions to be yearly given to four poor scholars in the university of Oxford (there mentioned) were to be affixed to such colleges or halls as he should appoint; who accordingly named *St Edmund Hall, Corpus Christi, University, and Merton*; the first in respect to his own education, and the second to his brother's, and the two last in regard of friendship to the governors of them. Dr Kennett had also a particular acquaintance with one of his parishioners at Aldgate, Mr John Pierrepont, who, after a recess from business, was projecting how to do most good in his generation, and to posterity; and was encouraged by the Dean in what he afterwards accomplished; which was the founding a free school at Lutton in Herefordshire, for instructing of children in religion, grammar-learning, writing, arithmetic, and mensuration; the governors whereof were incorporated by act of parliament, and the school endowed with an estate of about 300 l. per annum, tax free. The profits to be employed in the following manner. To the school master 70 l. per annum; to the usher 40 l.; to a writing-master 40 l.; to put out six apprentices yearly 30 l.; to be laid out in books of piety to be given to each apprentice 6 l.; to set up six apprentices yearly, if they appear by certificate to have served their time faithfully, and be of the Communion of the Church of England 60 l.; exhibitions to be allowed to three scholars studying either at Oxford or Cambridge, which will amount to about 60 l. more. The worthy founder in his life-time had expended 1500 l. in building the school-house, and in walling in, planting, and making a garden, and other conveniencies, allotting several acres of land for adjoining pasture, &c. And, dying, he left a token of remembrance to the Dean; who was soon after blessed with an opportunity of promoting another charity. A wealthy and well disposed merchant, Mr Arundel, returning from Leghorn, and lying long at London and the Bath in a weak condition, did, by his last will, bequeath many charitable legacies, and, among others, 500 l. to be disposed among poor widows, &c. at the discretion and by the distribution of Dr White Kennett and his brother Mr Basil Kennett, which sum was duly paid by the executor, and faithfully distributed by the said trustees. P

(56) Viz. in page 25.



(a) That is the appellation given them in the college statutes.

(b) From the register of the college.

(c) See below in note (1).

(d) From the college register.

(e) Ibid.

(f) It is dedicated to Sir Will. Temple's widow, who had the perusal of it in manuscript. Our author appears to be greatly esteemed by her Ladyship.

KENNETT [BASIL], younger brother to the preceding, was born October 21, 1674, at Postling in Kent, the vicarage of his father, who bred this son also to the Church. In which view, after a suitable foundation of Grammar-learning, he was sent to Oxford, and admitted Scholar or Disciple (a) of Corpus Christi college, December 20, 1690 (b). In the university he sat down to his studies with remarkable diligence, and the success was answerable; so that he soon became distinguished both by his genius, and the extraordinary advances he made in classical and polite literature. This merit brought him into the acquaintance and esteem of Mr Addison his contemporary, then Demy of Magdalen college, which proved of some service to him afterwards (c). Having taken his first degree in Arts at the regular time, he proceeded to that of Master April 4, 1696 (d), and commenced author the same year, by the publication of his *Romæ Antiquæ Notitia: or the Antiquities of Rome* [A]. To which he prefixed two Essays on the Roman Learning and Education, in 8vo. These essays were the first attempts of the kind made in any language at that time; and the book was so well received by the Public, that he was thereby encouraged to prosecute his design of promoting and facilitating the study of classical learning. In that view he proceeded to draw up *The Lives and Characters of the ancient Greek Poets*, which came out in 1697, 8vo. The same year, on the 14th of February, he was admitted Fellow of his college (e), and became a tutor there. It was probably about this time, pursuant to the college-statutes, that he entered into Holy Orders: after which, directing the course of his studies conformably thereto, in a more particular manner to Divinity, the world received the like benefits from his parts and industry upon that subject. The first fruits whereof came out in the year 1705, under the title of, *An Exposition of the Apostles Creed, according to Bishop Pearson, in a new Method, by way of Paraphrase and Annotations*, 8vo. This was followed by, *An Essay towards a Paraphrase on the Psalms in Verse, with a Paraphrase on the third Chapter of the Revelations* (f), printed the ensuing year, 1706, 8vo. These were public monuments of his piety, as well as learning and genius; which being rendered perfectly amiable by the sweetness of his temper, he was now become happy in the love and esteem of all who knew him; so that it is no wonder that he yielded with some reluctance to the intreaties of his brother, when the Chaplain's place to the Factory at Leghorn was proposed to him [B]; where he was likely also

[A] He published his *Roman Antiquities*.] The dedication is addressed to his Royal Highness William, Duke of Gloucester, and must have been wrote for his use particularly, if any credit may be given to a report that generally prevailed, at least at Oxford, that there were some hopes of his being appointed Subpreceptor to that darling of the nation. No body ever doubted his qualifications for it, and his brother, as appears from the preceding article, was in great favour with bishop Burnet, who was made Preceptor to the Duke in 1698. Whatever reception this story may meet with, it will not be denied, that our author's address must needs have been very agreeable to the noble youth: as soon as he came to know the classics enough to be sensible of the beautiful application therein of two passages in one of the most celebrated of them to his immediate progenitors, I mean the paragraph with which he closes his dedication, where he observes, that his highness could not miss his way in the pursuit of *Virtue*, in going on as he did, like the Trojan prince:

*Matre dea monstrante viam.*

Nor that also to great achievements when he saw himself so properly, as he was, the object of that hero's advice

— *Te animo repentem exempla tuorum  
Et pater Æneas & arunculus excitet Hector.*

[B] He was appointed chaplain to the factory at Leghorn.] This privilege was none of the least of those advantages which the nation obtained in that successful war. The general state of religion being divided into several distinct and separate establishments; each of these has it's proper fastnesses and forts, erected for the defence and security of it, against the encroachments and invasions of any of its neighbours; and the ecclesiastical governors in every Church hold themselves obliged to keep a watchful eye to prevent, as much as possible, all attempts of that kind; and are particularly alarmed whenever they observe any motions made towards such a design. These governors also look upon it as an especial part of the duty of their office, to let slip no opportunities of enlarging the boundaries of their own community, by making acquisitions from that of their neighbours. In this spirit, when the glory of Queen Anne's arms by land, and the terror of her fleets in the Mediterranean sea, had open-

ed a prospect of establishing a chaplain of the Church of England for the English factory at Leghorn, his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury discoursing with Dr White Kennet, and some merchants trading thither, about the best way of effectuating it, observed, first, that such a privilege of the exercise of religion by a lawful minister of it, was a right of Christians, even by the law of nations, in every country where they were allowed to settle and traffic. In the next place, he wrote a letter upon the subject to Dr Henry Newton, her Majesty's envoy at Florence, who informed him that though no express leave or licence of protection could be obtained, yet a connivance might be expected from the Great Duke; especially while the Queen, by her *fleets* and *armies*, made such a figure in Europe, and even in Italy itself, that she would be able to protect her own subjects in so reasonable and just a cause. Upon this foot, the Archbishop directed Dr White Kennet to look out for a proper person to be sent over, of integrity, abilities, and courage, suitable to that dangerous and difficult employment. The Doctor, after proposing it in vain to some others, prevailed with his own brother to adventure in it, and obtained a petition of the merchants to the Queen in his behalf. Whereupon his Grace approving of him, the Council advised her Majesty to grant the petition of the merchants; and accordingly the chaplain received a commission or title in this form.

ANNE, R.

' Whereas our subjects trading to Leghorn, as well as those residing in that port, have humbly besought us to appoint a minister to perform divine service there, after the usage and manner of the Church of England, wherein we are graciously pleased to gratify them: and being well satisfied of the loyalty, prudence, piety, and learning, of Basil Kennet, M.A. and fellow of Corpus Christi college, in our university of Oxford: We do by these presents appoint him, the said Basil Kennet, to be minister to the English factory at Leghorn, hereby granting him our royal licence and protection to the purposes aforementioned. And we do hereby require our envoy, or other our minister, at the court of the Great Duke of Tuscany, and our consul at Leghorn, now and for the time being, to protect, countenance, and assist him, the said Basil Kennet, as occasion shall require, for his quiet enjoyment and exercise of his function, as minister to the English factory at Leghorn as aforesaid.



also to meet (as it actually proved he did) with much disturbance and danger from the opposition of the Roman-Catholics. However, after he had undertaken the charge, no difficulties were sufficient to damp his resolution to go through it with honour. Accordingly, having obtained the Queen's commission, he left England in the month of September this year, 1706; and arriving without any extraordinary accidents, in the usual time for such a journey by land, at Leghorn, he presently received a diploma from Oxford, creating him Bachelor of Divinity, February 27 that year (g). With this extraordinary mark of the University's esteem, he entered immediately upon the duties of his office; wherein he behaved with so much integrity, piety, prudence, and modesty, that he became the darling

(g) From the University's gift.

' said. Given at our castle at Windfor the 8th Day of September, 1706, in the fifth year of our reign.

' By Her majesty's command,

C. Hedges.

At the same time and place were dated the royal letters of passport, safeguard, and protection, as follow :

Anna R.

' Anna dei gratia magnæ Britanniae, Franciae, & Hiberniae Regina, fidei defensor &c. omnibus & singulis ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, salutem. Quum pro salute subditorum nostrorum in portu Liburni in Hebruria commorantium velleo appellentium Prefbyterum illum mittere decreverimus, qui secundum ritum Ecclesiae Anglicanae ipsis sacra ministraret: dilectum nostrum & fidelem Basilium Kennett, Artium Magistrum, necnon collegii Corporis Christi in academia nostra Oxoniensi socium, quem ad hoc munus assignavimus; literis hisce nostris salvi conductus munire Nobis visum est. Rogamus itaque omnes & singulos Reges & Principes, cuiuscunque dignitatis atque ordinis Status, Respublicas, liberaeque Civitates, Amicos nostros & Fœderatos, per quorum ditiones transiturus est, necnon Provinciarum Gubernatores, exercituum classiumque Duces, Præfatos limitaneos, arciumque custodes, reliquosque ipsorum officiales & ministros (id quod subditis nostris quorum ullo modo intererit, firmiter injungimus), ut præfato Basilio Kennett una cum sarcinis suis quibuscunque non solum ubique locorum liberam & securum eundi, transeundi, commorandique, prout libitum erit, potestatem faciant, neque aliquam moram impedimentumve injiciant, aut injici patiantur, verum etiam omnibus humanitatis ac benevolentiae officiis excipiant adjuventque, & novis insuper salvi conductus literis, si res ita postularerit, communiunt. Quod quidem Nos pari data occasione parati agnosceremus & vicissim repensuri sumus. Dabuntur in arce nostra Windesora die octavo mensis Septembris, Anno Domini 1706. Regniue nostri quinto.

Ex mandato serenissimæ Dom. Reginae.

C. Hedges.

(1) Mr Addison being then Under-Secretary to Sir Ch. Hedges, these dispatches were much forwarded in that office by him, who had a personal respect for Mr Kennett in Oxford, and had been then a late traveller in Italy, and well known to the Factory at Leghorn.

These dispatches being compleated (1), Mr Kennett received money to defray the expences of the journey, upon a bill sent by the Consul, Christopher Crowe, Esq; in the name of the factory, for the purpose; and whatever was wanting in cloaths, books, or any equipage, was advanced to him by his brother. He then set out with agreeable company from Harwich to the Brill; and, passing through Holland and Germany, arrived by the way of Venice safe at Leghorn, where he was received by the Consul and nation with great civility and kindness. But the Italians were so jealous of the northern heresy, especially the priests and regulars, that, to give as little offence as possible, he performed the duties of his office with the utmost privacy and caution. But, notwithstanding that, great offence was taken at it, and complaints and informations were immediately sent to Florence and to Rome. The envoy at Florence, Dr Newton, did all the matter could bear, in insisting on the right of the English merchants to have a minister among them of their own religion; and offered to undertake that he should not publicly reflect on the religion of the country; nor attempt to bring over any of the Grand Duke's subjects to the Protestant persuasion. But the Pope, and the Court of Inquisition at Rome, were resolved to expel heresy, and the public teacher of it, from the confines of the Holy See: and therefore secret orders were given to apprehend Mr

Kennett at Leghorn, and to hurry him away to Pisa, and thence to some other religious prison, to bury him alive, or otherwise dispose of him, in the severest manner.—Upon notice of this design the English Envoy at Florence interposed his offices in that court, where he could obtain no other answer, but that ' he might send for the English preacher, and keep him in his own family as his domestic chaplain; otherwise if he presumed to continue at Leghorn, he must take the consequences of it, for, in those matters of religion, the Court of Inquisition was superior to all civil powers; ' the Envoy communicated this answer of the Great Duke to the Earl of Sunderland, then secretary of state, desiring proper instructions in the affair. In the interim he was extremely embarrassed with the difficulties of treating for the protection and security of the chaplain, and could find no expedient more proper for the present, than to invite him earnestly to his house at Florence; and there cover him 'till the affair was adjusted, and for that purpose to send him a qualification as his domestic chaplain. But the Consul and nation at Leghorn would not readily consent to let him go away, fearing, if that point was once gained, they would never let him return. Nor was the chaplain himself willing to consult his own safety, by seeming to forsake his charge. And therefore, with his brother's advice, he continued there, though in the utmost danger: Being forced to confine himself in his chamber, and to have an armed guard at the stairs foot. Some evenings, indeed, he went out for the air, but then he walked between two English merchants, who, with their swords drawn, resolved and declared, that no body should dare seize him at their peril. All this caution was no more than what was absolutely necessary, before the arrival of Lord Sunderland's letter, which came by the first conveyance, and contained the following directions:

' To Dr Henry Newton, her Majesty's Envoy in the court of Florence.

' S I R,

' Your's of the 6th and 24th I received; in answer to which I have laid the whole affair before her Majesty, who has commanded me to order you to tell the Great Duke and his ministers, in her Majesty's name, that if there be any molestation given to her chaplain, residing at Leghorn, she shall look upon it as affront done to herself and the nation, a breach of peace, and a violation of the law of nations, and shall by her fleets and armies, which will be all the year in the Mediterranean seas, not only demand, but take satisfaction for any such injury offered. And that the priest of the Great Duke's minister here, and all frequenters of his chapel, must expect the same treatment. And if they talk any more of the Pope or Court of Rome, you must cut that matter short, by telling them, that her Majesty hath nothing to do with that Court, but shall treat with the Great Duke, as with other independent princes and states. And this you must do in the most forcible manner possible. I have no more at present to add; but am

' Your Humble Servant,

' Sunderland.

As soon as this letter came to the Envoy's hands, and was by him communicated to the Duke and his ministers, the contents of it were soon by them imparted to the Pope and his Cardinals, who so well understood the argument of fleets and armies, that the chaplain escaped the intended fury; and continued for five years to officiate as a minister of the Church of England, in a large room, set apart for a chapel, in the Consul's house, with public prayers and a sermon (2).

[C] A con-

(2) Life of Bishop Kennett, p. 53 to 61 inclusive.



(b) See below in remark [D].

(v) See the preface to his Sermons.

ling both of the Merchants there, and of the English Envoy at Florence; and even extorted the admiration and esteem of the Papists, who, whilst they used their utmost endeavours to crush and destroy him, could not forbear revering him at the same time (as is their custom to persons of the most eminent piety and Christian fortitude) under the title of *Saint* (b). Persevering steadily in this course, he continued among them as long as his health would allow him; and when the care of that obliged him to think of coming back to his native air, he resolved not to quit his post, 'till he saw an approved successor in it upon the spot; by which means he was very instrumental in procuring a confirmation and establishment of that valuable privilege (i) [C], which the Factory there has enjoyed ever

(C) *A confirmation of that privilege.*] This assertion may, perhaps at first sight, be censured, as attributing a merit to our chaplain which does not properly belong to him; and which, far from giving any heightening to his character, seems rather to derogate from it, and even to be inconsistent with what is constantly observed, to his great commendation, that he diligently and conscientiously discharged the duties of his function, without intermeddling in any other concerns. The observation of Mr Kennett's behaviour and temper is undoubtedly true, but the true inference from it is that truth, which is advanced in the text, nothing being more certain than that it was this prudent and amiable carriage in his office, which, at once, both obviated all the objections that could avowedly be made by the court of Rome; and, at the same time, endeared the office itself to the factory so much, that, when his health would not suffer him to continue in it, they never left soliciting the Court, 'till a full confirmation of the privilege was granted in the appointment of a successor, as will appear from the following account of this whole matter. Not long after the Inquisition had drawn in its pretensions, mentioned in the preceding remark, Dr Newton, in a letter dated Aug. 1707, writes thus—'Religion is not a thing to be talked of on any side here; there has already been given some of them trouble enough, I mean the Inquisition, by bringing an English preacher into Leghorn. I hope now that trouble is almost over, and, that for the future, we shall hear no more from them on that head. He is an excellent person, if I am any judge in those matters, and if I have not any pretence either to that or any other learning, yet I am at least capable of knowing and commending a gentleman for his modesty, his prudence, and his good nature; and at Florence and at Rome they have heard from me on that head, and are satisfied on the other account too. And if now there is any fault to be found, it is, that he deserves so much to be commended. Pray let his brother know, and by him the archbishop, how much the factory are obliged to his Grace on that score (3), &c.' When our chaplain had seen himself well established in that privilege, and had so laid the foundation of it, he began to think, that the having a successor in that place upon the same bottom, would be the best confirmation; and therefore he earnestly importuned his brother, that he might have leave to return, upon the finding out a fit person to succeed him. 'Tis true, however, that he had another principal reason to insist upon coming home, the ill state of his health in that climate which did not agree with his constitution; however he declared he would not stir 'till he saw a successor upon the spot. Upon the receipt of this letter, the dean his brother applied, at the request of the merchants, in behalf of one Mr Taubman, to the archbishop of Canterbury, upon whose application the Queen gave orders for proper dispatches accordingly in 1710; but, upon the change of the ministry at this time, the Duke of Tuscany's Envoy at our court obstructed the proceedings, and actually put in a memorial against the privilege. Whereupon Dean Kennett addressing a letter of complaint to Robert Harley [afterwards Earl of Oxford], the merchants were summoned to declare the grounds of their claim to the privilege; which were 1. Possession. 2. Her Majesty having asserted it. 3. There were precedents for it at Lisbon and Oporto, &c. And to that purpose a representation was drawn, concluding with a petition, wherein they observe, that in the same port of Leghorn there was a synagogue allowed to the Jews, and a mosque to the Turks; to this representation several objections were made in council, one whereof being, that the present chaplain [Basil Kennett] had done ill offices there, by meddling in trade and commerce, and by advancing some odd opinions in that

place: to this Mr Palmer, one of the merchants in the city, made a proper and very decent answer, vindicating the character of our chaplain by the accounts of his behaviour received from the Consul: and adding, that of all men living Mr Kennett was the least meddler in any thing but the immediate duties of his own function. It was also suggested, that even some of the merchants, continuing at Leghorn, did not insist upon a chaplain, or had not expressed their desire to have another, when Mr Kennett should come away: upon this, one of the company produced the following copy of a letter of the merchants residing at Leghorn, directed to the Archbishop, dated Livorno 20 Octob. 1710, expressed in these terms:

'May it please your Grace,

'The Reverend Mr Basil Kennett having intimated to us his intention to return home for the recovery of his health; being sensible of our great obligation to your Grace, for having recommended to us so worthy and excellent a person; we humbly beg leave to recur to your favour in choosing a proper successor to reside amongst us: intirely confiding, that this testimony of our gratitude, as well for the pains taken by your Grace in establishing a chaplain, as in sending us one so very acceptable, will be well pleasing to your Grace, and that you will grant this our request, who are with all imaginable respect,

Your Grace's

Most Humble and Obedient Servants,

Signed by Fifteen Merchants (4).

But this, and all other applications which were made afterwards by the factors, Dean Kennett, Mr Taubman, the Bishop of London, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, proving ineffectual; the beginning of September, an advertisement was sent to Mr Taubman, and by him inserted in the Post-Boy of Saturday September 15, 1711, in these words. 'There is ready for the press, *The Case of a Protestant Chaplain attending on the British Factory at Leghorn*, representing the wisdom and glory of her Majesty's happy administration, in asserting that privilege to her subjects, the merchants residing in foreign parts: with the honour and necessity of maintaining that law of nations, and common right of mankind; as allowed in the same free port of Leghorn to societies of different religions, and not pretended to be denied to any people, but the Northern Heretics at this time.' Soon after this there was an order of council that fully determined the affair, as follows:

'At the court at Windsor, the 1st of October, 1711, present the Queen's most excellent Majesty.

'Upon reading this day, at the board, the humble petition of the British merchants trading to Leghorn, and several other papers relating to a chaplain there; her Majesty in council taking the same into consideration, was pleased to order, that Mr Taubman, or such other chaplain as the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London shall recommend to her Majesty, be forthwith sent thither in such manner, and with such circumstances, as the Reverend Mr Basil Kennett was sent. And that directions be given to Mr Moleworth, her Majesty's Envoy at the court of Florence accordingly. And the Right Honourable the Earl of D—, her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, is to prepare what is necessary for the satisfaction of her Majesty's pleasure in this matter.

'Copy signed John Povey.  
The

(3) Ibid. p. 62, 63.

(4) Ibid. from p. 64 to 80.



ever since. He arrived at Oxford in the year 1713, and was elected President of his college, May 15, 1714 (k). He was also admitted Doctor of Divinity on the 26th of July following (l), but lived to enjoy these new honours a very short time. Having brought an ill habit of body with him from Italy, he continued from that time to decline gradually, and was carried off, before the expiration of this year (m), by a slow fever, the consequence, as was believed, of some unfair practices by the Court of Rome [D]. A little before his death, he finished the preface to a volume of his sermons preached at Leghorn, which came out under the title of, *Sermons on several Occasions, preached before a Society of British Merchants in foreign Parts*. Lond. 1715, 8vo. Besides this collection, and the pieces already mentioned of his own composing, he gave English translations of several works of other eminent authors, the chief of which are as follow: (1.) *Puffendorf of the Law of Nature and Nations*. (2.) *Placette's Christian Casuist*. (3.) *Godeau's Pastoral Instructions*. (4.) *Monsieur Pascal's Thoughts on Religion*. To which he prefixed an account of the manner in which those thoughts were delivered by the author. (5.) *Monf. Balsac's Aristippus, with an Account of his Life and Writings* (n).

The copy of this order was transmitted to the consul at Leghorn, with a letter of the Dean, running thus — 'By virtue of this long expected order, a commission from the Queen and letters of protection are prepared for Mr Taubman, and he intends to set out by the first opportunity of any company, by way of Holland and Germany; and by his honesty, quietness, and goodness of temper, will, I doubt not, be very acceptable to you and the nation, to whom you will please to communicate the success of this long depending affair. It would make a long story to tell of the several steps forward and backward in it. Whatever trouble and expence I have been at on this occasion, had it been greater I would not have grudged it in so good a cause, for the honour and service of the Church and Nation. But I hope poor Mr Taubman will be considered for his tedious and chargeable attendance upon this business; and the demand of above 20 l. fees at the offices, and the support of a journey by land. I well know the justice and generosity of the Consul and merchants at Leghorn, and doubt not but they will find some way, that he may come into the easier circumstances, and with a greater sense of obligation to you. I suppose, by your advice, my brother will remain with you till the actual appearance of Mr Taubman. I shall think it now happy, that by your advice, and his own resolutions, he continued on the spot, for 'tis possible his absence might have given some advantage to those who have so accountably opposed this privilege, which you now see effectually transmitted in succession, and thereby we hope established to you and your posterity. I am

Hon. S I R,

Your and the Nation's

Faithful Humble Servant,

W. Kennet (5).

KETTLEWELL [JOHN], a pious and learned Divine in the last century, was born at North-Alverton in the County of York the 10th of March, 1653. His father was a merchant, as were also his grand-father, and great-grandfather [A], and his mother was Elizabeth Ogle, a woman of an excellent character, and of a considerable and antient family. He was educated, first at a small school at Brompton, the place of his nativity (and then of his father's residence,) within the said parish of North-Alverton. Though his father died when he was but six years old, yet his education no way was neglected: For he was next sent to the Free-school of North-Alverton, where he made a great progress under a good master, and distinguished himself by his valuable qualities, particularly a great modesty, and sweetness of temper (a). In the year 1670, he was admitted in St Edmund-hall in Oxford (b) [B], where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, June 25, 1674 (c). And, on the 28th day of July 1675, was chosen Fellow of Lincoln College, through the interest of his learned countryman Mr George Hickes, Fellow of the same. During his whole stay in that college, he was an eminent example of industry, piety, and virtue (d); and became a very considerable tutor (e). He took the degree of Master of Arts May 3, 1677 (f). As soon as qualified by age, he entered into holy orders;

[A] As were also his grand-father and great-grandfather. His grand-father, and great-grand-father, were merchant-adventurers at Headen in Yorkshire. But the haven of that town growing useless, by being choaked up with the sands, his grandfather removed to North-Alverton: which place his father quitting, soon after his marriage, went and lived in his own house, and upon his own estate, at Brompton, a village

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[D] He died in 1714.] The writer of the Bishop's life, tells us, that though the factory at Leghorn was very bountiful to their chaplain, as well as very generous in their presents to his brother in England, yet the family had been sufferers by it. The contempt of money in Mr Kennet at Leghorn; the constant demands upon his charity and goodness, his great expence of his long travels through Italy and France; the supplies he had out of England to support those travels, and to purchase a good collection of books and prints; and the new expences he was put upon after his return, by the honour done him of being elected and admitted president of his college, had brought him to that condition of worldly estate, that the payment of his debts was made in favour of his memory, without sufficient assets for it. And, continues he, whether his life itself was not sacrificed in that service among the Roman Papists, is perhaps a question to be reserved to the last judgment day: not that Mr Kennet would ever declare his suspicion of any ill practising upon him (too common there): nor that his brother ever encouraged any suggestion of that kind: but many others have been free in, and God alone knows the truth of it. One would have thought him, concludes this writer, so well esteemed among the Italian priests, that even they were not capable of such treatment of him. Unless their calling him the *saint*, was in order to the making him a martyr (6).

(m) From the College Register. In the preface to his Sermons, the Accession of King George I. is taken notice of by him. So that it is probable he lived to see that book finished at the press, and published, according to the Printer's account, in 1715; that is, some time between Michaelmas and Lady-day in 1714.

(6) Ibid. p. 100, 101.

(a) The Life of Mr John Kettlewell, prefixed to the folio edit. of his Works, p. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

(b) Ibid. p. 3.

(c) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721. Vol. II. col. 195.

(d) Life, &c. as above, p. 8, &c.

(e) Ibid. p. 14.

(f) Wood, Fasti, ut supra, col. 206.

in the said parish of North-Alverton (1).

[B] Was admitted in St Edmund-hall.] While he lived there, he never committed any one fault, for which he incurred the least censure, as by neglect of publick Exercises, or Prayers; &c. nor was there ever the least complaint made of him by his equals. This is attested by his contemporary the famous Dr Hickes (2).

(1) Life, &c. as above, p. 1, 2, 3.

(2) Life, &c. p. 9.



orders; and distinguished himself not only by his useful and instructive way of Preaching [C], but also by his early, and indeed uncommon knowledge in Divinity: The first fruits of which were, his *Measures of Christian Obedience* [D], a work which he entered upon when he was but twenty-six years of age, and that was (as we are assured) begun and finished by him between Christmas and Easter. This valuable work so recommended him to the world's esteem, that the old Countess of Bedford (g) took him, upon that account, for one of her domestic Chaplains: But a greater favour he received, upon the same consideration, from the most pious and truly honourable Simon Lord Digby, who presented him in July 1682, to the Vicarage of Coles-hill in Warwickshire (b). There he applied himself, with great zeal and success, to the duties of his function; and, by proper instructions and example, endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to make the people under his care wiser and better. On the 4th of October 1685, he married a very pious and virtuous woman, Mrs Jane Lybb, daughter of Antony Lybb, Esq; of Hardwick in Oxfordshire, a gentleman of a thousand pounds a year. He happily lived with her, as a faithful companion both in prosperity and adversity; and she survived him. After he had continued upwards of seven years at Coleshill, doing all the good in his power with great sincerity and zeal, and universally respected and esteemed, a great alteration happened in his condition and circumstances. For, at the Revolution, being one of those conscientious men who refused to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to K. William and Q. Mary, he was deprived of his living in 1690 (i). However, he did not spend the remainder of his days in a fullen and inglorious indolence; but, retiring to London, continued to write and publish several books, as he had done during his residence in the country [E]. And there, amongst other great and learned men, was particularly happy

(g) And not William Lord Russell, her son, as Wood says by mistake. Athen. Vol. II. col. 923.

(b) Life, &c. p. 20, 21, 22. and Wood Ath. Vol. II. col. 923.

(i) Life, &c. p. 102.

[C] By his useful and instructive Preaching.] His Preaching was easy and free, and always upon useful texts; avoiding all vain contentions and controversies, which serve not to improve in faith and righteousness. His aim herein was not only to speak to the ears, but moreover to the hearts of his auditors: which he also the rather did by his very affectionate way of delivery. He had indeed no good voice; yet he knew how to make the best use of it, and to give every word its due and proper weight. Hardly had he been Master of Arts above a year, if so long, but he had laid out a large fund of sermons against the time he should be called thence to the cure of Souls. For to one of his intimate confidants, when he was a very young Master, he one day shewed a course of Sermons, all fairly written with his own hand, and fitted as he said for the country. There might be near a hundred of them, according to the best computation which this Gentleman could hastily make.—In all his writings, whether for the pulpit or the press, he had still an eye to the practical part, as well as to the instructive, and even to that principally: well knowing that, as without understanding, so also without doing his duty, a man is certainly defective. And he had ever a regard not only to the learned, but also, and chiefly, to the unlearned and those of meaner capacities, for whom he thought nothing could be too plain. The plainness and perspicuity of his Style he took care should be such, as to render his labours serviceable to the greatest numbers. In a word, he distinguished himself in his writings, rather by the Strength of his Reason, and the Solidity of his Judgment, than by the Brightness of his Fancy (3).

[D] His Measures of Christian Obedience.] The small time he is said to have taken in composing that Book, is almost incredible. But we give it here upon the credit of the author of his life; who adds, that “all the time he spent afterward about it, was only in consulting texts and quotations, and animadverting a little upon it” (4). He composed it in the year 1678, though it was not published till 1681, in one volume 4to. Dr Hickes, to whom he submitted it for his correction, advised him to dedicate it to Bishop Compton, intending by that means to have him planted in London: and accordingly it came out at first with a dedication to his Lordship. But when that Prelate appeared in arms against K. James II, Mr Kettlewell gave immediate orders for razing that Dedication out of the copies unsold, and took care to have it omitted in the subsequent editions (5).—In his Epitaph it is said, that he was but four and twenty years old when he composed that book—*Annum adhuc agens vigesimum quartum.*

[E] But retiring to London, continued to write and publish several Books, as he had done during his residence in the country.] We shall set down, in this note, an account of all his works, according to the order of time

in which they were written. I. *The Measures of Christian Obedience*, &c already mentioned. II. *The great Evil and Danger of Profuseness and Prodigality; in a Letter to a Friend*: written in 1681, but not published till 1704. III. *An Help and Exhortation to worthy communicating: or, a Treatise describing the Meaning, worthy Reception, Duty and Benefits, of the holy Sacrament: and answering the Doubts of Conscience, and other Reasons, which most generally detain Men from it. Together with suitable Devotions added.* Lond. 1683. 8vo. This book was the substance of some preparation sermons to the Sacrament; which he preached within the first half-year after his coming to Coleshill, and printed chiefly for the use of his parish (6). IV. *The Nature of Edification explained. A visitation Sermon on 1 Cor. xiv. 12, preached at Coventry May the 7th, 1684.* Lond. 1684. 4to. V. *A funeral Sermon preached Oct. 5, for the right honourable the Lady Frances Digby, who deceased at Coles-hill 29 Sept. 1684. on Prov. xiv. 32.* Lond. 1684. 4to. VI. *The Religious Loyalist, or, a good Christian taught how to be a faithful Servant both to God and the King, in a Visitation Sermon preached at Coles-hill in Warwickshire, Aug. 28, 1685. on Matt. xxii. 21.* Lond. 1686. 4to. VII. *A Sermon preached at Coles-hill in Warwickshire, Jan. 24, 1685, on occasion of the death of the right honourable Simon Lord Digby: who deceased 19 January, Lond. 1686. 4to.* These four Sermons were reprinted after his decease, in 1696, together with, VIII. *Five Discourses on so many very important Points of practical Religion*, 8vo. IX. *The Practical Believer: or, the Articles of the Apostles Creed, drawn out to form a true Christian's Heart and Practice. In two parts. Part I. Of the Nature and Certainty of Christian Faith, and the Knowledge of God: or, an Explication of the divine Attributes, and Providence. Part II. or, the Knowledge of Jesus Christ.* Lond. 1689. 8vo. reprinted in 1713, with several additions; being the 3d edition.

The following were written after his deprivation. X. *Of Christian Prudence, or religious Wisdom; not degenerating into irreligious Craftiness in trying times.* Lond. 1691. 8vo. XI. *Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross: or Passive Obedience under any pretended invasion of legal Rights and Liberties.* Lond. 1691. 8vo. XII. *The Duty of Allegiance settled upon its true Ground, according to Scripture, Reason, and the Opinion of the Church. In answer to a late Book of Dr William Sherlock, Master of the Temple, intitled, 'The Case of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, stated, and resolved, according to Scripture &c. with a more particular Respect to the Oath lately enjoined,'* Lond. 1691. 8vo. XIII. *Of the new Oaths; against those that take them in a lower sense, and also those that make their Concern for the publick Good a sufficient Reason to discharge them from the Obligation of a former Oath of Allegiance,* never printed. XIV. *Of Christian Communion, to be kept on in the unity of Christ's Church, and among*

(6) See Life, &c. p. 24, 25.

(3) Ibid. p. 17, 18.

(4) Ibid. p. 18.

(5) Ibid. p. 19.



happy in the friendship and intimacy of the truly good and pious Mr Robert Nelson, with whom he concerted a 'model of a fund of Charity for the needy suffering [i. e. Non-juring] Clergy (k).' Mr Kettlewell was naturally of a tender and delicate frame of body, and inclined to a consumption, which had like to have carried him off in the 12th year of his age (l). Being seized again with the same illness in the 42d year of his age, it confined him to his house six months, and to his chamber four days, and at last put an end to his valuable life, April 12, 1695, at his lodgings in Gray's-Inn-Lane (m). He was buried three days after, in the same grave where Archbishop Laud was before interred, in the parish church of Alhallows, Barking; where a neat marble monument is erected to his memory (n). Mr Nelson, who knew him best, gives this character of him (o). 'He was learned without pride; wise and judicious without cunning; he served at the altar without either covetousness or ambition; he was devout without affectation; sincerely religious without moroseness; courteous and affable without flattery or mean compliances; just without rigour; charitable without vanity; and heartily zealous for the interest of religion without faction.'

(k) Ibid. p. 162, &c.

(l) Ibid. p. 184.

(m) Ibid. p. 170, &c.

(n) Life, &c. as above, p. 187.

(o) Preface to his Five Discourses.

among the Professors of Truth and Holiness. And of the Obligations both of faithful pastors, to administer orthodox and holy offices, and of faithful people, to communicate in the same, Fitted for persecuted, or divided, or corrupt States of Churches; when they are either borne down by secular Persecutions, or broken with Schisms, or defiled with sinful Offices and Ministrations. In Three Parts, Lond. 1693. 4to. The preface is dated April 8th, 1692. XV. A Companion for the Persecuted: or an Office for those who suffer for Righteousness. Containing particular Prayers and Devotions for particular Graces, and for their private or publick Wants or Occasions. Lond. 1694. 12mo. XVI. A companion for the Penitent, and for Persons troubled in mind. Consisting of an Office for the Penitent, to carry on their Reconciliation with God; and a Trial or Judgment of the Soul, for discovering the safety of their spiritual estate; and an office for Persons troubled in Mind, to settle them in peace and comfort. Lond. 1694. 12mo. The dedication to the inhabitants and parishioners of Colehill, is dated

from his house in London, January 23, 1693. XVII. Death made comfortable: or the Way to die well. Consisting of directions for an holy and an happy Death. Together with an Office for the Sick; and for certain kinds of bodily Illness: and for dying Persons: and proper Prayers upon the Death of Friends. Lond. 1695. 8vo. XVIII. An Office for Prisoners for Crimes, together with another for Prisoners for Debt. Containing proper Directions, and proper Prayers and Devotions, for each of their Needs and Circumstances. Written in 1694 (7), but not published 'till 1697 by Mr Nelson, after the Author's death. XIX. A model of a Fund of Charity for the needy, suffering Clergy. Drawn up by Mr Kettlewell, in January 1693, and printed in the Appendix to his Life. No. 19. XX. His Declaration and Profession, at his receiving the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, March 23, 1693, Printed in half a sheet of paper (8). All the aforesaid printed Works were reprinted in 1718, in 2 volumes in folio.

(7) See his Life, as above, p. 157, 158.

(8) Reprinted in his Life, p. 171, &c.

C

KIDDER [RICHARD], a learned Bishop of Bath and Wells, in the last century and beginning of this, was born, as one says (a), in Suffex [A]; but, according to others (b), and more probably, in Suffolk. On the 5th of June 1649, he was admitted in Emmanuel College in Cambridge; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1652, and that of Master in 1656 (c). July 13, 1658, he was incorporated at Oxford (d). By his College aforesaid, he was presented to the Vicarage of Stanground in Huntingdonshire; from whence he was ejected for Nonconformity in 1662, by virtue of the Bartholomew-Act (e). But conforming soon after, he was presented by Arthur Earl of Essex to the Rectory of Raine in Essex, to which he had institution Octob. 29, 1664 (f). Here he continued, with great reputation and esteem especially for his knowledge of the Eastern languages, 'till the 24th of October, 1674, when he was admitted to the Rectory of St Martin's Outwich, London, to which he was presented by the Merchant-Taylors Company (g). On the 16th of September 1681, he was installed into a Prebend of Norwich, in the room of Dr Ezekias Burton, deceased (h). And being nominated, Octob. 6, 1689, to the Deanery of Peterburgh, was installed the 30th of the same month (i). He then accumulated the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Divinity (k); not having been Doctor in Divinity so early as the year 1681, as Mr Wood has asserted by mistake (l). Upon the deprivation of Dr Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, for not taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and Dr Beveridge's refusal of that See, Dr Kidder, to whom it was offered next, did not prove so scrupulous. Being therefore nominated thereto June 13, 1691, he was consecrated the 30th of August following (m). In the year 1693, he preached the Lecture founded by the Hon. Robert Boyle [B], being the second that preached it. He continued, as he had done before his promotion, to benefit the world by his excellent writings; the most considerable of which were, 'A Demonstration of the Messias'; in three parts [C]. And, 'A Commentary on the five books of Moses; with a Dissertation concerning the Author, or Writer, of the said books, and a general Argument to each of them [D].' An account of the rest of his works is given in the note

(i) J. Le Neve, p. 241, and B. Willis's Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 513.

(k) From the University-register.

(l) Fasti, ut supra.

(m) J. Le Neve, ubi supra, p. 34.

[A] In Suffex;] Browne Willis, Esq; was informed, that he was born at Brighthelmston in Suffex. But doth not mention how authentic his information was (1).

[B] In 1693 he preached the Lecture founded by the Honourable Robert Boyle,] The Sermons he preached on that occasion, are inserted in, and make part of, his Demonstration of the Messias; being the 1st, 2d, and 3d Chapters of that excellent and learned Work.

[C] A Demonstration of the Messias; in three parts] The first was published in 1684; the second in

1699; and the third in 1700. 8vo. It was reprinted in 1726. fol. 'Tis levelled against the Jews; and the learned Author makes in it an excellent use of his great knowledge of the Hebrew and other oriental languages.

[D] A Commentary on the Five Books of Moses, &c.] He acquaints the Reader with the Occasion of his undertaking that work, in the following words (2). 'Many years are now passed, since a considerable number of the Clergy of London met together, and agreed to publish some short notes upon the whole Bible

(2) Preface, p. 1.

(1) Survey of the Cathedrals, &c. Vol. II. p. 513.

(a) Wood, Fasti, edit. 1721, Vol. II. col. 123.

(b) Supplement to Collier's Dictionary, under the article Kidder.

(c) From the College-register.

(d) Wood, ubi supra.

(e) Bp Kennet's Register, &c. p. 853.

(f) Newcourt Repertor. Vol. II. p. 480.

(g) Idem, Vol. I. p. 414.

(h) J. Le Neve Fasti Eccles. Anglic. p. 227. and Wood Fasti, ubi supra.



(n) Br. Willis's  
Survey of the  
Cathedrals, Vol.  
II. p. 513.

note below [E]. Through a most unhappy accident, in the night between the 26th and 27th of November 1703, (during the *Great Storm*) he was killed in his bed, with his lady, by the fall of a stack of chimneys, in his palace at Wells; and was privately buried in the Cathedral (n). He left issue two daughters: Susan, married to Sir Richard Everard, Bart. of Langley in Great Waltham, Essex; and Anne, which dying unmarried May 13, 1728, left 300l. for erecting a monument to her father's and mother's memory; which was done soon after. He was a very clear, elegant, and learned writer, and one of the best Divines in his time.

\* Bible for the use of families, and of all those well-disposed persons that desired to read the holy scriptures to their greatest advantage. At that meeting they agreed upon this worthy design, and took their several shares, and assigned some part to them, who were absent. I was not present at that meeting, but I was soon informed that they had assigned to me the Pentateuch. I was very sensible how great a task this would prove, and was sufficiently conscious of my own defects; yet I was willing to undertake it, because I did always hope, that by yielding to it, I might encourage the labours of those who would exceed whatever I was able to do. Upon this consideration I did set about this work, and did often declare (and with great sincerity) that this was the motive which did induce me. The work was begun with common consent, we did frequently meet, and what was done was communicated from time to time to those met together, and that were concerned. The methods of proceeding had been adjusted, and agreed to; a specimen was printed, and an agreement was made when it should be put to the press; and I finished my part in order thereunto. But so it fell out, that soon after all this, the clouds began to gather apace, and there was great ground to fear that the Popish party was attempting to ruin the Church of England, and that there was a severe storm from that quarter lighting upon us. — [viz. in K. James the II<sup>d</sup>'s reign.] — Hence it came to pass, that the thoughts of pursuing the above-mentioned design were at present laid aside; and those that were concerned in it, were now obliged to turn their studies and pens against that dangerous enemy. — During this time also, some number of those persons, concerned in the above-mentioned work, were taken away by death: and thus the work was hindered, that might else have been finished long since. — I having drawn up my Notes upon this occasion, do now think myself obliged to make them publick, God having now dispersed those clouds that then hung over our heads. And I do it from the same motive that first induced me to undertake it; viz. that I might draw on others to do much better in the following books. This Commentary was published at London in 1694. 2 vols 8vo. To the first volume is prefixed a learned Dissertation, wherein the Bishop sets down, and answers, all the Objections made against Moses being the Author of the Pentateuch. And having considered, among the rest, one Objection drawn by Mr Le Clerc (3), from Genes. xxxvi. 31. and spoken in pretty severe terms of him; that occasioned the passing of some letters between them, which were printed by Mr. Le Clerc, in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*, Tom. iv. artic. 10. p. 364. &c.

(3) In his Prolegomena to his Comment. on the Pentateuch.

[E] *An Account of the rest of his works, &c.* They are as follow, according to the order of time in which they were published. I. 'The Young Man's Duty. A Discourse, shewing the Necessity of seeking the Lord betimes: as also the Danger and Unreasonableness of trusting to a late, or death-bed Repentance. Designed especially for young persons, before they are debauched by evil Company, and evil Habits.' Lond. 1663. 12mo. The tenth edition of it was published in 1750. II. 'Convivium Coeleste. A plain and familiar Discourse concerning the Lord's Supper, shewing at once the Nature of that Sacrament, as also the right way of preparing ourselves for receiving of it, &c.' Lond. 1674. 8vo. reprinted afterwards with additions. III. 'Charity directed: Or, the way to give Alms to the greatest advantage. In a Letter to a Friend.' Lond. 1677. 8vo. IV. 'The Christian Sufferer supported: Or, a Discourse concerning the Grounds of Christian Fortitude, shewing at once, that the Sufferings of good men are not inconsistent with God's Special Providence, &c.'

Lond. 1680. V. He collected and communicated to the ingenious Mr Ray, the Hebrew Proverbs, that are added by way of Appendix to that industrious Gentleman's collection of Proverbs. VI. He published these several *Sermons*; 'A Discourse concerning the Education of Youths: on Ephes. i. 4. Lond. 1673. A Sermon preached before the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen at Guildhall chapel on July 16, 1682. The text is 1 Pet. iii. 2. A Sermon preached at the funeral of Mr William Allen, the 17th of August 1686. on Heb. xiii. 4.' This Mr Allen was a citizen of London, and writ ten books, chiefly in defence of the Church of England, against the Anabaptists, Quakers, &c. 'A Sermon at the funeral of Thomas Pakeman, M. A. 1691. on Rev. xiv. 13. A Sermon on the Resurrection.' Lond. 1694. Besides which, he published in 1697, Twelve Sermons preached upon several occasions; amongst which is reprinted, 'The Judgment of private Discretion.' &c. which I shall presently mention. VII. He writ the following *Traacts against Popery*: 'A second Dialogue between a new Catholic Convert and a Protestant, shewing why he cannot believe the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, though he do firmly believe the Doctrine of the Trinity.' Lond. 1686. 4to. 'An Examination of Bellarmine's thirteenth Note of the Church, Of the Confession of Adversaries.' Lond. 1687. 4to. 'The Texts which Papists cite out of the Bible for the proof of their Doctrine, Of the Sacrifice of the Mass, examined.' Part I. and II. Lond. 4to. He was assisted in this last by Mr Gee. 'The Judgment of private Discretion in Matters of Religion defended; in a Sermon on 1 Thessal. v. 21. preached at St. Paul's Covent-Garden, Feb. 23, 1686.' Lond. 1687. 4to. with a Preface. 'Reflections on a French Testament printed at Bordeaux, Ann. Dom. 1686. pretended to be translated out of the Latin into French by the Divines of Louvain.' Lond. 1690. 4to. The other things he published, were, VIII. *Help for Children's understanding the Church-Catechism.* Lond. IX. 'Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, at his primary Visitation begun at Axburgh, June 2, 1692' Lond. 1692. 4to. In that elegant charge, he has this remarkable passage among many others. — 'There is no man so vile as a profane Minister of Religion; He is of all the most abject, the most self-condemned, and destitute of plea, and liable to the heaviest plagues of another life. If the Religion he teacheth be false why does he commend it to his people? if good why does he not praise it? He must answer for the Souls he misleads; their guilt will be required of him. Oh the mischief of such an example! it wounds many souls at once. It reproaches our Religion, undermines our Church, breeds Dissenters, produceth open enemies to our order, our function, and constitution. These men are the enemies of the Church of England, these are its assassins, from these men she hath received the most dangerous wounds and blemishes. Good God awaken us to a consideration of our danger this way! That Church can never be secure whose pillars and supporters are weak and rotten (4).' X. He was also author of the *Life of Dr Anthony Horneck.* Lond. 1698. 8vo. — And, after his decease were published these two pieces. XI. 'A Discourse concerning Sins of Infirmary, and sinful Sins, with another of Restitution.' 12mo. Composed, chiefly to be distributed amongst the poorer inhabitants of his Diocese. The copy was sent to the press, a very short time before the dreadful Tempest, which put a period to his life (5). XII. 'Critical Remarks upon some difficult Passages of Scripture, in a Letter to Sir Peter King.' Lond. 1719. and 1725. 8vo. C

(5) Preface.



KING [WILLIAM] Archbishop of Dublin (a), was born May 1, 1650, at Antrim in the north of Ireland, where his father had settled on his removal from his native country of Scotland some years before. At the age of 12 he was put to the grammar-school of Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, where he made a good proficiency in classical learning; and growing ripe for the university, was removed to Trinity-college near Dublin, and admitted there on the 18th of April, 1667: Applying himself diligently to his studies, he obtained a scholarship of the house, and a native's place the ensuing year, and took his first degree in arts in 1670. Whence proceeding regularly, he commenced Master of Arts three years afterwards, in 1673, and was ordained Deacon by Dr Mossom, Bishop of Derry, the same year. In this initiatory state he continued for the time required by the Canons of the Church, and then advanced into Priests orders, which he received from the hands of Dr Parker, Archbishop of Tuam, April 26, 1674. From this time it was not long before he was taken into favour by that prelate, who made him his chaplain in 1676, collated him to a Prebend in the church of Tuam the same year, and soon afterwards advanced him to the dignity of Præcentor in the same cathedral. However, he did not reside there a long time, for his patron being promoted to the See of Dublin, took care to remove this favourite to a situation near himself, with the first opportunity, and preferred him to the office of chancellor of the church of St Patrick, and the parish of St Warburgh, the Archbishop's peculiar in Dublin; into which he was installed, October 29, 1679. He was now only in the 30th year of his age, yet he appeared equal to all the ecclesiastical honours conferred upon him. And in the next reign when Popery was so greatly encouraged by the Court, and carried her face so high, he entered the lists against her pretensions, and following the example of his brethren in the English Church, he undertook the Popish controversy in Ireland in 1687, against the Dean of Londonderry, who had been lately reconciled to the Romish Religion [A]. This dispute was continued in the beginning of 1688; and the Deanery of St Patrick's becoming vacant soon after by the Death of Dr Worth, our author during the vacancy was first constituted president of the chapter, and then by them elected Dean on the 26th of January the same year. This was much about the time that the Revolution took place in England, which being zealously espoused by the Dean, he was very active in promoting the same establishment in Ireland, both before and after the landing of King James there in 1689 (b), who being sensible of the weight of his opposition, confined him twice on that account in the tower of Dublin castle (c) [B]. This did not hinder him from proceeding Doctor of Divinity

(a) Several particulars of this article may be seen in the translation and continuation of Sir James Ware, *De Præcibus & Scripturis Hibernicæ*, by Mr Harris, in two volumes folio.

(b) Several instances of this are inserted in his *Vindication of the Protestants of Ireland*, &c. passim.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 246.

that

[A] He had a dispute upon Popery with the Dean of Derry.] The dispute was occasioned by a pamphlet, which the Dean of Derry published in vindication of his conduct, intitled, *The Considerations which obliged Peter Manby, Dean of London-Derry, to embrace the Catholic Religion; humbly dedicated to his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland*. This no sooner came to Mr King's hands, than he drew up the following: *An Answer to the Considerations which obliged Peter Manby, late Dean of Londonderry, (as he pretends) to embrace what he calls the Catholic Religion*. Dublin, 1687, 4to. The sight of this piece brought the ablest advocates of the Romish Church to the assistance of the Dean; and the Court likewise countenancing that side, there came out a reply, under this title: *A Reformed Catechism, in two Dialogues, concerning the English Reformation; collected, for the most part, Word for Word, out of Dr Burnet, John Fox, and other Protestant Historians, for the Information of the People; in Reply to Mr William King's Answer to D. Manby's Considerations, &c.* by Peter Manby, Dean of Londonderry. Dublin, 1687, in 4to. Our author soon rejoined, in *A Vindication of the Answer to the Considerations &c, being an Answer to the first Dialogue already printed of the Reformed Catechism*. Dublin, 1688, 4to. Here the controversy in the direct way was dropped by the Dean, who, instead of that, took a more artful method, by dispersing a sheet of paper, with this title: *A Letter to a Friend, shewing the Vanity of this Opinion, that every Man's Sense and Reason are to guide him in Matters of Faith*. March 30, 1688, 4to. But Mr King did not suffer this to pass without confuting it, in *A Vindication of the Christian Religion and Reformation, against the Attempts of a late Letter, pretending to shew, that All Religions have a like Plea, and that there can be no such Sins as Heresy and Schism, if every Man's Sense and Reason are to guide him in Matters of Faith*. 1688, 4to.

[B] He was confined in the tower of Dublin-Castle.] We are told, that 'he was accused to King James, 'for holding a correspondence with, and giving intelligence to, the Rebels, as they were then called, 'both in England and in the North of Ireland. Particularly it is said, that he gave frequent intelligence to Marshal Schomberg by one Sherman, and kept a

'constant correspondence with one Tolet and others 'in London. That though this was high-treason, 'which a bloody-minded tyrant, such as he afterwards 'represented King James to be (1), would have found 'another remedy for it than a short imprisonment; 'but the King was disposed to shew him mercy, the 'rather, because his Majesty had once so good an opinion of him, that he had him frequently in private, 'and trusted him in his affairs; and that the Lord-Chief Justice Herbert vouched for him at the Council-table with so much zeal, as to say, that he was 'as loyal a man as any that sat at that board; which 'attestation actually retrieved him from some inconveniences that then lay upon him [the imprisonment], 'and continued him some time longer in the King's 'good opinion (2). The truth of these facts were apparently never contested by our author, who allows the good-nature and merciful disposition of King James; but at the same time maintains, that this temper, amiable as it is in itself, was so managed, as to be no security to his Protestant subjects. That his partizans made it their business to represent their master as the most merciful and justest Prince in the world, and then railed at the Protestants for their mistrust of him. Perhaps, if he alone had been to have had the disposal of their lives and liberties, and would have followed his natural inclinations, they would not have so much feared to have trusted him; but while he had such ministers about him, and embraced a religion of such principles as he professed, there was no room to depend much on his natural clemency or inclination, since these were sufficient to corrupt the best natured man in the world, and had actually corrupted his Majesty, as was evident from the whole tenour of his conduct with regard to the Protestants, of which he gives several instances both before and after his accession to the throne. Among others, taking notice of the King's declaration, that *he would have all that did eat his bread to be of his own religion*, and accordingly, that if he ever employed a Protestant, it was for a colour only to his proceedings against them, or because he could not find a Papist fit for their places, or because he believed that in time he might make profelytes of them; he observes, that 'where he did employ them, though their places were considerable,

(1) See our author's *State of the Protestants in Ireland*, &c. chap. iii.

(2) Answer to the *State of the Protestants in Ireland*, &c. by Charles Lesley, p. 5 and 8. Lond. 1692, 4to.



that year; and though he was attacked not long after in a weekly paper, called the *Abhorrence* [C], with a design to render him more obnoxious to the Court; yet he managed so prudently as to frustrate that attempt; but he did not escape being assaulted in the street, where a musquet with a lighted match was levelled at him. He was also disturbed in the performance of divine service at his church several times, particularly on Candlemas-Day this year, when seven officers who were there, swore aloud they would cut his throat (d). Upon King James's retreat to France after the Battle of the Boyne, in the ensuing year 1690, the 16th of November being appointed a thanksgiving-day for the preservation of King William's person, the Dean preached the sermon on that occasion at St Patrick's, Dublin; and on the 8th of January following, he was nominated to the Bishoprick of Derry, and consecrated on the 25th of that month, at the cathedral of Christ-church in Dublin, by Francis, Archbishop of that see, assisted by Anthony Bishop of Meath, William Bishop of Kildare, and Narcissus Bishop of Fernes and Leighlin. A few months after this, he published a piece in vindication of the resistance given to King James by the Protestants in Ireland, and of their submission to King William

(d) Id. *ibid.* and p. 247.

yet they never had the interest with him, or power proper to their places, but were meer cyphers in it. Thus, continues he, Sir Edward Herbert was made Chancellor of England, and a new Great-Seal cut for him; but he was never allowed to have that interest with the King, nor had his Majesty that regard for him in Councils, that his place required. The puny Papist Judges had more influence on the King, and could make bolder with him than he; that he was not admitted to the secret of affairs at all, and at the public Councils he was set below *Fitton* Chancellor of Ireland, and several others, whom, as Chancellor of England, and in his master's presence, he ought to have preceded (3). A remark, so much in favour of Sir Edward Herbert, who is hereby singled out from many others, as a most flagrant example of those that were ill used, notwithstanding their steady loyalty, makes it more than probable, that his answering at the Council-Board for that of our author was by him not disapproved. On the contrary, we shall see presently, that Dr King was one of those Protestants, who always declared their abhorrence of any insurrection against the government, prudently avoiding all unseasonable and hopeless provocation thereof.

(3) State of the Protestants in Ireland, p. 52. third edition.

[C] He was attacked in a weekly paper called the *Abhorrence*.] This paper was licensed either by Mr Richard Nagle or Albeville, Secretaries of State\*, and wrote by one Yalden, a Convert-Counsellor at Law, who made it his business to rake together all the little stories that might reflect on Protestants, and all the arguments his wit could furnish for his cause; and in the scarcity of truth, he frequently invented false stories and lies concerning the Clergy, and began with Dr King and Dr Foy. He had published a collection of passages out of the Bishop of Ely's [Dr Turner's] sermon, and some sixteen others, for Passive Obedience; which lying on the Bookseller's hands, he printed the following advertisement in his *Abhorrence*. There was lately published, by John Yalden, Esq; the substance of fifteen sermons, intitled, *An Abhorrence from the Bishop of Ely, &c. of the Proceedings of the Prince of Orange, and the Lords, &c. that invited him*. But some Protestants believing the said book to be a Popish contrivance, and that such doctrines as were therein were never preached by the Divines there named; upon which † a gentleman of quality, to satisfy these doubts, applied himself to two reverend Divines of this city, viz. Dr King and Dr Foy; who both certified under their hands, that the doctrines contained in the said book were honest, and true Christian Divinity, and obliging to all Christians to put immediately in practice, upon the peril of their salvation. Which certificate satisfied several Protestants here, and confirmed them in an unchangeable loyalty.

† It shou'd be, thereupon.

This paper coming to the hands of our author, occasioned the following letter from him to Dr Foy:

Reverend Sir, March 8, 1689.  
I intended to have waited upon you this afternoon, but found myself so indisposed, that I durst not venture abroad. I have been made sensible, that the publisher of the *Weekly Abhorrence* has made use of your name and mine: and affirms, that we have certified under our hands, that the doctrines contained in a book published by one John Yalden, Esq; con-

taining a *Collection of the Substance of fifteen Sermons, were honest and true Christian Divinity, and obliging to all Christians to put immediately in practice, upon the peril of their salvation*. And he intimates, that this certificate has been shewn to several Protestants here. Sir, for my own part, I do profess, that I never read the aforesaid book, nor did any gentleman of quality (as he affirms) ever apply himself to me, to satisfy him in any doubts concerning it, that I remember. I am sure never any body demanded a certificate from me concerning it; nor did I ever sign any such certificate as he pretends, or any thing like it: and therefore that whole advertisement (as far as it concerns me) is absolutely false and groundless. If any one had asked me concerning that collection, I could have given him no other answer, than that I had neither read it, nor the sermons out of which it is supposed to be taken: perhaps the collection may be just, and no harm in certifying it to be so: but I am sure there is a great deal of harm, in forging a certificate under a man's hand, whatever the matter be that is certified: and if there be no such certificate, forged or real, it is no less criminal to publish to the world (as in this *Abhorrence*) that there is one. I cannot imagine to what purpose the publisher should have inserted such an easily detected falsehood, which he could not expect should escape being discovered; except he had a mind to destroy both his own credit, and likewise that of the collection. Pray, Sir, if you know any thing of this matter, communicate it to

Your most humble servant,

WILLIAM KING.

To the Rev Dr Nath. Foy, these,

To this Dr Foy returned the following answer.

Reverend Sir,  
What you were pleased to acquaint me with, several gentlemen, who were concerned for me, gave me notice of some few hours before: upon which I immediately repaired to the coffee-house (the likeliest place, as I judged, to find a lye if it were stirring) where I saw myself in print; of which, though I could not imagine what should be the ground, yet since it was resolved it should be so, I was glad to be found with so good company as yourself. Had the gentleman, among other things in his *Abhorrence*, but abhorred untruth, I am sure my name had never appeared in his advertisement: for I declare, I never read the book mentioned therein; and I judge, I shall not be very fond of reading any thing that comes from under his hand; having given such a taste to the world of his abilities in writing and collecting other mens senses, that it is to be doubted whether he has yet well collected his own: whose collection, as I never read, so have I never received any account of the contents of it; nor did any person ever require a certificate from me, or my judgment of that collection, or the sermons said to be in it: nor did I ever give any certificate, or my judgment, to any person unrequired. This is all I know of the matter, or of the Gentleman's collection. It may be a faithful one for ought I know, but certainly he has not taken



liam and Queen Mary [D]; which was followed by another *Thanksgiving Sermon for King William's Success in reducing that Kingdom*. This was printed in 1692; and the same year, there coming out *An Answer to his Vindication of the Protestants, &c.* he thought proper to take no public notice of it \* [E]. In 1693, he was appointed one of the royal

Visitors

\* About this time he made some remarks upon Mr Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding*, and communicated them to Mr Molyneux, who had sent him a copy of the first edition of the *Essay*. Letters between Mr Locke and several of his friends, p. 4.

' taken the best method to assert the reputation of it, or his own, since he must give leave with them, who are as ignorant of his person and collection as I am, to suspect, that he who can find a certificate in Dublin that never was written, may find a sermon in London that never was printed. This, Sir, I thought was due, as a return to your's, which I kindly resent, and request you to believe, that I am, Sir,

Your faithful friend and humble servant,

NATHANIEL FOY (4).

For the Rev. Dr  
Will. King, these,

These letters being spread about the city, every body came to know the matter of fact as contained therein; by which means, concerning themselves much in the matter, they both avoided the snare that was laid to entrap them, either by letting it pass in absolute silence, or by disowning it and refuting the calumny.

[D] *A vindication of the resistance given to King James, &c.* This piece is intitled, *The state of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's government; in which their carriage towards him is justified, and the absolute necessity of their endeavouring to be freed from his government, and of submitting to their present majesties is demonstrated* (5). The

general plan of this treatise is as follows: he begins with stating the limits of the duty of passive obedience, wherein he follows the opinion of Grotius, that resistance is allowable in cases of necessity, and that this necessity commences when it becomes certain and apparent, that the inconveniences of submission are greater to the commonwealth, than those of a civil war, which it is entered into to remove, and then there needs no more to justify the Protestants of Ireland for deserting King James, and accepting their Majesties protection, than to shew, 1. That it is lawful for one Prince or state to interpose between another Prince and his subjects, who uses them cruelly, or endeavours to enslave or destroy them, and to rescue them from his hands even by a war, if other means prove ineffectual: and that it is lawful for the subjects to accept of such interposition and protection, if they can find no better way to preserve themselves. 2. That King James designed to destroy and utterly ruin the Protestant religion, the liberty and property of the subjects in general, the English interest in Ireland in particular, and alter the very frame and constitution of the government. 3. That he not only designed but attempted it with great success, and made a considerable progress in it. 4. That there remained no other prospect, or human possibility of avoiding this slavery and destruction designed against the kingdom and protestants of Ireland, but by accepting of the protection, and submitting to the government of their present Majesties. It is evident from this plan, that the force of the argument depends upon the sufficiency and truth of the facts to prove the second and third branches of it.

(6) The large collection our author has made of these, shews him to have been very diligent in his enquiries, most of them being so well attested as to put the truth thereof beyond all contradiction. And with regard to the whole he concludes in these words; 'Here I do solemnly protest, that no private dissatisfaction, that no ill-will to King James's person, nor prejudice against any body, has moved me to say what I have said; but that I might vindicate ourselves by speaking truth in a matter that so nearly concerned us, both in our temporal and eternal interest. And I must likewise protest before God, who will judge between us and our enemies in this point, that I have not aggravated the calamities we have suffered, nor misrepresented the proceedings against us out of favour or affection to a party; but have rather told things nakedly and in general, than insisted on such particulars as might seem to serve no other purpose, but to make our adversaries odious.' In proceeding he appeals to a future inquisition to be

made upon the oaths of eye-witnesses and sufferers, which he also proposes as a thing much to be wished for by the Protestants; as being well assured, that if such commissions were issued by the proper authority into the several counties, that the treatment which the Protestants underwent, and the damages they suffered, would appear with a much worse face than he had represented it, and that where one story might happen undesignedly to be aggravated, twenty worse will be added to supply it. 'There is not, continues he, a more necessary or effectual means can be taken for clearing the Protestants in this kingdom, or justifying the state in their proceeding against the Irish: and we are ready and willing to stand or fall in the censure of the world by this plea, according as on the proof of particulars by sufficient evidence, the truth shall appear.' to this we shall venture to add the following remark, as being suggested by the perusal of the book. It has been often said, that King James defeated his own views by proceeding too fast even against the rules of ordinary policy in England; however that be, 'tis certain his miscarriage in England was of no service in teaching him that lesson for his use in respect to Ireland; since nothing can be more notoriously manifest, as appears from this account, than that his conduct there was pushed on with a still greater degree of violence (7).

[E] *An answer to his vindication of the Protestants.* The famous Mr Charles Lesley was the author of the piece, which he called *An answer to a book intitled, The state of the Protestants in Ireland, &c.* Upon the subject of Passive Obedience, which is laid for the foundation of our author's defence, he endeavours to shew, that Dr King, as well as many others, had taken care to state the limits of that doctrine so as to suit the times and occasions: that no man was, or could be, a higher assertor of it than 'the Doctor had been all his life before the Revolution took place; and that even at the beginning of it, he told a person of honour, from whose mouth Mr Lesley had it, that if the Prince of Orange came over for the crown, or should accept of it, he prayed God might blast all his designs. That there was no way to preserve the honour of our religion, but by adhering unalterably to our loyalty. That it would be a glorious fight to see a cart full of clergymen going to the stake for passive obedience as the primitive Christians did. That it would prove the support and glory of our religion; but that a rebellion would ruin and disgrace it; he said, continues Mr Lesley, that if it were no more than that declaration, which he had subscribed of its not being lawful, on any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King, he would die a hundred deaths rather than do it. And in support of this assertion, he proceeds to relate the following story, that at a meeting of the clergy of Dublin in the beginning of the Revolution in 1688, to consider what measures they were to take, Dr King declared, *that their taking arms in the north of Ireland at that time, was rank rebellion, if there could be any rebellion, particularly Derry shutting their gates against the King's forces sent thither; and when one there present affirmed, that the subjects might take arms in defence of their laws, &c.* The Doctor violently opposed it, even in relation to Derry, and urged, that the Bp of Derry, Hopkins, who was then there, did protest against their shutting out the King's forces, and refused to join with those who did it; for which, and other reasons then given by Dr King, he was against any person's going to the north, or joining with them, as being a joining in a rebellion (8). Every one sees the rancorous spirit of party in this account of Mr Lesley; and indeed the same spirit shews itself at the first setting out of his answer, where he tells us, that 'Dr King's book is calculated for the destruction of mankind, by setting up such principles as countenance eternal rebellions, and afford pretences for war and confusion to the end of the world; and makes settlement and peace impracticable among men (9).' But neither on the other hand must it be denied, that our author has sometimes not been sufficiently upon his guard against the suggestions of the same

(7) *Vindication*, p. 269, 270.

(8) Lesley's answer, p. 113.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 2.

(4) *Ibid.* in the appendix, No. 29.

(5) This treatise was so well received by the public, that a third edition was printed in 1692. And Bishop Burnet observes, that it was universally acknowledged to be as truly as it was finely written; and refers to it, as a full and faithful account. *Hist. of his own Time*, Vol. I.

(6) Accordingly, these two chapters fill up all, from p. 13 to p. 252. after which, chap. iv. is dispatched in three pages, and ends at p. 255.



(e) The other two Commissioners were Anthony Bishop of Meath and Capel Bishop of Drogheda more.

Visitors of the Bishop of Down and Connor, when that prelate was suspended by them (e). The public tranquillity being now perfectly restored, his Lordship applied himself more particularly to the immediate duties of the pastoral care; and reviewing the state of his diocese, he presently discovered, that, by the great number of colonies lately transported from Scotland, the major part of the people in the diocese of Derry were Dissenters from the established Church, which they opposed with as much zeal as the Papists: so that the danger in these parts of Ireland was not taken away by the new settlement, but only shifted into different hands. Hereupon, as he had employed his pen against Popery, when the danger

TO

(10) See §. 6. Part i. Append. III. where he intimates, that King James suffered the English Navy to go to ruin; which he endeavours to excuse in the third edition, p. 93.

(11) Lesley's Answer, p. 105.

same evil spirit (10). We are told, 'tis true that our author at the time of his death had attested vouchers of every particular fact alledged in his book, and that these are still in the hands of his relations. However, it is certain, that he does not even himself always give intire credit to the testimony of these vouchers; yet his antagonist has notoriously overcharged this part of his accusation, when he tells us, that with regard to matters of fact, 'tho' he could not say that he had examined 'into every single one related by our author, not having 'the opportunity of doing it. But, says he, I am sure 'I have the most material, and by these you will easily 'judge of his sincerity in the rest, which could not all 'come to my knowledge. However, this I can say, 'that there is not one I have enquired into, but I have 'found it false in whole or in part, aggravated or 'misrepresented, so as to alter the whole face of the 'story, and give it perfectly another air and turn; in- 'somuch, that tho' many things he says were true, 'yet he has hardly spoke a true word, that is told 'truly and nakedly, without a warp (11). In reality, as to our author's principles, as far as they may be conjectured from what is seen in this treatise, he seems to have run with the stream of the clergy, in disapproving the bill of exclusion and the principle of resistance on which it was built. In this opinion he carried the measures of obedience to the same unlimited degree as was generally preached up in the reign of King Charles II. and before the Revolution. To this purpose we find him observing, that 'when the Prince of 'Orange made his descent into England, King James 'had an army of Papists in Ireland, consisting of be- 'tween seven and eight thousand men, of which near 'four thousand were sent over to him into England; 'there remained then about four thousand behind, 'scattered up and down the kingdom, which were 'but a handful to the Protestants, there being men 'and arms enough in Dublin alone to have dealt with 'them: when therefore the news came, that King 'James had sent commissioners to treat with the Prince, 'it was proposed by some to seize the castle of Dublin, 'where the stores of arms and ammunition lay; the 'possibility of this was demonstrated, and the success 'extremely probable, inasmuch, that the persons who 'offered to undertake it made no doubt of effecting it. 'They considered that the Papists, besides the four 'thousand of the army were generally without arms, 'that those who were in arms were raw and cowardly, 'and might easily be suppressed; that to do it effectually, 'there needed no more but to seize the Deputy Tyr- 'connel, who had not then above six hundred men in 'the city to guard him and secure it; that their hearts 'were generally sunk, and they openly declared them- 'selves desirous to lay down their arms; proposing to 'themselves no other conditions, but to return to that 'station in which they were when King James came to 'the crown. This was so universally talked of by 'themselves, that if any one could have assured them 'of these terms, there was no doubt but they would 'have readily complied, and have left the Lord Tyr- 'connel to shift for himself; nay, it is probable, the 'wiser sort among them would have been glad that 'the Protestants had seized him; and he himself com- 'manded some Protestants to signify to their friends in 'England, that he was willing to part with the sword 'on these terms, so he might have leave to do it from 'King James.' But the Protestants had been educated 'in such a mighty veneration to the very name of au- 'thority, and in so deep a sense of loyalty, that notwith- 'standing the many provocations given them, and their 'fear of being served as in 1641, the memory of which 'was still fresh to them, they yet abhorred any thing 'that looked like an insurrection against the government, 'and generally condemned the design of meddling with the 'Lord Deputy, tho' they knew he was no legal governor, 'and incapable (as a Papist) by the law of that trust.

Especially the Lord Mountjoy laboured for his safety, and prevented the forementioned proposal of seizing him and the castle with as much industry; as if he him- self had been to perish in it. *The truth is, it was an unanimous resolution of all the Protestants of the king- dom, that they would not be the aggressors, and they held steadily to their resolution; none offered or attempted any thing, till they saw the whole body of the Papists in Ireland forming themselves into troops and companies, and these new raised men permitted, nay put under a necessity to rob and plunder for their subsistence. They pitied the hard fortune of King James, and notwith- standing they were half ruined themselves when he came into the kingdom, yet if he had carried himself with any tolerable moderation towards them, and his designs to ruin them had not been so apparent, he might have pre- vailed on them in a great measure (12).* He proceeds to shew, that the change of behaviour in the Protestants was no more than the necessary effect of that King's designs to ruin them actually carried into execution; and among other things, he suggests, that 'all King 'James's promises and declarations in favour of the 'Protestants, were perfectly copied from the French 'King's declarations to preserve the edict of Nantz, 'and of as little sincerity; and that notwithstanding 'these he had as fully determined the ruin of the Pro- 'testants, as that King had resolved the avoiding the 'edict of Nantz, when he made his solemn declara- 'tions to the contrary (13). Again, 'the present 'French King is a demonstration, that neither love of 'glory, nor of interest, neither greatness of mind nor 'goodness of nature, are antidotes against the force of 'the Roman principles, or can restrain the Prince that 'has thoroughly imbibed them from blood and perse- 'cution. Otherwise he would never have made him- 'self infamous by such horrid cruelties as he has com- 'mitted on his Protestant subjects, or blot an indelible 'blot on a reign which he would fain have repre- 'sented to be more glorious than any of his predeces- 'sors (14). In answer to this, Mr Lesley acknow- 'ledges the fact of the French King Lewis XIV's con- 'duct with the Huguenots and defends it, but is so far 'from allowing that King James had learned this lesson, and copied from that monarch, that he lost his crown by not doing it. 'His [the French King's] banishing 'the Huguenots, says he, and dragooning others to 'work them into another religion, does indeed, and 'justly, eclipse his glory with those who know not the 'true grounds and motives which induced him to me- 'thods so rigid and severe. But his very enemies, who 'know the reasons he had for it, do even in this excuse 'him, and turn it into an argument of his wise fore- 'sight and prudence. They tell you, that he was under 'an invincible necessity of being rid of these men, or 'hazarding such a revolution as befel King James (15). Our author strongly maintains also the perfect union of King James with the French King in the general design of extirpating heresy. 'Is not, says he, our late 'King's being of the same principles, and under the 'government of the same director of conscience? Is 'not this fondness of France, and his alliance with it, 'his affecting to imitate the King in every thing, and 'above all his prosecuting the same, if not worse me- 'thods, towards the Protestants in Ireland, that the 'King of France did with the Huguenots in his domi- 'nions; a clear and full proof of both Kings being 'in the same design, and that we must all have ex- 'pected the same usage our brethren met with in 'France (16). In answer to this, Lesley declares with the like spirit, that 'the Jacobites think themselves for ever 'obliged to acknowledge with all gratefulness the noble 'and generous reception he has given King James in his distress, which as no King in Europe was able to have 'done but himself, so none but he could have done it 'in such a manner, with that greatness and every punc- 'tilio of honour (17).'

(12) State of the Protestants in Ireland, &c. p. 110, 111.

(13) Ibid. p. 20.

(14) Ibid. p. 32.

(15) Answer to a Book, intitu- led, The State of the Protestants, in the preface.

(16) Ibid. p. 16.

(17) Preface to an Answer, &c.

[F] An



to the Church in general was imminent from that quarter; so the same regard induced him to take it up again in her preservation now, that he became sensible how much on the other side her borders were retrenched by the Presbyterian Fanatics in his particular district. In this view he set himself to bring these over to a conformity to the established liturgy, in a piece which he published under the title of, *The Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*. Printed at Dublin, 1694, in 4to. But, instead of perswading them to a compliance, the attempt only served to engage him in a second controversy with these separating adversaries; one of whose ministers presently drew up *Remarks on a late Discourse of William Lord Bishop of Derry*, concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God. Dublin, 1694, 4to. In this piece, Mr Joseph Boyse, the author, acknowledged, that the Bishop's 'Discourse was written with an air of seriousness and gravity, becoming the weight of the subject as well as the dignity of his character.' Whereupon his Lordship returned an answer, under the title of, *An Admonition to the Dissenting Inhabitants of the Diocese of Derry, concerning a Book lately published by Mr J. B. intituled, Remarks, &c. from William Lord Bishop of that Diocese*. Dublin, the same year, in 4to. To this Mr Boyse replied, in *A Vindication of the Remarks, &c.* Dublin, 1695, 4to. And the Bishop rejoined, in *A Second Admonition to the Dissenting Inhabitants, &c.* published the same year at Dublin in 4to. Here the contest ended, having, as usual, produced very little, if any, good effect at all. And, from considering the waywardness of man, our author turned his thoughts to view the mysterious ways of God in his providential government of the world. The problem concerning *the Origin of evil* had employed the sharpest wits both of former and latter ages, and still remained a problem, at a great distance from having received any satisfactory solution. This most arduous intricacy our author thought worthy therefore of his utmost attention. Accordingly, he set himself to the task, with a resolution in some measure equal to the difficulty; and, after the most diligent inquiry, having in his judgment penetrated up to the fountain-head, by first discovering and then proceeding in a new way to it, he presented the public with the fruit of his pains, in his celebrated treatise, *De Origine Mali, authore Gulielmo King, S. T. D. Episcopo Derensi*. Dublin. 1702, 4to. It was republished the same year at London in 8vo. and a general view of his scheme may be seen below [F]. Our author therein

[F] *An account of his scheme* This is as follows:

(1.) All creatures are necessarily imperfect, and at an infinite distance from the perfection of the Deity, and if a negative principle were to be admitted, such as the *privation of the Peripatetics*, it might be said, that every created being consists of existence and non-existence, for it is nothing in respect both of those perfections which it wants, and of those which others have. And this defect, or, as we may say, mixture of non-entity, in the constitution of created Beings, is the necessary principle of all natural evils, and of a possibility of moral ones; as will appear in the sequel. (2.) An equality of perfection in the creatures is impossible, as our adversaries allow; to which we may add, neither would it be so convenient to place all in the same state of perfection. (3.) It is agreeable to divine wisdom and goodness to have created not only the more perfect beings, but also the most imperfect, such as matter; so long as they are better than nothing, and no impediment to the perfect ones. (4.) Admitting matter and motion, there necessarily follows composition and dissolution of bodies, that is generation and corruption which some may look upon as defects in the divine work; and yet it is no objection to his goodness or wisdom, to create such things as are necessarily attended with those evils. Allowing therefore God to be infinitely powerful, good, and wise, yet it is manifest that some evils, viz. generation and corruption, and the necessary consequences of these might have place in his works; and if even one evil could arise without the ill principle, why not many? And if we knew the nature and circumstances of all things, as well as we do those of matter and motion, it may be presumed, that we could account for them without any imputation of the divine attributes. For there is the same reason for them all, and one instance to the contrary destroys an universal proposition. (5.) It is not inconsistent with the divine attributes to have created some spirits or thinking substances, which are dependent on matter and motion in their operations, and being united to matter, may both move their bodies, and be affected with certain passions and sensations by their motion, and stand in need of a certain disposition of organs for the proper exercise of their thinking faculty, supposing the number of those that are quite separate from matter, to be as complete as the system of the whole universe would admit, and that the lower order is no inconvenience to the higher.

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(6.) It can't be conceived, but that some sensations thus excited by matter and motion should be disagreeable, and tend to dissolve the union between soul and body, as well as others agreeable. For it is impossible, as well as inconvenient, that the soul should feel itself to be losing its faculty of thinking, which alone can make it happy and not be affected with it. Now disagreeable sensation is to be reckoned among natural evils, which yet cannot be avoided without removing such kind of animals out of nature. If any one ask why such a law of union was established? let this be his answer, because there could be no better. For such a necessity as this flows from the very nature of the union of things, and considering the circumstances and conditions, under which, and which only, they could have existence, they could neither be placed in a better state, nor be governed by more commodious laws. Those evils therefore are not inconsistent with the divine attributes, provided that the creatures which are subject to them enjoy such benefits as overbalance them. It is to be observed also, that these evils do not properly arise from the existence which God gave to the creatures; but from hence, that they had not more of existence given them, which nevertheless their state and the place they fill in the great machine of the world could not admit. This mixture therefore of non-existence, supplies the place of an ill principle in the origin of evil, as was said before. (7.) The happiness and perfection of every thing or agent, arises from the due exercise of those faculties which God has given it; and the more faculties and perfections any thing has, it is capable of the greater and more perfect happiness. (8.) The less dependent on external things, the more self-sufficient any agent is; and the more it has the principle of its actions in itself, it is so much the more perfect. Since therefore we may conceive two sorts of agents, one which does not act, unless impelled and determined by external force; the other, which have the principle of action within themselves, and can determine themselves to action by their natural power, it is plain that the latter are much more perfect than the former. Nor can it be denied, but that God may create an agent with such a power as this, which exerts itself into action without either the concurrence of God, or the determination of external causes, so long as God by a general concurrence preserves the existence, powers, and faculties of that agent. (9.) Such



• Mois de Mai  
& Juin, 1703.

therein makes it his business to shew, how all the several kinds of evil with which the world abounds, are consistent with the goodness of God, and may be accounted for without the supposition of an evil principle. So fatal a blow as this given to the Manichæan system, did not fail to rouse the attention and spirit of Mr Bayle, who, impatient to step forth in defence of that his favourite opinion, attempted an answer to the Bishop before he had seen his book [G], which came out, as has been said, in 1702; and the author

‘ an agent may prescribe to itself an end, and prosecute it by proper means, and take delight in the prosecution of it, tho’ that end might be perfectly indifferent to it before it was proposed, and be no more agreeable than any other of the same or a different kind would be, if the agent had once resolved to prosecute it. For since all the pleasure or happiness which we receive arises from the due exercise of our faculties, every thing which is equally commodious for the exercise of our faculties will give us the same delight. The reason therefore why one thing pleases above another, is founded in the act of the agent himself, viz. his election. This is largely explained in the book itself, together with the limits, within which it is confined, and will be illustrated more fully hereafter. (10.) It is impossible that all things should agree to all, that is, be good; for since the things are limited, distinct, and different one from another, and are endued with finite, distinct, and different appetites, it necessarily follows, that the relations of convenient and inconvenient must arise from this diversity. Since therefore every created being is from the imperfection of its nature necessarily limited, and from that limitation there necessarily follows distinction and diversity, it follows, that a possibility, at least of evil, is a necessary attendant on all creatures, and cannot be separated from them by any power, wisdom, or goodness whatsoever. For when a thing is applied to an appetite or being to which it is not appropriated, as it is not agreeable to it, it necessarily affects it with uneasiness; nor was it possible that all things should be appropriated to every being, where the things themselves, and the appetites are various and different, as they must necessarily be if created even in the most perfect manner. (11.) Since some agents have a power over their own actions as above, and can please themselves in the choice of such things as may exercise their faculties; and since there are some ways of exercising them which may be prejudicial to themselves or others, it is plain, that from this power there arises a possibility of choosing amiss, and they may exercise themselves to their own prejudice, or that of others. (12.) And since in such a variety of things, those that are beneficial or hurtful cannot be known by an intelligent being, which is in his own nature limited and imperfect, it was agreeable to the divine wisdom to prescribe some rules and directions to such agents, in order to inform them what would benefit or incommode them or their fellow creatures, i. e. what would be good or evil, that they might chuse the one and avoid the other.

‘ (13.) Since therefore, as was said before, an equality of perfection in the creatures is impossible, neither would it be convenient for them to be placed in the same state of perfection; it follows, that there are various orders and degrees even among intelligent creatures; and since some of the inferior orders and degrees are capable of those benefits which the superior ones enjoy; and since there are as many placed in the superior orders as the system of the universe allowed, it follows, that the inferior ones, as a more convenient place could not be left for them, ought to be content with a lower portion of happiness, which their nature makes them capable of, and to a higher than which they could not aspire without detriment to the superior which possesses that station; for he must quit his place before another can ascend to it; and it seems hard and very inconsistent with the nature of God, to degrade a superior as long as he has done nothing to deserve it. But if one of a superior order will by his own act, without any violence or compulsion, voluntarily quit his place, or freely chuse such things as deserve a degradation, God would seem unjust to those who are in an inferior degree, and by a good use of their liberty become fit and qualified for a superior state, if he should refuse them the free use of their own choice. It

‘ seems unjust for God to condemn or degrade any one arbitrarily, but he is not to be blamed for suffering one to degrade himself by his own act and choice, especially when the use of that elective power belongs to the nature of an intelligent being, and could not in the present state be prohibited without detriment to some other.

‘ Here the wisdom and goodness of God seem to have exerted themselves in a most glorious manner, the contrivance seems to be the effect of the highest policy and prudence. For by this means God has shewn himself most equitable to his creatures; so that no one can complain of or glory in his lot. He that is in a less convenient situation has no room for complaint, since he is endowed with faculties, and has power to use them in such a manner as to acquire a more commodious one; and he must be forced to own himself only in the fault, if he continues deprived of it: and he that is now in a superior state may learn to fear, lest he fall from it by an unlawful use of his faculties; the superior therefore has a dread that may in some measure diminish his happiness, and the inferior a hope that may increase it; by which means they are both brought nearer to an equality, and in the mean time have the utmost provocation and incitement to chuse the best, and make the most beneficial use of their faculties. This contest makes for the good of the universe, and much more so than if all things were fixed by Fate and Necessity, and absolutely confined to their present state. Either God must have created no free agents to be governed by the hope of reward and fear of punishment, or these will be the fittest means to that end, and worthy of a God; for what ground is there to complain of the Deity in this whole affair, except that when an equal share of happiness could not befall every one, he bestows the best on such as use their faculties aright, and takes away what he had given from those that abuse them.

‘ (14.) If what is laid down above be true, from thence it is manifest that all kinds of evil, viz. that of imperfection, pain, and sin, may enter into a world made by the most wise, good, and powerful author, and that its origin may be accounted for, without calling in the assistance of an evil principle.

‘ (15.) It is plain that we are tied down to this earth, and confined in it as in a prison, and that our knowledge does not extend beyond the ideas which we receive from the senses; and who knows not how small a part we understand even of those elements about which we are conversant? But since the whole mass of elements is as a point in regard to the whole universe, is it any wonder if we mistake, when we are framing a judgment, or rather a conjecture, concerning the beauty, order, and goodness of the whole from this contemptible particle? This earth of ours may be the dungeon of the universe, an hospital of madmen, or a workhouse of reprobates; and yet such as it is, there is much more both of natural and moral good than of evil to be found in it. Thus far, concludes he, has the controversy about the origin of evil proceeded in the author’s book. For all that has been said above, is either expressly contained in it, or may very easily be deduced from the principles there laid down (18).’

[G] It was attacked by Mr Bayle before he had seen it.] Mons. Bernard having given an abridgment of our author’s book in his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the months of May and June 1703. that abridgment fell into the hands of Mr Bayle, who observing his favourite opinion concerning the truth of the Manichæan system to be brought in imminent danger of an overthrow therein, did not think proper to defer putting in some remarks by way of answer till he could see and consult the book itself, but examined the hypothesis of our author as it was represented in Mr Bernard’s abstracts, and in a passage cited by the authors of the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiæ*, which had been omitted

(18) Law’s Translation, &c. second edition, in the preface.



author was translated to the Archbishopric of Dublin, by letters patent, dated the 11th of March the same year, having been first elected *Administrator Spiritualium* by the Chapters of both the cathedrals there, during the vacancy of that see, occasioned by the promotion of Dr Marsh to the Primacy of Ireland, in that of Armagh. In 1704, he preached *A Thanksgiving Sermon for the Victory of Hockley at Christ-Church in Dublin*, which was published there; and another at London the same year in 4to. *preached before the Queen, at St James's, on Humility*. Where he also published in 1706, in 4to. *A Sermon preached at St Margaret's Westminster, January 13, 1705, on Prov. xxii. 6. Train up a child in the way he should go, &c.* And the press at Dublin produced the following year, 1707, in 4to,

omitted by Mr Bernard. The first principle of our author, which Mr Bayle mentions is, that *God always acts for an end, which end in the creation of the world was to exercise his power, or to communicate his goodness; so that it is only improperly said, that God created all things for his glory*. Mr Bayle allows this principle, and that is almost the only point in which he agrees with the Archbishop. But he denies what the Archbishop asserts, viz. that *there is more natural good than evil in the world, and that the establishing of two principles does not remove the difficulty about the origin of evil; because it is as much repugnant to the divine goodness to have created beings which he foresaw would be corrupted by another principle, as to have created those which were corruptible in themselves*. He denies also, in opposition to our author, that every thing derived from matter, must of necessity be subject to pain, diseases, grief, &c. and to confute that notion seems to build upon the opinion of occasional causes, as if it was an uncontroversible doctrine; whereas it has very few followers in England. He asks, to what purpose serve the pains of childbirth? and answers, to call for a midwife; and puts this instance in the margin, that a woman in a wilderness will feel as much pain as in a city, and would conclude from thence, that those pains serve for nothing. He denies that mistake and ignorance are the natural effects of man's imperfection, and cites upon that head the greatest part of the divines, who believe that Adam was created so learned, that though his knowledge was not infinite, it would be absurd to suppose that he was in error or ignorance. He denies that it is necessary, in order to a man's esteeming himself happy in his right choice, to be persuaded that the choice was made by the strength of his own free will. He alledges several sorts of men, who do not think their happiness depends upon their liberty, and quotes a great many authors ancient and modern, poets and others to that purpose. He brings several other reasons against our author's notion of liberty, and afterwards answers that question of the Archbishop, why God permitted sin? He pretends, that the inconveniencies which our author alledges, in case God had not created a being endued with such a liberty as the Archbishop conceives, are absolutely null. He says the same of what his Grace advances to shew, that God was not obliged to employ his omnipotent power to hinder those free agents from abusing their freedom, or to transport them to another habitation, where they would have had no occasion to prompt them to a bad choice. Mr Bayle afterwards attacks our author's assertion, that the goodness of things depends solely upon God's having chosen them (19). Mr Bernard did not let these remarks of Mr Bayle pass without a reply, wherein he begins with complaining of that author for not consulting Archbishop King's book itself, and observes, that Mr Bayle "attacks his Grace upon such principles as he would expressly deny, since the English divines do not maintain, in every respect, the principles common among others of the reformed; as that, for instance, already mentioned, where he recurs to occasional causes. That as to the pains of childbirth, if he knew no other use of those pains than that of calling a midwife, he might have consulted some physician who would have informed him of the matter. That where he cites the authority of divines for the infinite learning of Adam, Mr Bernard says, their authority will signify little, where the question is about reason. And as to his quotations from poets, &c. to shew that several sorts of men do not think their happiness depends upon their liberty, he ought, says the same antagonist, to have proved to Archbishop King, that all those people who have suffered themselves to be conducted by others, &c. did not by an antecedent act of free will, chuse this as the best way for them. For to suppose, that after a man having examined a

ship which he finds to be good, and the pilot whom he finds to be skilful, has resolved very freely to go on board, and intrust himself to the conduct of the pilot; to suppose that this man, in order to preserve the freedom of his will, must needs, at every motion which the pilot makes on board the ship, and at every order he gives out, make a free act of his will, by which he consents to that motion, and without which he is not free; this is certainly what the Archbishop never alledged, and except he had maintained that proposition, most part of Mr Bayle's instances fall of themselves. Mr Bernard concludes with one general remark upon this subject, which he observes may be applied to many other parts of this controversy, and that is, that Mr Bayle artfully separates the inconveniencies which Archbishop King proposes, that he may confute them with the greater ease, without taking notice that divers reasons, which taken separately, would not determine one to act after a certain manner, yet might determine him, if they acted jointly. I have a mind, for instance, to go to such a town, I have a very pressing reason which hinders me, and I have many others which incline me to undertake the journey; every one of these are less than that which should determine me not go, but taken all together, they turn the scale. You do nothing at all to hinder me from taking the journey, if you only refute each reason apart which made me determine to go; you must make one argument of them all, and convince me, that all of them together are not so strong as that one which should hinder my proceeding to my journey. There is, moreover, continues Mr Bernard, one thing, which shews it was necessary for Mr Bayle to have read our author's book, is his way of confuting what the Archbishop hath said of the torments of the damned, that *they are useful perhaps to keep good men to their duty, and make them persevere in a right conduct*. Mr Bayle pretends, that this cannot be said of the saints in paradise, who have no occasion for such a curb; but it may be, that Archbishop King will not grant him this, but maintain, that the confirmation of saints in goodness, is not the confirmation of an enthusiast supported by no motives, of which number the Archbishop conjectures, that the example of the damned may be one. In the mean time Mr Bayle supposing it not to be so, imagines that the Archbishop would insinuate, that after the resurrection there will be new inhabitants upon the earth. This is the effect of confuting a book which Mr Bayle never read" (20.) But the dispute did not end so: Mr Bayle afterwards replied to Mr Bernard, and having procured the Archbishop's book, made several new observations upon it, which were published after his death (21); and the Archbishop answered these remarks in the papers he left behind him, as will be seen hereafter. Besides these of Mr Bayle, there were remarks in French upon the Archbishop's book, written by Mr Leibnitz, who following the treatise *De Origine Mali* to be a work full of learning and elegance, observes, that the Archbishop's first four chapters agree with his own principles, but that the fifth, which treats of human liberty and moral evil, is founded upon principles opposite to his (22). What these were may be seen in his *Theodicee*, where his hypothesis is started. He supposes, that when God made the body, he impressed on his new created machine a certain series or suit of motions; and that when he made the fellow-soul a correspondent series of ideas, whose operations throughout the whole direction of the motions are so exactly accommodated, that whenever any idea is excited in the mind, a concordant motion is ever ready to satisfy the volition. For instance, when the mind has the will to raise the arm to the head, the body is so precontrived as to raise at that very moment the part required. This he calls the pre-established harmony, and proposed to do wonders with it.

[H] The

(19) Response aux Questions d'un Provincial, ch. 74, & seqq. Rotterd. 1706, 12mo.

(20) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Janvier, 1706, p. 57 to p. 70.

(21) In Response aux Questions d'un Provincial, Vol. V.

(22) See Recueil de diverses Pieces sur la Philosophie, la Religion Naturelle, l'Histoire, les Mathematiques, &c. par Mess. Leibnitz, Clarke, Newton, & autres Auteurs celebres, Vol. III. Amsterd. 1720, in 3 vols, 8vo.



4to, his *Sermon, preached at St Michael's Church in that City, before the Lord-Mayor, &c.* on Ecclef. viii. 11. *There is no man that hath power over the spirit to retain the spirit, neither hath he power in the day of death; and there is no discharge in that war, neither shall wickedness deliver those that are given to it.* Our author all along kept his thoughts upon reviewing the important point concerning the origin of evil; and, in the further prosecution of that subject, he published, in 1709, his famous discourse, intitled, *Divine Predestination and Foreknowledge consistent with the Freedom of Man's Will; A Sermon preached before Thomas Earl of Wharton, and the Right Honourable the House of Lords,* on Rom. viii. 29, 30. *For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren. Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.* In this sermon our author, in vindicating human liberty, as being not over-ruled or affected at all by the moral attributes of the Deity, started a doctrine concerning the disparity of those attributes, with the moral qualities of the same name in man [H]; which raised the jealousy of several persons: and his notion was attacked particularly by Dr John Edwards, in a piece intitled, *The Divine Perfections vindicated; or some brief Remarks on a late Discourse, &c.* Lond. 1710, 8vo. And the same year also, by Anthony Collins, Esq; in a pamphlet, intitled, *A Vindication of the Divine Attributes; in some Remarks on his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin's Sermon, intitled, Divine Predestination, &c* [I]. However, all the objections made to this part of his general scheme

(H) *The disparity of the divine attributes to the moral qualities of the same name in man.*] In so interesting a point it will be necessary to give the author's sense in his own words as follows; 'When the scriptures, says he, speak of God, they ascribe hands, and eyes, and feet to him; not that it is designed we should believe, that he has any of these members according to the literal signification; but the meaning is, that he has a power to execute all those acts, to the effecting of which those parts in us are instrumental. And when the scriptures represent God as affected with such passions as we perceive in ourselves, viz. as angry and pleased, as loving and hating, as repenting and changing his resolutions, as full of mercy and provoked to revenge; the meaning is, that he will as certainly punish the wicked, as if he was inflamed with the passion of anger; that he will reward the good as infallibly, as we will those for whom we have a particular love; that when men turn from their wickedness, he will as surely change his dispensations towards them, as if he really repented and changed his mind (23).' He afterwards proceeds in these terms, 'As the nature and passions of men are thus by analogy and comparison ascribed to God, so in the same manner we find the powers and operations of their minds ascribed to him (24).' And he instances in wisdom, and understanding, and mercy, which are, says he, of so different a nature from what they are in us, and so superior to all that we can conceive, that in reality there is no more likeness between them than between our hand and God's power. And that the terms of foreknowledge and predestination, nay of understanding and will, when ascribed to God, are not to be taken strictly and properly; nor are we to think they are in him after the same manner, or in the same sense that we find them in ourselves; but, on the contrary, we are to interpret them only by way of analogy and comparison (25).' Again, 'Wisdom in us is as different from what we call so in God, as light is from motion (26).' Again, 'There is as great a difference between these foregoing, when attributed to God, and as they are in us, as between weighing in a balance and thinking, in truth infinitely greater (27).' He says further, that 'the best representations we can make of God are infinitely short of truth (28).' And lastly, he concludes, that 'understanding, justice, and virtue, are not to be understood to signify the same thing when applied to God and to men (29).' For, continues he, if those attributes are understood literally, and in the same way as we find them in us, absurd and intolerable consequences would follow (30). That the foreknowledge and predetermination of God are inconsistent with the contingency of events and our freedom of will, if his foreknowledge and predetermination are of the same nature with ours (31). But since we have no more proper notion of foreknowledge and predetermination in God, than a man born blind has of light and colours, we ought no more to pretend to determine what is consistent or not consistent with them, than a blind man ought

to determine from what he hears or feels to what objects the sense of seeing reaches (32).'

[I] *A vindication of the divine Attributes.*] Mr Anthony Collins having represented our author's opinion in his own words, offers the following considerations against it. 1. He observes, that according to those notions, it is impossible for his Grace to prove the existence of God against Atheists, since our conceptions or ideas that we signify by the term God must be the subject of proof, whenever we bring the term God into a proposition. But his Grace says, *all our best conceptions of God are infinitely short of truth, and as different from it, as weighing in a balance is from thinking, or as light from motion*; therefore his Grace cannot prove the being of a God, or, which is all one, the existence of any being that is really conformable to our conceptions of God, unless his Grace will say, that what is infinitely short of truth, and different from truth, can be proved true. 2. It being evident then, that whoever proposes to prove the existence of God, must have such an idea of him, as is consistent with the real nature of the being whose existence is proposed to be proved; I would ask his Grace, how he would define the term God, if he undertook to prove God's existence against an Atheist. It is evident he must either contradict his opinion, that all our conceptions of God are false, and assign some conception of God, that he would stand by; or else acknowledge the impossibility of proving God's existence. And I am inclined to believe his Grace would choose the first, because there are several passages in his discourse which imply a conception of God, that his Grace may perhaps stand by, and own to be agreeable to the truth of things; and that, as I take it, is of a *being that is a general cause of the wonderful effects in nature, to which we cannot give any particular Attributes or perfections* (tho' in reality, according to his Grace, this can be no better than an analogous conception of God, any more than the conception of him as a holy, good, merciful, and wise being) (33); and that his Grace can have no other notions of God, appears from some passages in his sermon page 5. Mr Collins cites these passages (34), and proceeds thus. Now, if that be the idea his Grace signifies by the word God, I will allow, that the term God may be brought into a proposition, and the being of God in that sense will become capable of proof. But if that be all that is meant by that term, I see not why Atheists should not come into the belief of such a deity; for they equally with the Theists allow some general cause of all effects to have eternally existed, but, as I take it, differ from them in the Attributes of that general cause. As for example, the Theist affirms the world was made by a wise being, and thinks the wonderful harmony of the universe an admirable evidence of the existence of such a being. On the contrary, the Atheist affirms, that wisdom is not necessary to such a purpose; but that all these admirable effects may be produced by causes and powers, of which we have no idea. And does not his Grace give up the point to these men, in allowing the world does not proceed from a wise or intelligent being,

(32) Ibid. p. 27.

(33) Vindication, p. 17.

(34) Ibid. p. 12.

(23) Sermon, p. 6.

(24) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(25) Ibid. p. 19.

(26) Ibid. p. 21.

(27) Ibid. p. 16.

(28) Ibid. p. 34.

(29) Ibid. p. 35.

(30) Ibid. p. 33.

(31) Ibid. p. 9.



scheme were fully considered by our author, as will appear presently; though he did not think proper to enter into a dispute, or to print any thing more upon the point at this time. Dr Narcissus Marsh, the Primate, dying in 1714, our Archbishop preached his funeral sermon at St Patrick's-church in Dublin, and printed it there the same year in 4to. He was appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1717, into which he was sworn July 17 that year; and he held the same office twice afterwards, viz. in the years 1721 and 1723. In the interim, he had published *A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches; shewing what is meant by dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office.* Lond. 1719, 4to. This was his last performance in print. He died at his palace at St Sepulchre's in Dublin, May 8, 1729; and his corpse was interred on the north side of the church-yard of Donnybrook. Besides the books published by him, he left a great number of manuscript papers, especially relating to the subject of his treatise on the Origin of Evil, both in Latin and English. In these he considered the several objections to it; and the pains he had taken therein to vindicate it from the least cavil, are a conspicuous proof what a value he set upon it; in which view, all that he had written would make a much larger volume than the first. He begins with an account of the present state of the then controversy about the Origin of Evil, and offers many arguments against the supposition of

being, but only from a being considered as a *general cause*, of whose particular Attributes we have no notion at all? Perhaps his Grace may think there will remain a wide difference between Atheism and Theism, because he supposes his eternal being to be immaterial, and the Atheist supposes his eternal being to be the material universe. But that difference is, as I conceive, of no consequence: for if all the moral and all the other natural Attributes are given up as indefensible, then all the arguments for God's government of the world, for rewarding and punishing men in a future state, which are drawn from the consideration of the Attributes of God, taken in a strict and literal sense, are given up. As for instance, do not we argue for a future state from the justice of God, and conclude, that he will deal with every man according to his merit? Do we not from the same Attribute conclude the necessity of an incarnate God suffering for the sins of the world? And do we not conclude from his goodness his design to save mankind? And do we not infer from his knowledge that he takes cognizance of our actions; and from his will do we not infer our duty? but if none of these Attributes are in God, nor any other that we can conceive, we can never argue from them, nor infer any kind of obligation to duty; for all the motives to duty, unless it be that of present pleasure (which is an atheistical consideration) are solely drawn from the consideration of the Attributes of God, taken in a literal sense. How can men know God's will when he has no will? How can men know they shall be rewarded or punished in a future state, or what reason have they to think there shall be a future state, but from the consideration of God's justice, which will certainly make good men amends in another state for their sufferings in this life, and make wicked men sufferers for the pleasure their sins gave them here? But if we lose the use and benefit of the notion of God, that is, have such a notion as has no influence on our practice, what signifies contending with the Atheist about so poor a speculation as the question of the existence of an eternal immaterial being? For whether he be material or immaterial, if he can have neither understanding, nor will, nor justice, it is all alike. Besides, if once the Deity be supposed to have no understanding, &c. I do not see how his Grace will be able to prove the existence of one eternal immaterial being, if the Atheist should think it worth his while to dispute that point with his Grace (35). 3. Mr Collins observes, that his Grace has given up the cause to Mr Bayle, who says, that there is no answering the Manichean objections against some of the Attributes of God, without captivating the understanding to the obedience of faith, or believing against evidence, that is, believing God to be good, tho' it be evident he is not so; and believing him to be wise, tho' it be evident he is not so; and what says his Grace? Why he owns God is not good or wise, and thereby yields to the force of Mr Bayle's arguments. Only Mr Bayle continues to believe God is good and wise against the force of all human reasoning, and his Grace supposes God is neither wise nor good, which two don't much, if at all, differ, but in words. For Mr Bayle's good and wise against evidence and arguments, is much the same with being neither good nor wise. 4. Mr Collins further remarks, that, according to his Grace, it is a matter of

no great consequence what notions men have of God. The Archbishop thinks, that *one who imagines God to be a mighty King, that sits in heaven, and has the earth for his footstool, that has thousands of ministers to attend him; that has great love and favour for such as obey his orders, and is in a rage and fury against the disobedient, and believes the things literally, will be saved by virtue of that belief.* And he calls those officious and impertinent that raise objections against such a notion, and put them into peoples heads (36). But I desire his Grace to consider, whether it is not dangerous to leave men to themselves with such erroneous and vicious conceptions of God; for if they will but give themselves the least trouble to reflect on their notion, they must find, nothing is so easy as to slide into Atheism from the belief of a God, which they take to be such a finite, limited, corporeal, immoral (as fury and rage import) being, as his Grace describes. I hope his Grace is of opinion, that the being of God, which is the foundation of all religion and morality, is capable of the clearest proof imaginable, and consequently that there is no danger of well-meaning mens running into Atheism, if they should happen to be convinced that they have erroneous conceptions of God. But suppose his Grace is of the opinion of Tully (37) and Simonides, and thinks the being of God a difficult problem, and that it is dangerous to disturb them in their wrong notions of God, for fear they should have no notion of him at all: I must confess, I cannot agree with his Grace in thinking it would be reasonable even on that supposition, to forbear objecting to a wrong notion. Evidence ought to be the sole ground of assent, and examination is the only way to arrive at evidence. And therefore, rather than I would have examination, arguing, and objecting, laid aside, I would chuse to say, that no opinions whatever can be dangerous to a man that impartially examines into the truth of things. And this I hope his Grace will assent to upon second thoughts, rather than prevent so much good preaching, as his Grace must needs do, by arguing those men guilty of officiousness and impertinence, that would reclaim men from such an error, as believing God to be like a man, if once the Clergy come to be of his Grace's sentiment (38). 5. Mr Collins observes, that his Grace, by denying God to be a holy, wise, just being, plainly contradicts all those passages of scripture where the example of God is recommended to our imitation (39). 6. That his Grace has given up the cause to the Unitarians, when he declares the distinction of *three persons in one God* to be but a *resemblance*, that is, *not truly and really such as we mean by three persons, but only analogically such, just as time and a line are made to resemble one another* (40). 7. That his Grace has failed of his main design pretended in his discourse, viz. to manifest the divine foreknowledge consistent with freedom of man's will. Mr Collins proceeds to consider what might be objected to him from his Grace's sermon, and concludes with calling upon his Grace to employ his thoughts once more upon this point, and give us a farther eclairecissement on the subject of this sermon and of his book *De Origine Mali*, which, says he, I wish he may perform to the satisfaction of the public, and thereby prevent my design of handling these questions (41).

(36) Sermon, p. 16, 17.

(37) Res enim nulla est, de qua tantopere non solum indocti sed docti dissentiunt, &c. *De Natura Deorum*, lib. i.

(38) Vindication, p. 23.

(39) Ibid, p. 24.

(40) P. 25, 26, 27, 28.

(41) Ibid, p. 35, & seq.

(35) Ibid, p. 22.



of an absolutely evil principle. In the next place he explains and confirms the chief principles upon which his book is built, and then proceeds to rank his adversaries into their several classes, and considers the various arguments which they had urged against him. Upon the whole, this manuscript contains an explication and defence of the principal parts of his scheme, and affords very good hints for improving it in several points, especially with regard to the union of the soul and body, and their mutual influence; to human liberty; to the state of Adam in Paradise, and the consequences of his fall; upon which last subject he also left a sermon, which he ordered to be printed after his death; and a translation of his book into English being published that year, by Edmund Law, M. A. Fellow of Christ's-college in Cambridge, with notes, the Archbishop's relations, the Reverend Mr Spence of Donnegmore, and the Reverend Mr King, Prebendary of St Patrick's, and Minister of St Bride's, in Dublin, communicated these papers to that gentleman; who thereupon printed a second edition of his translation, in the notes to which he inserted the substance of those papers [K]; and the whole came out with this title,

[K] *Notes from the author's manuscript* Among other objections, one of the principal is that drawn from the supposed prevalency of moral evil in the world: the pursuit of this subject necessarily leads into a very large and wide field of particulars, comprehending all the ways and walks of man, which must be thoroughly named, and then accurately weighed in the nicest balance of criticism, in order to a right decision and determination of it. Consequently a more proper specimen of our author's talents, as well as his industry upon the subject of this book, and beautiful manner of handling it, cannot be given, than that which is inserted, in answer to this objection, from his manuscript. It has been seen in the preceding remark, that the last article of his plan lays it down as a principle to be proved in the work, that notwithstanding all the complaints of the degeneracy and wickedness which abounds in the earth, yet such as it is, there is much more both of natural and moral good, than evil to be found in it. In support of this assertion, he begins with stating the objection, concerning the prevalency of moral evil, and then professes himself to be of a quite different opinion than that contained in it, I firmly believe, says he, and think I very well comprehend, that there is much more moral good in the world, nay in the earth, than evil. I am sensible there may be more bad men than good, because there are none but do amiss sometimes, and one ill act is sufficient to denominate a man bad. But yet there are ten good acts done by those we call bad men for an ill one. Even persons of the very worst character may have got it by two or three flagrant enormities, which yet bear no proportion to the whole series of their lives. The author, continues he, does not know the objector, nor with whom he converses, but he must profess, that among such as he is acquainted with, he believes there are hundreds that would do him good for one that would do him hurt; and that he has received a thousand good offices for one ill one. He could never believe the doctrine of Hobbes, that all men are bears, wolves, and tygers to one another, that they are born enemies to all others, and all others to them; that they are naturally false and perfidious, or that all the good they do, is out of fear, not virtue. He that describes mankind in this manner, may give us cause to suspect that he himself is such; but if mankind were taken one by one, perhaps not one could be found in a hundred thousand, that could truly own the character. Nay, the very authors of this calumny, if their own characters were called in question, would take all possible pains to remove the suspicion from themselves, and declare that they were speaking of the vulgar, of the bulk of mankind, and not of themselves. Nor in reality do they behave in this manner toward their friends and acquaintance, if they did, few would own them. Observe some of those that exclaim against all mankind, for treachery, dishonesty, deceit, and cruelty; and you will find them diligently cultivating friendships, and discharging the several offices due to friends, relations, and their country, with labour, pains, loss of goods, and hazard of life itself, even where there is no fear to drive them to it, nor inconvenience attending the neglect of it. This, you will say, proceeds from custom and education. Be it so; however the world has not then so far degenerated from all goodness, but that the greater part of mankind exercise benevolence; nor is virtue so far exiled, as not to be supported, and approved, praised and practised by common consent and public suffrage, and

vice is still disgraceful. Indeed we can scarce meet with one, unless pressed by necessity, or provoked by injuries, who is so barbarous and hard-hearted as not to be moved with compassion, and delighted with beneficence to others; who is not inclined to shew good will and kindness to his friends, neighbours, children, relations, and diligent in the discharge of civil duties to all; who does not profess some regard for virtue, and think himself affronted, when he is charged with immorality. If any one takes notice of his own or of another's actions for a day together, perhaps he will find one or two blameable; the rest all innocent and inoffensive. Nay, it is doubtful, whether a *Nero* or a *Caligula*, a *Commodus* or a *Caracalla* (though monsters of mankind and prone to every act of wickedness and fury) have done more ill than innocent actions thro' their whole lives.

It is to be observed in the second place, that one great crime, such as murder, theft, or rapine, is oftener talked of, more universally reported, and much longer remembered, than a thousand good, peaceable, generous deeds, which make no noise in the world, nor ever come to public notice, but are silently passed by, and overlooked: which very thing shews, that the former are more rare than the latter: otherwise they would not be received with so much surprize, horror, and astonishment.

Thirdly, it is observable that many things are done very innocently, which persons, unacquainted with the views and circumstances of the actors, esteem criminal. It is certain we cannot judge of the goodness or badness of an action from bare appearance; but rather from the inward motions and intentions of the mind, and the light in which the thing appeared to the agent. *Nero* killed a man that was innocent, but who knows, whether he did it out of premeditated malice? Perhaps some intrusted with the care of his person, or a flattering courtier, whom he is obliged to depend on, informs of this innocent man as plotting a conspiracy against the Emperor's life, and was dispatched, lest he be first surprized. Perhaps the informer is imposed upon himself, and thinks it real. It is plain such circumstances very much lessen the guilt; and it is probable, if the crimes of princes were to be weighed impartially, and the whole process laid open, many things might be offered, which would greatly alleviate them.

Fourthly, many things are done through ignorance of the law, and because those who commit them do not know that they are vicious; nay, they are often esteemed virtues. Thus St Paul persecuted the Church, and himself owns, that he did it out of ignorance, and therefore obtained mercy. How many things of this kind are done daily by such as profess different religions? It is true these are sins, but sins of ignorance, which easily obtain forgiveness; and, as they do not proceed from an evil disposition and depraved will, are scarce to be reckoned in the number of moral evils. Whoever falls foul on others out of a love of virtue, hatred of vice, or zeal towards God, does wrong; but ignorance and an honest heart make very much for his excuse. This consideration alone would take a great deal off from the number of wicked persons. Neither does this excuse hold only in matters of religion: party prejudices have also a share in it, which induce men to extirpate, with fire and sword, those that they believe to be public enemies and traitors to their country. There is no error more pernicious to mankind, and which has produced more or greater crimes than this;



title, *An Essay on the Origin of Evil*, by Dr William King, late Lord Archbishop of Dublin; *Translated from the Latin, with notes; and a Dissertation concerning the Principle and Criterion of Virtue, and the Origin of the Passions. The second edition. Corrected and enlarged from the author's manuscripts. To which are added, Two Sermons by the same author; the former concerning Divine Prescience, the latter, on the Fall of Man, never before published.* Lond. 1732, in two volumes 8vo (f). These two pieces are annexed, as essential parts of our author's scheme; and the editor has taken occasion to answer the only objection of any moment brought against the first [L]. But in the latter, some notions are incidentally

(f). The third edition was published in 1739.

this; and yet it arises from an honest mind. The mistake lies here, they forget that their country and commonwealth ought to be defended by just and lawful means, and not at the expence of humanity.

Fifthly, Prejudice and surmise make many wicked, that really are not so. The most innocent conversation between man and woman gives the malicious a handle to suspect and slander them. From any one single circumstance, that usually attends a criminal action, the suspected person is found guilty of the fact itself. From one bad action a man's whole life is disparaged, and judged to be of the same tenour. If one member of a society be caught in a fault, all the rest are presumed to be as bad. It is scarce credible how many are looked upon as scandalously wicked through such suspicions, who are very far from it. Confessors and Judges, in criminal cases, know very well how small a part of publick fame is true, how little it is ever to be trusted.

Sixthly, we must distinguish, and the law itself does, between such things as proceed from malice, and premeditated wickedness, and those that arise from violence of passion, and disorder of mind. The guilt is very much extenuated, when the person offending is under provocation, and, as it were, transported beyond himself by a sudden fit of passion. These things are all known to our most equitable judge, who will pass a merciful, and not a rigorous sentence upon us; and for these reasons we believe he forbade us to judge any thing before the time. We only know the outside of things: and it is possible, that such as seem to us the greatest crimes, would upon seeing the whole procedure, and making proper allowances, appear to be the least. Many virtues, as well as vices, lie in the mind invisible to human eyes, it is speaking at random therefore to pronounce upon the number of one or other; and he that would from thence infer the necessity of an evil principle ought to be esteemed a rash judge, and an usurper of God's tribunal.

Lastly, It may be observed, that the continuance and increase of mankind is a sure proof that there is more good than evil in the world; for one or two acts may have a pernicious influence on many persons: nay, all immoral actions tend to the destruction of mankind, at least to the common detriment and diminution of them. Whereas a great many, even numberless, good actions must necessarily concur to the preservation of each individual. If therefore bad actions exceeded the good, there would be an end of human kind. We have clear evidence of this in those countries, where vices multiply; the number of men continually decrease and the place grows desolate; but upon the return of virtue and goodness it is again stocked with inhabitants. This is a sign that mankind could not subsist, if ever vice were prevalent, since many good acts are necessary to repair the loss, which attends one bad one. One single action may take away the life of a man, or of several men, but how many acts of benevolence and humanity must necessarily contribute to the bringing up, educating, and preserving every one. From what has been said, I hope it appears that there is more good than evil among men, and that a good God might make the world, notwithstanding the argument drawn from the contrary supposition. His Grace concludes this beautiful chain of reasoning with the following excellent remark. But almost all of this is unnecessary, since the whole universe may have ten thousand times more good than evil, though this earth of ours had no one good thing in it. This world is too small to bear any proportion to the whole system; and therefore we can form but a very unequal judgment of it from hence. It may be the hospital or prison of the world, and can any one judge of the healthfulness of a climate from viewing an hospital, where all are sick? Or of the wisdom of a government from a place of confinement, where there are only madmen? Or of

the virtue of a people from a prison, where there are none but malefactors? Not that I believe the earth is really such a place; but I say it may be supposed such, and any supposition, which shews how a thing may be, destroys the Manichæan argument drawn from the impossibility of accounting for it. In the interim, I look upon this earth as an habitation abounding with delights, in which a man may live with comfort, joy, and happiness. I own, with the greatest gratitude to God, that I myself have lived such a life, and am persuaded, that my friends, acquaintance, and servants, have all the same; and I believe that there is no evil in life, but what is very tolerable, especially to those who have hopes of a future immortality (42).

[L] Answered the only objection of any moment brought against the first]

The objection here meant is to that passage, where the Archbishop says, that understanding, justice, and virtue, are not to be understood to signify the same thing, when applied to God and to man. A doctrine which, as expressed, seems in reality to be utterly subversive of all religion and morality, as is excellently argued by another archbishop, I mean Dr Tillotson, as follows: *It is foolish, says that inimitable preacher, for any man to pretend that he cannot know what justice, and goodness, and truth, in God are; for if we do not know this, 'tis all one to us whether God be good or not; nor could we imitate his goodness, for he that imitates, endeavours to be like something that he knows, and must of necessity have some idea of that to which he aims to be like; so that if we had no certain and settled notions of the justice and goodness of God, he would be altogether an unintelligible Being, and religion, which consists in the imitation of him, would be utterly impossible* (43).

This confession, as Mr Law observes, 'will hold equally good against the doctrine delivered by our author in the sermon annexed, if he did not suppose, that there are some qualities in man in some respects really correspondent to those in God, and so very like them, that nothing could be more so, except that which exists in the very same manner and degree too, i. e. in a perfect one. If this be his meaning, as is not improbable from his answer to the like objection in §. 22. where he declares, that the divine attributes have much more reality and perfection in them, than the things by which we represent them. If, I say, he be taken in this sense as I would willingly understand him, he is perfectly clear from the exceptions made above.' Mr Law then proceeds to take notice of another antagonist of the Archbishop upon this subject, as follows: 'I wish, continues he, the author of the Extent and Procedure of the Understanding, could be shewn to be so [clear of exception] who is generally supposed to have pursued his notion of analogy, farther than most persons will be able to follow him. As he has charged the Archbishop with a mistaken way of treating the subject (44). I hope he will be ready to excuse any for observing what they they conceive to be a mistake in his own method, especially if they endeavour to shew directly that the foundation of analogy, as he has placed it, is false and groundless, which foundation is the general nature or distinguishing kind of these qualities. Now the nature of the forementioned qualities must either be wholly the same in God and us, or wholly different; if the former be maintained, then the analogical sense is turned into an identical one, if the latter, then can no manner of resemblance or analogy be drawn between them, since one nature can't in the least help to explain or represent another quite different from it, I mean in those very points wherein they differ, for that is to be different and not different, and the analogical sense is turned into a disparate or quite opposite one, i. e. into no analogy at all; or, lastly, it must be partly the same and partly different, or like and unlike in different respects, which is the thing we contend

(42) Law's Translation, Vol. II. p. 473, 2d edit.

(43) Tillotson's Sermons, Vol. II. No. LXXVI. p. 672 and 678. folio edit.

(44) Viz. in his introduction to the Extent and Procedure of the Understanding, p. 17.



incidentally dropped, which seem to be merely conjectural [M]. To conclude, the Archbishop's system, as explained and improved by this editor, in clearing up some of the chief difficulties that occur in our conception of the Deity and his Providence, was afterwards adopted by Mr Pope, and adorned with all the graces of poetry in his *Essay on Man*.

'tend for, viz. like in perfection or in being perfect-  
'tions of a certain kind, and unlike in defect or imper-  
'fection that is mixed with the contrary qualities, or  
'the same in their nature or essence, but different in  
'degree and the manner of existence. Or take it thus,  
'the qualities as such considered in the abstract are  
'the same, as existing in a particular subject different ;  
'in an infinite or rather perfect subject they exist per-  
'fectly, or in the highest degree, they are absolute  
'without any mixture or defect, in a finite or imper-  
'fect one they are limited or defective, they exist in  
'an imperfect manner or inferior degree. Conse-  
'quently we conceive a likeness in both as perfections  
'or qualities of a certain nature or kind, unlike only  
'as mixed with imperfections or as confined to a cer-  
'tain degree. If therefore the author founds his ana-  
'logy in the very nature of the thing, he seems to in-  
'cur the forementioned absurdity of supposing a nature  
'contradictory to itself, or something from which it is  
'at the same time totally different. If with us he will  
'please to distinguish between the nature of the thing in  
'general, and the particular modus of it's existence,  
'he must with us also remove the analogy from the  
'former foundation, and fix it upon the latter (45).'

[M] *He advances some notions merely conjectural*  
His text is these words in Gen. ii. 16, 17. *And the Lord God commanded the man saying, of every tree in the garden thou mayst freely eat : But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die :* He treats of it under the four following heads, (1.) He considers the state and circumstances of man when this command was given. (2.) The command itself. (3.) How man was seduced to break it. (4.) The consequence of that disobedience. Upon the first head he maintains that Adam before the Fall was in a state of great ignorance, his knowledge extending no farther than what he saw of the creatures with him in the garden, and that for any thing more he was under the immediate direction and information of God : whence he shews, under the second head, the true sense of the command not to be an arbitrary trial of submission to

the will of God ; but rather a means to facilitate and secure his obedience to his own advantage. Your obedience, says God, in this will be an infallible means to secure you from chusing wrong in any other thing. Whilst you direct your free-will wholly right in this, I will take care, that you shall not abuse it in any other. In treating the third head, he follows the common opinion, taking the serpent in the literal sense, but asserts further that it was even the very same species of that creature which we see now, between whom and man there continues an enmity, says he, to this day ; but though it was a true and literal serpent, yet there was more in it, for the devil spoke through it ; nay, he thinks it no incongruity to suppose, that the devil possessed the serpent so as to be as it were incarnate in it ; we may have leave, says he, to think that the power of God could unite them as closely as our souls and bodies are joined, and cause the punishment inflicted on the literal serpent to affect Satan in it, who therefore was obliged to crawl upon his belly, and lick the dust of the earth, at least as long as that individual serpent was in being. This he is the rather induced to believe, inasmuch as the literal sense so understood does not exclude the mystical, the cursing of the serpent being a symbol to us, and a visible pledge of the malediction with which the Devil is struck by God, and whereby he is become the most abominable and miserable of creatures. In explaining the fourth head he maintains, that a main consequence of the Fall was an increase of knowledge in respect both of good and evil by the use of their natural faculties. From the whole he observes, that God did not think it fit our first parents should be absolutely happy in the state of innocence, without revealed religion and the use of sacraments. Their discovery of good and evil, in that state, being to proceed from the continual communications of the divine wisdom, and the trees of knowledge and life were truly sacraments as being outward and visible signs and means of grace, which is the true notion of a sacrament. Whence he infers, that it is a great folly to despise and to think of being saved without revealed religion. P

(45) Law's Translation, in remarks to note 10, p. 91, 92, 93.

(a) Life of Dr Will. King, prefixed to his Remains, &c. edit. 1732, 8vo.

(b) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II, col. 1064.

• This is evident from his going out Compounder, when he took his first degree. Wood's Fasti, Vol. II. p. 226.

(c) Id. ibid.

KING [WILLIAM], an ingenious and humorous Poet, was the son of Ezekiel King, Gent. of London; in which city he had his birth about the year 1663. He was bred with the strictest care from his infancy (a); and, as soon as he became fit for it, was put under the celebrated Dr Busby at Westminster-school, where, being chosen King's scholar, his natural good talents received all those improvements from cultivation, that might be expected from so admirable a master. After which he was elected to Christ-church-college in Oxford, and admitted a student there in Michaelmas-term 1681, at the age of eighteen years (b). He was particularly pleased with this situation in the university, and made use of the advantages it gave him; he had a strong propensity to letters, and of those valuable treasures he daily increased his stock; but being well descended, and becoming early possessed of an easy fortune\* [A], he indulged his genius and inclination in the choice method of his studies, ranging freely and at large through the pleasant fields of polite literature; and being ravished with the sweet pursuit, he prosecuted it with incredible diligence and assiduity [B]. He took his first degree in Arts, December 8, 1685 (c), and thence

[A] *He was well descended, and became early possessed of an easy fortune* ] The author of some account of his life observes, that he was allied to the noble families of Clarendon and Rochester (1); and several passages of his life mentioned in the course of this memoir confirm it. The Doctor himself having occasion to speak of some fine pictures of *Paulo Veronese* in the possession afterwards of Lord Harcourt, calls him his cousin (2); and among his hints for making a collection of books, manuscripts, &c. which might tend to the honour of the British name, he proposes an enquiry to be made, what lives of merchants and citizens of eminency have been wrote. 'Tis a pity, continues he, if none or few are found. Whether there is not a life wrote of my great-grandfather *La Motte*. He was a merchant of note (3). With regard to his fortune we are informed, in the account of his life (4), that he enjoyed a pretty paternal estate in Middlesex and elsewhere; and our author himself occasionally mentions his estates in Northamptonshire and Leicestershire. The

(1) Life, prefixed to his Remains, &c. p. 8.

(2) Remains, &c. p. 82.

(3) Ibid. p. 66, 67.

(4) P. 8.

passage is in his animadversions on Lord Moleworth's account of Denmark, which because it will furnish no unfit specimen of the taste and manner of that piece, we shall present our readers with it as follows. In answer to some of his Lordship's remarks on the poor diet in Denmark, he writes thus: 'Their peasants live as plentifully as in other countries, they have good flesh and salt fish, white meats, roots, &c. but what signifies all this (according to our author, p 11) *since necessary fresh fish is wanting*. I could heartily condole their condition, if my tenants in Northampton and Leicestershire would not take exception; for if they found me once so indulgent to the peasants of another nation, they would certainly expect a double barrel of Colchester oysters by the next carrier; and without a cod's head, smelts, or turbot, I might e'en go to plow myself for Hodge and Sawney (5).'

[B] *He pursued his studies with incredible diligence.* It appeared from his loose papers, termed by him, *Adversaria*,

(5) Miscellanies in prose and verse, by Will. King, p. 14.



thence proceeded regularly to that of Master July 6, in the year of the Revolution (d), and the same year commenced author. He had the happiness of being endued with a religious turn of mind [C]; which being joined to the warmest regard for the honour of his country [D], prompted him to rescue the character and name of Wicliffe, our first Reformer, from

*Adversaria*, that before he was eight years standing in the university, he had read over and made reflections on twenty-two thousand and odd hundred books and manuscripts (6). The following extracts from these *Adversaria* will explain and illustrate the Doctor's taste and manner in directing the course of his studies.—  
 'Diogenes Laërtius, book 1. *Thales* being asked how a man might most easily brook misfortunes, answered, if he saw his enemies in a worse condition. It is not agreed concerning the wise men, or whether indeed they were seven. Solon ordained, that the guardians of orphans should not cohabit with their mothers, and that no person should be a guardian to those whose estate descended upon them at the orphan's decease: that no seal graver should keep the seal of a ring that was sold: that if any man put out the eye of him who had but one, he should lose both his own: that where a man never planted, it should be death to take away: that it should be death for a man to be taken in drink. Solon's letters at the end of his life in Laërtius, give us a truer idea of the man than all he has written before, and are indeed very fine. Solon's to Cræsus are very genteel; and Pittacus's, on the other side, as rude and philosophical: however, both shew Cræsus to have been a very great man.—Anacharsis has an epistle to Cræsus to thank him for his invitation; and Periander one to all the wise men to invite them to Corinth to him, after their return from Lydia. Epimenides has an epistle to Solon to invite him to Crete under the tyranny of Pisistratus.—Epimenides often pretended that he rose from death to life.—Socrates is said to have afflicted Euripides in his tragedies. He was a great champion of democracy, and extols pleasure as the best thing a man could enjoy, as Xenophon witnesses in his *Symposium*. Xenophon was modest to excess, and the most lovely person living.—Bion used to say, it was more easy to determine differences between enemies than friends, for that of two friends, one would become an enemy; but of two enemies, one would become a friend.—Aristippus was a man of a soft temper, and could comply with all persons, places, and seasons. He could enjoy, and scorn pleasure, if too expensive to his way of living. He said pleasure was no crime, but it was a crime for a man to be a slave to his pleasure. We can have no true character of him from his life in Laërtius; for it is certain, he was an exact courtier, and the rest of the philosophers, the Grecians, were generally averse to him, because he could endure to live in the court of Dionysius, whereas they were all for a democracy, and could not endure to see a Greek complainant to a monarch, being a thing, as they thought, below the dignity of his birth.—Pleasure was the thing he sought after: and the Hegesiacs, his followers, tell us, there was nothing either pleasant or unpleasant by nature; but that thro' scarcity, novelty, and satiety, some things were delightful, others distasteful. That wealth and poverty had no relation to pleasure; for that the pleasures of the rich and the pleasures of the poor were still the same. They were of opinion, that the transgressions of men were to be pardoned, for that no man committed a voluntary sin, but by the impulse of some natural passion or other. That a man ought to propose to himself as his chiefest end, to live a life free from trouble and pain, which happens to them who are not over eager in the chase and pursuit of pleasure.—See in the life of *Aristippus* the notion of the Cyreniacks about friendship, and how they shew the pleasure that is in it. Theodorus the Atheist denied friendship, as neither appearing really in fools nor wise men; for in the first, as soon as the benefit ceases, the friendship dies; and wise men trust so much to their own abilities, that they stand in need of none.—Laërtius has made verses on most of the philosophers, which are very dull. The Phrygians profuse in their tempers.—Menedemus, when a stupid fellow talked impertinently to him, said, hast thou any lands? The fellow answered, Yes, several farms. Go then, said he, and look after them, lest thou lose thy wealth, and come to be a poor fool.—Timon, an inveterate enemy to the academic philosophers, has written a satire upon them all. There is a

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very fine ode of Aristotle's in Diogenes Laërtius concerning virtue and friendship, which want to be translated from the Greek. Laërtius is a very dull fellow.—Diogenes's sayings are most of them puns. He said opposition was the study of his whole life.—Hypparchia, a woman of a good birth and fortune, fell in love with Crates the nasty Cynic, and would needs marry him, and live after his fashion. Crates made her brother become his auditor by letting a f—: these Cynics were nasty brutes.—The logick of the Stoicks seems to me, as far I can make any thing of Laërtius, to be nothing but words. They held self-preservation to be the first of all desires infused into all creatures. Erillus maintained, there were things indifferent between virtue and vice (7). From these observations on Laërtius the reader will be able to form a judgment of others. We need not take notice, that this method of making remarks upon the authors he read, is very far from being peculiar to the Doctor, it is the general way of every student, but nothing discovers the taste and temper of his genius more than the turn and nature of his *Adversaria*. 'Tis these that shew how freely the Doctor ranged in the fields of polite learning, as well as what sort of flowers pleased his fancy most. None of the humorous kind seem to have escaped his notice, especially if dressed up in verse, of which the following may serve for a specimen.

Mirth makes them not mad,  
 Nor sobriety sad,  
 For of that they are seldom in danger;  
 At Paris, at Rome,  
 At the Hague they're at home,  
 The good fellow's no where a stranger.

[C] He had the happiness of being endued with a religious turn of mind.] This was so much his disposition, that he would never enter upon any business of the day 'till he had performed his devotions, and read several portions of scripture out of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the New Testament; on which he would often make his remarks, taking a fresh piece of paper every morning in his hand, on which he always begun with *Σὺν Θεῷ, by God's permission*: and this paper he kept at hand all day, to write down whatever occurred to his mind or pleased his fancy; these he called hints, which he could refer to at pleasure. Accordingly, we find several of these upon the subject of religion, and the Church as well as virtue and morality. Such, for instance, are these. 'The second of Esdras seems to me full of tautologies and childish instances of God's power and explanation of his secret designs. Chrysostome speaks expressly of Jesus Christ.—See *Bartolus Agricola de Advocato*, having taught the Advocate to be a good man, he proceeds to make him a good Christian (8).—There is such an air of piety runs thro' all Hacklitt's discoveries, that makes it seem as if that alone made them successful. What signified all the Buccaneers prosperity without virtue? To what authority did all their wars and conquests bring them, but to make one another rich and vicious (9).'

[D] The warmest regard for the honour of his country.] In this spirit, at the head of a very large number of his *Adversaria*, we find—'Criticisms and remarks in poetry, &c. as might tend to the honour of the British name and literature.' To encourage a collection of this kind, our author recommends a prodigious number of observations on books, manuscripts, and what else he had met with to promote the said work. These observations fill up above twenty pages in 8vo (10), and are most of them exceeding curious; the great number of the valuable smaller poetical pieces referred to and mentioned in them, are a conspicuous proof of our author's judgment as well as diligence. Among other rare pieces, he mentions the *Polemio Middiana a Macaronick* poem, by Drummond of Hawthornden (11), which, as he intimates, was published by Dr Gibson, late Bishop of London. He takes notice also of the Bishop of Lichfield's technical verses for Chronology, as a stupendious work, comprehending that

(6) Remains, &c. p. 16.

(7) Ibid. p. 18 to p. 24.

(8) Remains, &c. p. 26, 27.

(9) Ibid. p. 67.

(10) Ibid. from p. 46 to 66.

(11) Ibid. p. 47. See Ben Jonson's article, p. 278.



(e) Bishop Burnet had attacked this author immediately after his book came out in 1686. See Bishop Burnet's article in remark [T], p. 1036, Vol. II.

(f) Ath, Oxon. ubi supra.

(g) Account of his Life, &c. p. 8.

from the calumnies of Monf. Varillas; the thing had been publickly requested also, as a proper undertaking for such as were at leisure and would take the trouble (e). Mr King therefore deeming himself to be thus called forth to the charge, readily entered the lists; and, with a proper mixture of wit and learning, handsomely exposed the blunders of that French author, in a piece intitled, *Reflections upon Mr Varillas his History of Heresie, Book I. Tom. I. as far as relates to English Matters, more especially those of Wickliffe*. Lond. 1688 [E]. About this time, having fixed on the Civil-Law for his profession, he entered upon that line in the university (f), and at the regular time took his Doctor's degree therein; which qualifying him to plead in the courts of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law, he was admitted an Advocate: and residing at Doctors-Commons, soon grew into considerable repute, and had great practice as a Civilian (g). In the interim (h), Lord Moleworth publishing his account of Denmark in 1692, our author took up his pen once more in his country's cause, the honour of which was thought to be blemished by that account (i). Animated with this spirit, he drew up a censure of it, which he printed under the title of *Animadversions upon the pretended Account of Denmark* [F]. This was published in 1694, and was so much

(h) He translated *The Life of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus the Roman Emperor, with Remarks, &c.* from the French of Monsieur & Madame Dacier. Lond. 1692, 8vo. He also translated from French, *New Memoirs and Characters of the 1700 great Brothers, the Duke of Bouillon, and Marjibul Turenne*. Written by James de Langlade, Baron of Saumeries. 1693, 8vo.

(i) Mr Scheel, the Danish Minister, had also presented a memorial against it. *Animadv.* p. 36. in our author's *Miscellanies*.

(12) Ibid. p. 53.

(13) P. 59.

that learning thro' many ages so short, that nothing can be a greater instance, *memoriam in artem posse redire* (12). In the same view, having afterwards mentioned the technical verses usually found in the little manuals of logick, he says it were to be wished, that the memorial verses in all sciences were collected together and printed (13), and his judgment in this particular has been confirmed, and the design here hinted actually put into execution by the learned Dr Richard Grey, in his *Memoria Technica, or Art of Memory*. Our poet is particularly inquisitive after any pieces of the author of *Hudibras*. If that author, says he, has left any Latin behind him, it would be the best in that kind: his thoughts are so just, his images so lively, such a deep insight into the nature of mankind, and the humour of those times, that no true history could be wrote without studying that author. 'Tis pity, continues he, that the finest of our English poets, especially the divine Shakespeare, had not communicated their beauties to the world so as to be understood in Latin, whereby foreigners have sustained so great a loss to this day; when all of them were inexcusable, but the most inimitable Shakespeare. I am so far from being envious and desirous to keep those treasures to ourselves, that I could wish all our most excellent poets translated into Latin that are not so already. Accordingly this hint of the Doctor's was not lost, among other things we have since seen not only a Latin translation of Prior's *Solomon*, but even of Milton's *Paradise Lost* excellently performed in verse\*.

[E] *Reflections upon Varillas, &c.* Mr Varillas had intitled his book, *Histoire des Revolutions arrivees en Europe en Matiere de Religion*. Paris, 6 vol. 4to. 1636. and again in 1687, 12mo (14). It begins with the year 1374, and ends in 1650. Dr King made use of the Amsterdam edition, not being able to procure that of Paris. At the head of the first volume Varillas had put the following advertisement. 'In composing this work, I have taken my materials indifferently from Catholick and Protestant writers; citing these last in their own words as often as I found them ingenious enough not to suppress or disguise the most important truths: and it is thro' their own fault that I have been obliged to have recourse to the Catholicks.' In like manner Mr King prefixed an advertisement, wherein he declares, 'that he was willing to contribute his share in exposing Mr Varillas's mistakes concerning Wickliffe, having formerly laid together some observations conducing to such a design. Mr Larroque had, 'tis true, gone before him in the attempt, but that ingenious gentleman was not well advised to meddle in a strange country, 'till time had instructed him more fully in the constitutions and language of it. That he [Mr King] has given Mr Varillas all the law imaginable, having made no advantage of mistakes, which with any reason could be charged upon the Printer, and has contradicted nothing without express proof on his side, and in things highly improbable, which seem to have no foundation in history, unless he can confront them with positive and authentick testimonies, he lets the author alone, and suffers the boldness of the assertion to be its own security. In the reflections he observes, that the enemies of the Reformation, as they seem resolved never to leave off writing controversies, and being confuted by our divines; so they are not wanting upon occasion to turn their stile and furnish out matter of triumph to our historians. Sanders and Caussin heretofore, and of late Mr Maimbourg and Monsieur Varillas have thought

themselves qualified for this employment. Among the rest, continues he, Mr Varillas has used his pen with such a partial extravagance, and with so little regard to modesty and truth, that he has not only provoked the learned of the reformed profession to chastise his impudence in their public writings, but has also drawn upon him the scorn and indignation of several gentlemen of his own communion; who in a sense of honour and common ingenuity, have taken some pains to lay open the smooth imposture. Mr Hosier, Genealogist to the King of France, in his epistle declares himself to have discovered in him above four thousand errors\*. Pere Bohours, in a discourse of his makes it his business to expose him. Even his old friend Mr Dryden seems to have forsaken him, and gone over to his adversary Bohours, from whose original he is now translating the life of St Xavier. To be free, there is almost as many faults in every single page of Mr Varillas as in a Printer's table of *Errata*: and if the Archbishop of Paris would do his duty, he would find himself bound to put a holy censure upon his pensioner; and as he was lately very forward to compel those of the religion to a recantation of their faith, so he ought here to oblige Mr Varillas to an abjuration of his history.' We must not omit in justice, however, to Varillas to observe, that as to the matter of this pension he absolutely denied it. 'Tis true, Le Long tells us, that he was offered such by several French noblemen as well as foreigners, which he always refused, and particularly the States of Holland offered him one in 1669, to engage him to write their history, but he also refused this by the advice of Mr Pomponé. He accepted that only of the clergy of France which Mr de Harlai, Archbishop of Paris, had procured for him (15). But Varillas contradicts this, and in his answer to Bishop Burnet says, that he never accepted the pension which Mr Harlai had obtained for him from the clergy of France in 1670, nor yet that which he procured of the King for him, charged upon the abbey of *La Vieoire* in 1672; and that all that he received by the Archbishop's means, was a present from the assembly of the clergy in 1670, and a gratuity from the King of two thousand livres in 1685 (16). However that be, our author having observed that these reflections on Varillas's account of Wickliffe, contain some memoirs of that great man, who was, as it were, the morning star of the Reformation, proceeds thus: it were to be wished, says he, that from the many volumes of his works still remaining, a history of religion of that time were composed, which would give great light into the affairs of England.

[F] *Animadversions on the pretended account of Denmark*. Our author acquaints us, that these animadversions were wrote at the request of the Reverend Mr Brink, minister of the Danish church in London, a person whose merit, travels, and knowledge of the world had deservedly gained him the favour of the then present King of Denmark, upon whom he was an attendant at Venice. That from him, assisted by his Excellency Mr Scheel, who resided here as Envoy Extraordinary, he had the memoirs which composed those papers, which had the honour not to be unacceptable to his Royal Highness Prince George; and when sent to Denmark, were, by the late King's order, turned into French, and read to him as fast as they could be translated. That he had seen two editions of them, one in Holland and another in Germany. That he should be ungrateful if he did not acknowledge the great honour which the university of *Copenhagen* did him

\* This extract of Mr Hosier's letter is cited in the preface of Mr Larroque's book, which is intitled, *Nouvelles Accusations contre M. Varillas, ou Remarques Critiques contre une partie de son premier livre de l'histoire de l'heresie*. Amsterdam. 1687. p. 162.

(15) Le Long's *Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, under the article *Varillas*.

(16) *Niceron's Memoires*, Tom. V. p. 64. Paris, 1723, 8vo.]

† General preface to his *Miscellanies*.

\* By Mr Dobson, Fellow of New-college, Oxford.

(14) It was also printed in both sizes at Paris, 1690.



much approved by Prince George, consort to the Princess [afterwards Queen] Anne, that the doctor was appointed Secretary to her Royal Highness the same year (k). In 1697, attacked by Dr Bentley, he took a share with his fellow-collegians at Christ-church, in the dispute against that learned doctor, about the genuineness of Phalaris's Greek epistles [G]. His zeal for the honour of his college glows with a singular warmth in this controversy. And the following year came out his humorous piece, intituled, *A Journey to London in the year 1698, after the ingenious Method of that made by Dr Martin L.*— [Lifter] the same year; which he designed as a vindication of his country, in the view of shewing Britain as much preferable to France, as wealth, plenty, and liberty, are beyond tortoisés hearts, champignons, and Moriglions; or the raising of two millions and two hundred thousand pounds in a few hours, is preferable to any coins of Zenobia, Odenatus, and Vabalathus (l). This was a specimen of that particular humour in which he excelled, and the charms of which proved irresistible. Whence giving way to that *fuga negotii*, so incident to the poetical race, he passed his days in the pursuit of the same ravishing images, which being aptly moulded, came abroad in manuscript in the form of pleasant tales and other pieces in verse, at various times, as they happened to be finished [H]. Thus captivated

(k) Ath. Oxon. Vol. II. col. 914.

(l) General Preface to his Miscellaneous.

him in a letter under the seal of that learned and flourishing body. That he took it as one of his greatest happinesses, that by the means of his acquaintance with Mr Brink, he had accompanied him to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London, with letters from the Bishop of Copenhagen, testifying the respect he had for their Lordships, and his just regard and veneration for the Church of England.

(17) Preface to the Animadversions, &c.

As to the matters of fact laid down in these papers, says he, I am no farther accountable, but believe none of them can be contradicted (17). The book has a great many curious remarks upon the Danish constitution both in church and state, one of which we shall mention as follows. 'Tis a general mistake, he observes, in England, to call the notion of the Lutheran Protestants concerning the sacrament *Consubstantiation* (18), for no such word is used amongst them. Their notion amounts to this, that they believe stedfastly a real and true presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament in a manner ineffable, which our Saviour himself is best able both to know and do; whereas *Consubstantiation* would imply something more natural and material (19). See more of this in the article of Lord Moleworth.

(18) See Lord Moleworth's Account, p. 252.

(19) Animadversions, &c. p. 177.

[G] He engaged in the dispute about Phalaris's epistles. We have two letters of our author, which shew how he came to enter into this dispute (20); they are addressed to the honourable Charles Boyle, Esq; who had applied to him for an account of what passed between Mr Bennet the Bookseller and Dr Bentley, concerning the MS. of Phalaris's epistles; in answer to which, he says, that among other things the Doctor declared, that if the MS was collated, it would be worth nothing for the future; and that his whole discourse was managed with much insolence. This letter is dated Doctors-Commons, Octob. 13, 1697. and was written in Dr Bentley's *Dissertation on the epistles of Phalaris and the fables of Æsop* (21), then just published. In which piece, our author finding himself treated with some contempt, addressed another letter to Mr Boyle in the following terms. 'Give me leave, Sir, to tell you a secret, that I have spent a whole day upon Dr Bentley's late volume of scandal and criticism; for every one may not judge it for his credit to be so employed. He thinks meanly, I find, of my reading; as meanly as I think of his sense, his modesty, or his manners. And yet for all that I dare say, I have read more than any man in England, besides him and me; for I have read his book all over.

(20) See an account of this controversy in Dr Bentley's article, Vol. II.

(21) King's Miscellaneous, p. 261, 262.

'If you have looked into it, Sir, you have found, that a person, under the pretence of criticism, may take what freedom he pleases with the reputation and credit of any gentleman; and that he need not have any regard to another man's character, who has once resolved to expose his own. It was my misfortune once in my life to be in the same place with Dr Bentley, and a witness to a great deal of his rude and scurrilous language; which he was so liberal of, as to throw out at random in a public shop; and is so silly now as to call it eaves-dropping in me, because he was so noisy, and I was so near, that I could not help hearing him.

'You desired me at some years distance to recollect what passed at that meeting, and I obeyed your commands. Shall I reckon it an advantage, that Dr Bentley, who disputes the other testimonies, falls in entirely with mine? I would, if I were not apprehensive that on that very account, it might be one step

'farther from being credited. However, such is his spite to me, that he confirms the truth of all I told you. For the only particular I could call to mind he grants with some slight difference in the expression: and as to the general account I gave of his rudeness and insolence, he denies it indeed, but in so rude and insolent a manner, that there is no occasion for me to justify myself on that head. I had declared, it seems, that he said, The MS of Phalaris would be worth nothing if it were collated. He sets me right, and avers the expression was, that after the various lections were once taken and printed, the MS would be like a squeezed orange, and little worth for the future. The similitude of a squeezed orange is indeed a considerable circumstance which I had forgot, as I doubtless did several others. But for all that, I remember the general drift and manner of his discourse, as well as if all the particular expressions were present to me: Just as I know his last book to be a disingenuous, vain, confused, unmannerly performance, tho' to my happiness hardly any of his awkward jests or impertinent quotations stick by me.

'I had owned it to be my opinion, that a MS was worth nothing unless it were collated. The Doctor cunningly distinguishes upon me, and says, 'tis worth nothing indeed to the rest of the world, but it is better for the owner, if a price were to be set upon it. I beg his pardon for my mistake, I thought we were talking of books in the way of scholars, whereat he answers me like a Bookseller, and as if he dealt in MSS instead of reading them. For my part, I measure the value of these kind of things, from the advantage the publick may receive from them, and not from the profit they are likely to bring in to a private owner. And therefore I have the same opinion of the Alexandrian MS (which he says he keeps in his lodgings) now, as I should have had before the editors of the English Polyglot published the collation of it; tho' it may not perhaps bear up to the same price in St Paul's Church yard, or an auction. But, I hope, if it be safely kept, it need never come to the experiment.

'As to the particular reflections, he has cast upon me, 'tis no more than I expected. I could neither hope nor wish for better treatment from one that had used you ill. 'Tis reputable both to men and books to be ill spoken of by him, and a favourable presumption on their side, that there is something in both, which may chance to recommend them to the world. 'Tis in the power of every little creature to throw dirty language, but a man must have some credit himself in the world, before things, he says, can lessen the reputation of another. And if Dr Bentley must be thus qualified in order to mischief me, I am safe from all the harm that his malice can do me. I am, Sir,

Your most obliged humble servant,

W. KING (22).

But our author did not rest the matter here: in the course of this famous dispute he published *Dialogues of the dead relating to the present controversy concerning the epistles of Phalaris*, he tells us, 'these were written in self-defence, and I presume, continues he, with modesty (23); and nothing shews that he had it at heart more than the various memorandums relating to that subject found scattered up and down in his *Adversaria*.

[H] Humorous pieces written at various times.] He collected these afterwards, and published them together with

(22) The copy of this letter was found in *The Short Account of Dr Bentley's Humanity and Justice*. Ibid. p. 267.

(23) General preface to his Miscellaneous.



vated with these beauties, he neglected his business, and even grew by degrees (as usual in such tempers) to dread and abhor it. Heedless of those useful supplies which it brought to his finances, and which were in a few years so much impaired by this neglect, and by the gay course of life he led in the company of some of the best wits and principal gentry and nobility of the age, that he gladly accepted a seasonable offer made to him in 1707 by the Lord Pembroke, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to attend his Lordship to that kingdom; where he was made Judge-Advocate, Sole Commissioner of the Prizes, and Keeper of the Records; and the Lord-Primate also constituted him his Vicar-General. With these honours he was well received and countenanced by persons of the highest rank, and might have made his fortune, if the change of climate could have wrought a change in his disposition. But so far was he from forming any design to heap up riches, or of treasuring up any of that money which was now thrown into his lap, that he returned to England with no other treasure than a few merry poems and humorous essays (m) [I]; and retiring to his student's place at Christ-church, he employed himself in finishing his *Art of Love*, in imitation of Ovid *de Arte Amandi* (n); to which he prefixed an excellent account of that poet [K]. However, he had not been long at the college, when an incident fell out that had power enough to draw him from his beloved amusements. An action at Law had been brought against the Earl of Anglesey, for several cruelties used to his lady (o); wherein she was backed by her mother the Countess of Dorchester. Upon this occasion his Lordship solicited Dr King to come to town and undertake his cause, which was then before the House of Lords. Here the force of friendship prevailed over all his aversion to the wrangling task of an advocate. He complied with the request, took abundant pains for his old friend, more than ever he was known to do, and made such a figure in the Earl's defence, as shewed him to have abilities in his profession, equal to any occasion that might call for them; so that he gained the reputation of an able Civilian, as well as of a humorous Poet (p). The Doctor's warm zeal for the Church carried him, in 1709, on the side of Dr Sacheverell, and had a hand in some of the political kites which flew about at that time (q). In this, indeed, he did no more, than concur with those whose friendship he had always cultivated; and when these friends came into favour at Court, and were taken soon after into the Ministry, the doctor was not wanting in his friendly offices to them, and gave a helping hand towards the support of the new measures they entered into. He printed several papers in this view [L], and, among others, one

(m) Account of his Life, p. 9.

(n) It is dedicated to Lord Herbert, eldest son to the Earl of Pembroke, and was written at the persuasion of a very great Statesman. Ibid. in the dedication.

(o) She was a natural daughter of King James II. and having obtained a divorce on this occasion from the Earl of Anglesey, was afterwards married to John Sheffield Duke of Buckinghamshire. See his article.

(p) Account of his Life, p. 14, 15.

(q) Among these is *A Friendly Letter from honest Tom. Boggs, to the Rev. Mr. G—, Canon of Windsor, occasioned by a Sermon preached in St George's chapel, dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough*. Ibid. p. 73 to 83.

with some other pieces in his Miscellanies, prefixing this remark in the preface concerning them. The remaining papers which are here must seek their fate; they were abroad in manuscript, and I hope will not have harder fortune now they are print, than they had in the opinion of some friends before they were so. That intitled *Little Mouths* has been universally admired; we shall insert it as a specimen of that particular kind of humour which runs thro' the rest.

- ' From London, Paul the carrier coming down
- ' To Wantage, meets a beauty of the town;
- ' They both accost with salutation pretty,
- ' As how dost Paul? Thank ye, and how dost Betty?
- ' Didst see our Jack nor sister? No. You've seen
- ' I warrant none but those who saw the Queen.
- ' Many words spoke in jest, says Paul, are true,
- ' I came from Windsor, and if some folks knew
- ' As much as I, it might be well for you.
- ' Lord, Paul, what is't? Why give me something for't,
- ' This kiss, and this; the matter's then, in short,
- ' The parliament have made a proclamation,
- ' Which will this week be sent all round the nation,
- ' That maids with little mouths do all prepare
- ' On Sunday next to come before the mayor;
- ' And that all bachelors be likewise there:
- ' For maids with little mouths shall if they please,
- ' From these young men chuse two apiece.
- ' Betty with a bridled chin extends her face,
- ' And then contracts her lips with simp'ring grace,
- ' Cries, hem, pray what must all the huge ones do
- ' For husbands, when we little mouths have two.
- ' Hold, not so fast, cries he, pray pardon me,
- ' Maids with huge gaping wide mouths must have
- ' three.
- ' Betty distorts her face with hideous squawl,
- ' And mouth of a foot wide begins to bawl,
- ' Oh! oh! is't so? the case is altered, Paul;
- ' Is that the point? I wish the three were ten,
- ' I warrant I'd find mouth if they'll find men.'

[I] He returned to England with a few merry poems and humorous essays.] It seems he struck up a particular friendship with one Judge Upton of Ireland, who was altogether a man after his own heart, that delighted in retirements and poetical amusements; and having a country villa called *Mowntown* near *Dublin*, he retired there, where he spent most of his time and neglected all his business; for he neither minded his offices, or paid his court to the Lord-Lieutenant, but fell in love with his lazy retirement and melancholy companion; insomuch that he seemed to have no other thoughts left but living and dying with his beloved *Mully* of *Mowntown*; a pastoral poem so called, that he made upon the happiness of his situation, that was, of being buried alive with *Mully*, the red cow that gave him milk, and was the subject of his poem. As our author was known to side with the party for the Church, the criticks among the opposite party would have imposed the poem upon the world for a political allegory, the remotest from the Doctor's design of any they could have devised. And he would hardly think of attempting to undeceive them: on the contrary we may suppose he was not ill pleased to see himself in such good company as that of Mr Pope, whose celebrated poem, called *The Rape of the Lock*, was about the same time allegorised in the same manner by a critick, who assuming this postulat, that *the Lock* signified *the Barrier Treaty*, made all the rest of the allegory out very clearly and unexceptionably.

[K] *The art of love, &c.*] This is such an imitation of Ovid, as that where the imitator and his author stand much upon the same terms as Ben does with his father in the comedy, *What tho' he be my father, I an't bound prentice to 'em*. The Doctor's virtuous disposition is no where more remarkably distinguished than in this piece; wherein both the subject and the example so naturally and almost unavoidably lead into some less chaste images, some looser love which stands in need of a remedy. But there is no occasion for any remedy to be prescribed for the love here treated of, besides the speedy obtaining of what it desires, since it is all prudent, honourable, and virtuous. It is divided into fourteen books, most of which end with some remarkable fable that carries with it some moral.

[L] He printed several pieces in support of the new ministry.] The chief of these were, *Rufinus, or an historical essay on the favourite ministry*, and *Political Considerations*



which he called the *British Palladium*, or a welcome of Mr St John [then Secretary of State, and afterwards Lord Bolingbroke] from France, Shortly after this, the Gazetteer's place was offered to him, in a way so agreeable to his temper, that he could not refuse it [M]. Accordingly, he entered upon that office, January 1, 1711; but the extraordinary trouble he met with in the discharge of it (r), proved to be more than he could endure long. Besides, he began to decline in his health; and this, joined to his natural indisposition to the fatigue of any kind of business, furnished a sufficient pretence for quitting the employ, which he held only 'till about Midsummer 1712, when he retired to a gentleman's house on the Surry side of the Thames, where he had passed a summer or two before. Here he enjoyed himself to his full content in the company of a friend or two, with a bottle and his books (s). However, he crossed the water, and made frequent visits to his relation the Lord Clarendon at Somerset-house, as long as he was able. But, as the Autumn season advanced, he drooped gradually, and then neither cared to see or be seen by any one; and winter drawing on, he shut himself up entirely from his nearest friends, and would not so much as see his noble relation; 'till his Lordship hearing of his weak condition, sent his sister to fetch him in a chair, to a lodging he had provided for him opposite to Somerset-house in the Strand; where, next day about noon, being Christmas-day 1712, he yielded up his breath with all the patience and resignation of a Philosopher, and with the true devotion of a Christian hero (t). Lord Clarendon took care of his funeral [N], and had him decently interred in the cloysters of Westminster-abbey, where he lies next to his master Dr Knipe, to whom a little before he had dedicated his *Historical Account of the Heathen Gods and Heroes*, written for the use of schools; which was well received by the public at it's first appearance, and has gone through several impressions since. In 1732, there came out in 8vo. *Remains of the late learned and ingenious Dr William King, some time Advocate of Doctors-Commons, Vicar-General to the Archbishop of Armagh, and Record-keeper of Ireland. Containing Miscellaneous Pieces in Verse and Prose upon various subjects; with Reflections, Observations, and Critical Remarks, upon Men and Books: with a particular Critique upon a favourite Ministry, particularly that of Rufinus, Favourite of the Emperor Theodosius, and his Character rendered into verse from Claudian; together with an Account of the Author's Life and Writings.* In this account we have the following particulars relating to the doctor's character; that in his morals he was religious and virtuous, modest and chaste to that degree, that he was never known to speak an immodest word, or write a lewd one (u). That though he could not endure his business as an Advocate, yet he made an excellent Judge in the court of Delegates, as often as he was called to that bench. That, however, his chiefest pleasure consisted in trifles, and he was never happier than when he thought he was hid from the world. Yet that he loved company, provided they were such as tallied with his humour (for few people pleased him in conversation), and it was a true sign that he liked them, if he could be tolerably agreeable; at which times his discourse was chearful, and his wit pleasant and entertaining. That he was a great dissembler of his natural temper, which was morose and peevish, where he durst shew it; but he was of a timorous disposition, and the least slight or neglect would throw him into a melancholy state of despondency. He would say a great many ill-natured things but never do one. That he was made up of tenderness and pity, and tears would fall from him on the smallest occasion (w). Thus he is represented by the writer of his Life, who professes a particular love and esteem for him; and, if the picture bears a just resemblance of the original, the doctor must have been a true humourist [O]. What other pieces he wrote,

(r) Alderman Barber, who printed it, obliged the doctor to sit up in the morning of those days the Gazette was published, to correct the errors of the press. Ibid. p. 162.

(s) Ibid. p. 163, 164.

(t) P. 165, 166.

(u) Remains, in the dedication to the Earl of Orkney.

(w) Account of his Life, p. 9, 15, 16.

*siderations upon the reformed Politicks, and the master-strokes of state, as practised by the Ancients and Moderns. Written by Gabriel Naudé, and inscribed to the Cardinal Bagni. Translated into English.* These were both written in 1711. The first is levelled against the Duke of Marlborough and the heads of his party, and the second aims to represent and extol the Earl of Oxford as a consummate politician.

[M] He was appointed Gazetteer, &c.] This was done in the following manner: Dr Swift, Dr Freind, and Mr Prior, together with some of our author, and my Lord's friends, came to pay a visit to our author, and brought along with them the key of the Gazetteer's office, together with another key for the use of the paper office, which at that time was made the repository for the Pope, the Pretender, and the Devil, together with the effigies of Dr Sacheverell and some other high priests, who were seized in a grand cavalcade, as the mob, called then the Low-Church mob, were marching along in great triumph to burn them at Whitehall or Charing-Cross. The day following this friendly visit being New year's day 1711, the Doctor took possession and entered upon his office, and in two or three days dined with the secretary, and thanked him for his kind remembrance of him, at a time when he had almost forgot himself (24). The same author tells us also, that about half a year after Dr Sacheverell's trial, our author was applied to by Dr Swift, Dr Freind,

and some others, to write the Examiner; and accordingly undertook it, and began that paper about Octob. 10, 1710, which he continued by the assistance of those gentlemen and many others, who afterwards favoured him with their correspondence, but the Doctor's ill state of health obliged him to quit so fatiguing an employ in about four months, when it fell into other hands (25).

[N] Lord Clarendon took care of his funeral.] He had evidently the greatest esteem possible for his Lordship, and could not be persuaded to go to rest the night before his death, or lie down, 'till he had made such a will as he thought was agreeable to his Lordship's inclinations, whereby he constituted Elizabeth King his sister his sole executrix and residuary legatee of all his estate or estates, real or personal, in possession or reversion (26). But the writer of his life intimates he had spent his paternal estates, and that after his return from Ireland, his student's place at Christ-Church was all he had left; this he retained to his death, and the profits thereof, together with the business of his profession, and the friendship of his acquaintance, which was very large, and that of the greatest quality, were his chief subsistence (27).

[O] A compleat humourist.] The Doctor has drawn his own character excellently in the following verses found in his pocket at his death, being just fresh written with a lead pencil.

(25) Ibid. p. 71, 72.

(26) See a copy of his Will, in Remains, p. 167, 168.

(27) Ibid. p. 9, 10.

(24) Account of his Life, p. 161, 162.



wrote, besides those contained in his Miscellanies or Remains, and such as have not been taken notice of already in the course of this memoir, shall be mentioned below [P].

I sing the various chances of the world,  
Thro' which men are by fate or fortune hurl'd.  
'Tis by no scheme or method that I go,  
But paint in verse my notions as they flow:  
With heat the wanton images pursue;  
Fond of the old, yet still creating new.  
Fancy myself in some secure retreat,  
Resolve to be content and so be great.

[P] His other works not already mentioned, and neither in his Miscellanies nor Remains.] These are, 1. *The Art of Cookery*, in imitation of Horace's *Art of Poetry*. 2. *Letters to Dr Lister and others*, occasioned principally by the title of a book published by the Doctor, being the works of Apicius Caelius concerning the soups and sauces of the Ancients; with an extract of the greatest curiosities contained in that book. Among his letters is one of the *Dentiscalps* or *Toothpicks* of the Ancients. Another contains a fine imitation of Horace, epist. v. book 1. being his invitation of Torquatus to supper.

And a third contains remarks upon the Lord Grimeston's play, called, *The Lawyer's Fortune, or Love in a hollow Tree*. 3. Three numbers of a project intitled *Useful Transactions*, containing the following small pieces, 1. *An Essay on the Invention of Samplers*, by a school-mistress at Hackney. 2. *Natural Observations made in the school of Llandwysorby*. 3. *Tailors and Millers proved to be no Thieves*. 4. *Meursius's Treatise of the Grecian Games*. 5. *The Plays of the Grecian Boys and Girls*. 6. *A Method to teach learned Men how to write unintelligibly*. 7. *Some important Queries whether a Woman may lay a Child to an Eunuch*. 8. *Additions to Mr Lewenhook's microscopical Observations upon the tongue; shewing the several particles proper for prating, tattling, pleading, haranguing, lying, flattering, scolding, &c.* 9. *Of the Migration of Cuckoos, with Remarks on Birds-nests*. 10. *Observations on the tripal Vessels*. 11. *An historical and chronological Account of consecrated courts*. 12. *Jasper-Hans-Van Slonenberg's Voyage to Cajamai, i. e. A merry Critique upon Sir Hans Sloane's Natural History of Jamaica*. P

KING [PETER], Baron of Ockham, and Lord High-Chancellor of Great-Britain in the XVIIIth century, was born in the year 1669 at Exeter in Devonshire, in which city his father, Mr Jerom King, was an eminent Grocer and Salter. But though a man of considerable substance, and descended from a genteel family of his name in Somersetshire (a), yet he determined to bring up his son to his own trade; and accordingly, having given him such an education as was suitable to that design, he took him into his business, and kept him to the shop for some years (b). However, the son's inclination being strongly bent to learning, he took all opportunities of gratifying his passion; and being happily endued with a genius greatly superior to his birth and breeding, he broke through the disadvantages of his education. In this spirit he purchased books with what money he could spare, and devoting every moment of his leisure hours to study, he became an excellent scholar before any body suspected it. Thus improved, he happened to fall into the company of the celebrated Mr John Locke, author of *The Essay on Human Understanding*, to whom he was related; and that gentleman, after some discourse, being greatly surprized and pleased with the prodigious advances he had made in literature, advised him to go to Leyden in Holland, in order to perfect himself therein (c). From this time he began to look abroad into the world, and observing the favourable turn given to the views of the Dissenters by the Revolution in 1688, he began to entertain hopes of their obtaining an establishment in the State, jointly with the Church of England, by a Comprehension. Animated with this prospect [A], he took the pains of collecting all such passages of the Fathers in the three first centuries, as might be of service to that end; and having digested them into a fit method with proper remarks, he published the first part of the work in 1691, 8vo. with this title: *An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ. Faithfully collected out of the extant writings of those ages* [B]. To which he prefixed a preface,

[A] Animated with the prospect of a Comprehension.] The truth of this assertion will not be doubted, after perusing the conclusion of his *Enquiry*, &c. which contains a most pathetic exhortation to that project, having complained of animosity on both sides, and ardently pressed the necessity of love and unity from the imminent danger of having the vitals and essentials of religion corrupted and devoured by heresy and profaneness, while the differences about the skirts and fringes thereof are continued with so much bitterness, he proceeds in these words: 'And as for these and the like reasons, the necessity of an union or comprehension is manifest on the one hand, so the facility of such an union is as apparent on the other hand; for, thanks be to God, our differences are neither about faith nor manners; we all believe in one and the same God, hope to be saved by one and the same Redeemer, desire to be sanctified by one and the same Sanctifier, receive one and the same scriptures, assent to the same doctrines, and acknowledge the necessity of the same duties: our disputes are only about lesser matters, about modes and forms, about gestures and postures, and such like inferior matters, about which it should grieve a wise man to quarrel, and which with the greatest ease in the world might be composed and settled, if managed by men of prudence and moderation; and such men, 'tis hoped, are the Reverend Bishops advanced by their Majesties, whose

' promotion to those places of dignity and trust many honest and peaceable men look upon as a good omen and prognostick of our future union and happy establishment' (1).

[B] *Enquiry into the constitution, &c. of the primitive Church.*] In order to a clear idea of Mr King's primary motives and principal views in this *Enquiry*, it will be necessary to consider both the state of the times in regard to the Church in general, and likewise his particular situation in that respect at the time of writing it. As to the state of the Church, the first thing that offers itself to our notice is the great alteration made therein by the toleration-act, which passed in 1689\*, whereby the Protestant dissenters were indemnified from the penalties of former acts, and a free exercise of their religion as moulded by the Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists respectively granted. This indulgence was conceded by the established Church, in condescension to the weakness and prejudice of education in these nonconforming brethren, in hopes that such a signal instance of her charity and moderation, would be a means of inducing them to lay aside their prejudices, and return to the bosom of their mother. On the other hand, the Dissenters saw it in a quite different light, considered it as nothing more than what they had an undoubted right to, from which they had been unjustly excluded before, and having once obtained it, were so far from resting satisfied, or sitting

(a) Collins's Peerage of England, Vol. IV. p. 333. edit. 1741.

(b) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres pour mois de Novembre & Decembre 1702.

(c) Ibid.

(1) Second part of the Enquiry into the Constitution, &c. of the Primitive Church, &c. p. 169, 170. edit. 1712, 8vo.

\* The royal assent was given to it on the 24th of May that year. Salmon's Chron. Hist.



face, wherein he declared, that when he first resolved on the printing of this treatise, he designed to have published his observations on the fourth general head, propounded in the title

sitting down contented with the full enjoyment thereof, that they made use of it as a step for further demands, and were encouraged thereby to assert that in every point of difference between them and the Church, the weight both of scripture and antiquity lay on their side; and therefore, that the way of treating them as persons of weak judgments and tender consciences was a pure piece of insolence, the fruit of that power which the Church had unjustly obtained in exclusion to them. In this spirit they insisted, that the Act of Toleration, under the pretence of granting them a favour, was upon that very account a most injurious invasion of their right, and in consequence thereof several plans of accommodation were drawn by them; in all which they were to be treated altogether as the church's equals, and the proposed terms of union were so drawn, as to imply a preference in the frame of their constitution, discipline, and worship, to the established form. The conjuncture they thought favourable to their wishes, several of the Bishops and great numbers of the inferior clergy had refused to comply with the Revolution, whilst the Dissenters of all denominations had particularly recommended themselves to the favour of the new Sovereign (who had been bred up in their principles) by their unanimous acknowledgment of his right, and by their warm zeal to promote and secure his establishment in it. Hereupon, among others of the party, our author, young as he was, resolved not to slip the opportunity, and in this view having perused the writings of the Fathers of the three first centuries, he drew up the treatise now under consideration, wherein he attempts to shew, that the constitution of the primitive Church in the said centuries was upon the matter intirely of the Presbyterian form. To that end, having first recited the several acceptations of the word Church, he takes that sense of it for the subject of his discourse, wherein it signifies a particular church, that is, a society of Christians meeting together in one place under their proper pastors, for the performance of religious worship and the exercise of christian discipline. Of this Church he lays it down as sure, that there was but one supreme Bishop the proper pastor and minister of his parish, tho' called by various titles, as Bishop, Pastor, President, Governor, Superintendent, and Priest, or the Angel of his Church, as in the Revelations. (2.) He proceeds to prove, that as there was only one Bishop to a Church, so but one Church to a Bishop; whose cure was never called a diocese, but usually a parish, and not larger than our parishes, of which he produces instances in the time of Ignatius, as *Smyrna*, *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Philadelphia*, and *Trallium*; as also at *Antioch*, *Rome*, *Carthage*, and *Alexandria*, which were the four largest dioceses, that is, parishes, in those days. (3.) The office of the Bishop, he observes, consisted in preaching the word, praying with his people, and administering the two sacraments, taking care of the poor, ordaining ministers, governing his flock, excommunicating offenders, absolving penitents. That for the discharge of these functions the primitive Bishops constantly resided with their flocks. That their election was made in the church by the whole body of the people, clergy, and laity. That this election was afterwards confirmed, i. e. the Bishop was instituted, by the neighbouring Bishops; and then, lastly, they were ordained or installed in their own church by three at least of the neighbouring Bishops. (4.) He then passes to a Presbyter, whom he defines to be a *person in holy orders, having thereby an inherent right to perform the whole office of a Bishop, but, being possessed of no place or parish, not actually discharging it, without the permission or consent of the Bishop of a place or parish*. Agreeable to this definition, he maintains, that a Presbyter was inferior to the Bishop in degree, but equal to him in order; for proof of which he runs thro' the several parts aforementioned of the Bishop's office, and gives instances in each where they were performed, with the Bishop's leave, by the Presbyter, who he shews was also expressly said to be of the same order, and had one and the same name, being indiscriminately called Presbyter or Bishop. That this distinction of title was first given by Ignatius, and meant no more than that of Parson and Curate, according to which distinction there were sometimes many Presbyters in one church, as now we have several Curates in large and

populous parishes; but they were not essential to a church which might be without them, as well as a parish may be without a Curate now, it was sufficient to have a Bishop; and lastly, that the Presbyter's office began in the apostolick age. (5.) In the next place he considers the order and office of Deacons, and Subdeacons, as also of Acolyths, Exorcists, and Lectors; but of these there being no great controversy, he says very little, and hastens to that more important point the ordination of Presbyters; the manner and form whereof he lays down as follows. First, the candidate proposed himself to the presbytery of the parish where he dwelt, and was to be ordained, desiring their consent, and praying them to confer upon him those holy orders which he craved; and this petition was made to the whole presbytery, because a Bishop alone could not give those orders. Upon this address, the presbytery took it into their consideration and debated his petition in their common-council, and then proceeded to examine him upon these four points, his age, his condition in the world, his conversation, and his understanding. As to the age, he observes, that the orthodox ordained none but such as were well stricken in years, except in case of extraordinary grace and abilities. In respect to condition, the candidate was to be free from all secular employment. That his conversation was to be humble and meek, of an unspotted and exemplary life, for which he was to have the people's testimony. Lastly, for his understanding he was to be of a good capacity, fit and able to teach others; in which view the Fathers speak often of the great utility and excellency of logick, and philosophy, and human learning, which however was not determined to be absolutely necessary for this office. After such examination and approbation, the candidates were declared capable of the function; to which however they were very seldom presently advanced, but first gave a specimen of their abilities in the discharge of other inferior ecclesiastical offices, and so proceeded by degrees to the supreme function of all. If the people made no objection, the next thing was their actual ordination in that particular church; but they became thereby ministers of the Church universal, and might serve any church where they had a legal call, whence the Presbyters of a particular church were not confined to a set number as were the Bishops and Deacons. Lastly, their ordination was performed by imposition of hands, usually of the Bishop and Presbyters of the parish where they were ordained.——Having thus treated of the acts peculiar to the clergy, he proceeds to those of the laity, who by baptism became members of the Church universal, and of that particular church wherein they were baptized, and being, in these early ages of Christianity, mostly adults, shared and exerted all the privileges and powers of the Faithful, which were, their attestation to those that were ordained, the election and choice of their Bishops, and a power to depose them either for scandalous immorality, heresy, or apostacy.——Next to the peculiar acts of the laity, he treats of the conjunct acts of the clergy and laity, in respect to which he maintains, that in general all things relating to the government and policy of the Church were performed by their joint consent and administration; but because, to recite every particular act thereof would be both tedious and fruitless, he confines himself to those acts that regarded the discipline of the Church, i. e. the power and authority exerted by her, for her own preservation, in the censuring her offending members; under which head he examines, (1.) What were the faults censured, and shews these to be schism, heresy, covetousness, gluttony, fornication, adultery, and all other sins whatsoever, none excepted. Offences in any kind were all punished, but none with so much rigour as apostacy. (2.) The judges that composed the consistory or ecclesiastical court, were the whole body of a particular church or parish, both clergy and laity. That this, which is called the power of the keys, was so lodged in Bishops and people, that each had some share in it. The Bishop had the whole executive, and part of the legislative power; and the people had a part in the legislative, tho' not in the executive power, or the formal pronounciation of suspensions and excommunications, the imposition of hands in the absolution of penitents, and such like. That in this court

Bishops



title to be enquired into, viz. *The Worship of the Primitive Church*, as well as those of the three former, but that for some reasons he had reserved this for a particular tract by itself; 'which probably, says he, though I do not absolutely promise it, may in a little time more be also published.' Accordingly, not long after, he sent this into the world, under the title of, *The Second Part of the Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, of the Primitive Church, &c.* [C]. Having, in a very handsome way, with a true

(2) Called approved Elders by Tertullian. *Apolo.* cap. 39. p. 709.

(3) If he did not appear, he was condemned for obstinacy.

Bishops and people had each a negative voice: however, because the laity were incumbered with earthly business, from which the Presbytery were free, these latter were appointed as a Committee to prepare matters for the whole court. He was the supreme tribunal within the limits of that parish, but in difficult points the neighbouring Bishops, being desired, gave their assistance. (3.) The form of the proceedings in this court was this. When the consistory was sat, wherein the Bishop and his assisting Presbyters (2), but commonly the Presbytery, presided, the offender, if possible, was brought before them (3), and his crimes being objected to him, he pleaded thereto; then the court considered and debated his plea, and if judged insufficient by the Bishop and majority, he was voted by the common suffrage to be condemned and censured; after which, sentence was pronounced by one of the presiding elders, that is, either by the Bishop or a Presbyter commissioned by him, who proceeded to it with previous exhortations and rebukes. (4.) The nature of the sentence was intirely spiritual, and consisted either in suspension or excommunication. (5.) Absolution was not to be obtained without repentance, undergoing a state of penance, and a formal public confession of the fault. In performing which, the penitent first of all prostrated himself at the church door, weeping, and begging the prayers of the faithful as they entered. And if the court thought his repentance real, he was admitted into the church, but not to the whole service 'till after a much longer time of probation; at the expiration of which, he applied to the court for absolution, who, after examining his demeanour and actions, and enjoining him to make a public confession of his fault, gave the absolution in this form. The penitent kneeled before the bishop and clergy, who put their hands upon his head, and blessed him; by which ceremony he was declaratively and formally admitted to the Church's peace, and to the communion of the Faithful, as before his offence; except in the case of the delinquent clergy, who, upon absolution, were only restored to communion as laymen, and never re-admitted to their ecclesiastical dignity, if condemned for any great and aggravated crime. He then goes on to shew, that this power of exercising discipline on her own members was lodged in every particular church, without the concurrence of other churches; and therefore every church was in this sense independent; but yet considered with other churches as part of the Church Universal, it was dependent. In which view each particular church had a care of the body of the whole Church, distended into various provinces; and accordingly there was an intercourse and government by synodical assemblies, either œcumenical † or provincial; that provincial synods met at least once, and in some provinces twice or thrice, a year, and were composed of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and deputed laymen in behalf of the people of their respective churches. That they were assembled by their own authority, because in those days there was no Christian magistrate to order or determine these affairs. When convened, they chose one, or sometimes two, to be their moderators or prolocutors, whose office was to preside in their assembly, to see all things calmly and fairly debated and decreed, and at the conclusion of any cause, to sum up what had been urged on both sides, to take the votes of the members, and last of all to give his own. That every thing relating to the polity, discipline, or government of the churches within the province, were regulated, and their decrees or canons were binding. Having thus discoursed of the constitution and discipline of the Primitive Church, he proceeds to treat of its unity, and of schism, the breach of that unity. Here he considers the unity of the Church both negatively and positively, and asserts; that negatively it consisted not in uniformity of rites, nor in an unanimity of consent, to the non-essential points of Christianity; and therefore that the rigid imposers of these upon particular churches, were condemned as cruel and tyrannical, and were the true schisma-

tics, inasmuch as they were the cause of schism and division. But *positively*, the unity of the Church Universal, consisted in an harmonious agreement in the fundamentals of Faith and Doctrine; whence the corruption of that doctrine was a breach of that unity, and such violaters were schismatics. The unity of a collective or provincial church, consisted in a brotherly correspondence with, and receiving to communion the members of, each other; and that unity was broken, either when they clashed in any point of doctrine, and through hatred, rage, and fury, calumniated and abused each other; or, if disposed regularly into a synodical government, then the violaters of their reasonable synodical canons were schismatics. But passing by all these, as not the schism of the Ancients, our author observes, that schism principally and originally respected a particular church or parish, the unity of which, consisting in the mutual love and amity of the members, and in their due subjection and subordination to their pastor or bishop, consequently a breach of that unity consisted, either in hatred or malice to each other, or in a rebellion against their lawful pastor, i. e. in a causeless separation from their bishop, and those that adhered to him. The first of these might happen without a formal separation, and yet such disorders are called schisms (4). Yet this is not what the Ancients ordinarily meant by schism; but that which they generally and commonly termed schism, was a rebellion against, or an ungrounded and causeless separation from, their lawful pastor or their parish church; and except in the case of the bishop's apostacy, heresy, or scandalous immorality, every separation was causeless, and consequently the true and proper schism of the Ancients.

(4) 1 Cor. xi. 18. and the epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians.

[C] *The fourth article was published afterwards.* This piece being a continuation of the same design with the former, our author proceeds in the same spirit to vindicate the claim of the Presbyterians against the Established Church, in respect to primitive antiquity upon the article of their worship. In the execution whereof he endeavours to prove, chap. i. that the method of their public service began with reading the scriptures, and that without any appointed portions or lessons. Next followed singing of psalms, without any instrumental musick. To this succeeded preaching, which continued for the space of an hour, being a comment, with suitable inferences and applications, upon so much of the scripture as had been read, and was performed usually by the bishop, but with his permission by any other, either clergyman or layman. The sermon being ended, the congregation stood up to prayer, which, he maintains in chap. ii. was performed in that posture (it being accounted a sin to kneel, especially on Sundays), by the minister alone, without any vocal joining of the people, and by him discretionally, in one long continued prayer, not divided into collects, and without any prescribed forms, except the Lord's Prayer; and that he was habited with a cloak and no surplice. The three following chapters are spent in treating of Baptism, which he suggests was performed in the earliest time from the Apostles, without the use of sponsors or godfathers. That the person being baptized either by immersion or sprinkling, was afterwards anointed, signed with the sign of the cross, and confirmed by imposition of hands; the two former of these were nothing more than rites, and therefore not necessary; but Baptism was deemed imperfect without confirmation, which, however, he labours to prove was performed by Presbyters as well as Bishops. Next to Baptism he speaks, chap. vi. of the Lord's-Supper. In the celebration whereof he contends, there was only one long prayer that preceded the words of institution. That the elements were distributed by the Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop, indiscriminately, and that the people received in a standing posture (5). After the sacrament he considers, in the viith chapter, the circumstances of publick worship, as time and place; and in treating of the latter of these he maintains, that churches were not thought to have any kind of holiness

† Of this sort he observes there was but one, if any, within the three first centuries, viz. that of Antioch, which condemned Paulus Samofatenus.

(5) He takes notice, by the by, of the practice in these times, of giving this Sacrament even to sucking infants, p. 112.



true air of modesty, desired to be shewn, either publicly or privately (d), any mistakes he might have made, that request was first complied with by Mr Edmund Elys, between whom and our author there passed several letters upon the subject in 1692, which were published by Mr Elys in 1694, 8vo (e). In the first part of his treatise our author having asserted the equality of Presbyters to Bishops in respect to Order, appeals also to the learned reader to determine, whether that point had been fully proved, and whether the quotations did naturally conclude the premises. 'I am not conscious, says he, that I have stretched any words beyond their natural signification; having deduced from them nothing but what they fairly imported. If I am mistaken, I hope I shall be pardoned, since I did not designedly or voluntarily.' As before, so I now profess again, that if any one shall be so kind and obliging to give me better information, I shall thankfully and willingly acknowledge and quit mine error; but 'till that information be given, and the falsity of my present opinion be evinced (which, after the impartiallest and narrowest enquiry, I see not how it can be done), I hope no one will be offended, that I have asserted the equality or identity of the Bishops and Presbyters as to Order.' This being observed when the treatise was republished in 1713, while the famous Schism-bill was under the consideration of Parliament (d), there came out some time after a piece, intituled, *The Invalidity of the Dissenting Ministry; or Presbyterian Ordination an irregular and unjustifiable Practice. In answer to Mr Pierce's Sermons, intituled, Presbyterian Ordination proved regular: and to all the pretended Instances of Presbyterian Ordination, in a book lately published by Mr Charles Owen, called, The Validity of the Dissenting Ministry; with Remarks on the Forgery and Dishonesty of that writer. To which is added, An Impartial View and Censure of the Mistakes propagated for the ordaining Power of Presbyters, in a celebrated book, intituled, An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, of the Primitive Church, that flourished within the first three hundred years after Christ. By a Presbyterian of the Church of England.* And not long afterwards, when the repeal of the Schism-bill came upon the carpet, many persons remembered, that the less learned and more prejudiced adversaries of the Church of England had made their boasts of *The Enquiry*, &c. and, from it's not being answered, had proclaimed it an unanswerable defence of their separation from her. Hereupon Mr Sclater, a nonjuring clergyman, thinking, moreover, that all the scattered arguments and pleas for their unwarrantable schism, as he calls it, were reducible to some one or other of the great variety of quotations cited therein, published an answer under this title: *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church: in answer to a Discourse, intituled, An Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, Unity, and Worship, &c. By a Presbyterian of the Church of England* [D]. Lond. 1717, 8vo. Having thus, for the sake of perspicuity, thrown together

(d) In the preface. See also below in remark [D].

(e) In a collection, intituled, *Letters on Several Subjects.*

(d) That bill had the royal assent July 9, 1714. Salmon's Chron. Hist. under that year.

ness in them, but, on the contrary, though these primitive Christians had churches for conveniency and decency, yet they did not imagine any such sanctity or holiness to be in them, as to recommend, or make more acceptable, those services that were discharged therein, than if they had been performed elsewhere. The two next chapters are assigned to speak of the primitive fasts and feasts; where having observed in the former, that Lent was the only fixed fast which they looked upon as absolutely necessary to be observed, he asserts in the latter, that besides Easter, Whitsunday, Christmas, and Epiphany, they kept no other feasts in commemoration of Christ, or the Virgin Mary, or the Apostles; which last he remarks had not the title of Saints in the primitive writings.—He concludes with the xth chapter, which is reserved for the chief point in view, that is, the nature and obligation to particular rites and ceremonies observed in the Church. And here having shewn the difference between these, the first being deemed necessary concomitants of the circumstances of divine worship, which the latter were not, he observes, that several ceremonies crept into the Church within the three first centuries, that from the beginning were not so, but were introduced, as the Church grew gradually corrupted both in doctrine and worship; and contends, in respect to both, that they were indifferent and arbitrary, the choice and appointment of them being entirely at the will and pleasure of every particular church or parish; so that one church had no power over another in regard to the use of them. But that still every particular church could enforce it's own members to a conformity even in these.

The detail we have given of the particulars under the four general heads of the enquiry, has swelled this remark into a much larger book than was expected; but such an account was necessary to support our assertion in the text, that it was our author's design therein to vindicate the Presbyterians in their demands of a Comprehension. However, it would be an injury to him not to declare at the same time, that, in the course of his Enquiry, he has taken notice of some articles observed in the primitive times, within his limitation, wherein the

Established Church hath kept closer than the Presbyterians to that pattern. There is also a very becoming air of modesty preserved throughout the whole, his pen appears to be conducted by a just sense of his youthful years, and he closes all with a most ardently pious and pathetic exhortation to a peaceful unity of all parties in a Comprehension.

[D] *An Original Draught of the Primitive Church, &c. in answer to an Enquiry, &c.* Among other reasons for publishing the *Enquiry*, Mr King had declared (6) the chiefest to be these two, to inform others and to inform himself; to inform others what the practices of the primitive Apostolic Churches were, if any shall be so inquisitive and desirous to know them, or if he was mistaken (as who is without his errors?) to be better informed himself; and this, he says, was his chief design in the publication. *Wherefore, continues he, without ostentation or challenging, but unfeignedly and sincerely to prevent mistakes in my younger years, I humbly desire (if the request be not too bold) and shall heartily thank any learned person that will be so kind as to inform me, if he knows me to have erred in any one or more particulars; which he may do either publicly, or, if he think fit, privately by letters to my Bookseller, who will convey it safely to my hands.* Hereupon Mr Sclater observes, that our author, in his preface, shews an humble diffidence of his youthful performance, and desires another sense might be given of his several quotations (if need required) for better information of himself and others. 'I confess, says this antagonist, I saw need enough of that at my first perusal of his book, and not a little wondered, that no friendly hand had done that kindness for him long before. As to my own part, I had never walked in the unpleasant paths of controversy to that day; and besides the consciousness of my unfitness for it, had aversion enough ever to set a foot in them; but seeing none had answered, or was answering (as I could hear of), so reasonable a desire, though men of letters in both kingdoms of our united island had declared an earnest expectation of it, and the Holy Church of England in particular has reproached the silence

(6) In the preface.



(e) See the inscription on his monument in Collins's Peerage, ubi supra.

(f) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres mois de Novembre & Decembre 1703.

\* The motto under his coat of arms is *Labor ipse voluptas*, which has been thought to be chosen by him with great propriety, as being the characteristic quality of his nature.

(g) Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria.

ther what relates to *The Enquiry*, we shall recur to the time of our author's life when it was written. After his return from Leyden, he entered himself a student of the Inner-Temple (e), resolving to chuse the Law for his profession, by the advice of his forementioned learned cousin Mr Locke (f). He was endowed with good parts and great industry \*, two qualities, which, when united in one person, never fail of raising him to a degree of eminence in any kind of learning that he applies to; accordingly, Mr King had not been many years at the Temple, when he had acquired the reputation of having as much skill and knowledge in all the parts, and history of the Law or in the civil part of the constitution; as he had before in Divinity or the ecclesiastical part. So that in 1699 he obtained a seat in the House of Commons, of which House he was elected a member to represent the borough of Beer-Alston in Devonshire; and the same honour was continued to him, not only in the ensuing, which was the last parliament of King William, but also in the five succeeding parliaments, during the reign of Queen Anne (g). In the mean time, as the subject of his theological treatise already mentioned, had led him occasionally to look into the origin of that which is commonly called the Apostles Creed, in order to find out the design of the primitive Fathers of the Church in compiling it; so he could not think of losing all the pains he had taken, especially in a favourite study. Wherefore, indulging his natural inclination, he employed his leisure hours in pursuing that enquiry; and having at length completed his collections, as well as the necessary remarks upon them, he digested the whole into a proper method, and published it in 1702, in 8vo. under the title of, *The History of the Apostles Creed, with critical Observations on it's several Articles* [E]. The learning and judgment manifested in this treatise, surprized the world

' of her children, in an argument that so plainly struck at her foundation; *filial* obedience, I may say, to so faithful a parent, moved me to use the best endeavours I could to vindicate the truly Apostolical Constitution, and to plead the cause of injured Antiquity as well as her's; for that both are truly one in this case, the impartial reader will easily observe, when he sees the palpable mistakes corrected, and the unfair representations of the venerable Fathers of the Church (so obvious in almost every page of those plausible collections), restored to their genuine sense again. This is what may be expected here; and I am not conscious I have strained any one passage in Antiquity beyond the true meaning of the venerable authors themselves, to form a different construction of it from that of the ingenious enquirer. I should count it the work of sacrilege to do so; the goods of the Church are not so sacred as her sense is. What each quotation appeared to me, from the best authority and closest attention I could use, I have fairly represented here. If defective in apprehending the true sense, or injudicious in the inferences from it, I heartily submit in my turn to the charity of a better information. For as I write with a conscientious regard to undeceive some, so I am infinitely more concerned not to be deceived myself; and I wish no greater freedom from prejudice or party in any who read or censure these papers, than I am conscious of in the composing of them.'

[E] *The History of the Apostles Creed, &c.* Our author had looked into this subject, and made some progress in his collections concerning it, when he drew up his *Enquiry*, &c. and once intended to have inserted it in that treatise, where he has given a list of all the Creeds he could meet with which were used in the three first centuries; and comparing them with the Apostles Creed, observed two new articles introduced into this latter Creed, viz. *He descended into Hell*, and *The Communion of Saints*; and in order to find out how they were added, he considers how the whole Creed was framed, which he conceives to be these two ways. First, some of the articles, he observes, were derived from the days of the Apostles. Secondly, others were afterwards added, in opposition to heresies, as they sprung up in the Church. The articles derived from the days of the Apostles were, *I believe in God the Father*, or (as the Greek Creed reads it) *in one God the Father* (in opposition to the Polytheism of the heathens); and *in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord: I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Resurrection of the Body, and the Life everlasting*. For in the days of the Apostles, as well as afterwards, it was the practice at Baptism to demand the baptized person's assent to the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith, as Philip did the Eunuch, Acts viii. 37. amongst which fundamentals we may be certain they reckoned the doctrine of the Trinity, because they were baptized in the name, and dedicated to the service, of the Trinity; and that of the Unity of the Godhead, because it

was the great drift and design of their preaching, to overturn the Pagans multiplicity of deities; and that of the Resurrection of the Body and the Life everlasting, because that was the characteristic or peculiar doctrine of the Christian religion, by which it was eminently distinguished from other sects and opinions, and was the only comfort and support of the Christians under their sufferings and martyrdoms. As for the other articles of the Creed, in such as are predicated of Christ, as his being *conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, &c.* and those other two, *The Holy Catholic Church*, and *the Forgiveness of Sins*; he conceives them to be introduced the second way, viz. in opposition to heresies as they sprung up in the Church; as, *Was conceived by the Holy Ghost*, in opposition to the Carpocratians, Ebionites, and Corinthians, who taught that Christ was born in the ordinary and common way, as other men and women are: *Was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, &c.* in contradiction to the Docetæ, Simonians, and others, who affirmed Christ to be a man not really, but only phantastically or in appearance (7). *The Remission of Sins*, against the Basilidians, who held, that not all sins, but only involuntary ones, would be remitted; or rather against the Novatians, who denied remission to the lapsed. *The Holy Catholic Church*, to exclude thereby all heretics and schismatics from being within the pale thereof. By these two ways, concludes he, was the Creed composed; and by the latter hereof were these two articles introduced, of Christ's *Descent into Hell*, and of *the Communion of Saints*. The Communion of Saints was brought in last of all, the descent into Hell towards the latter end of the fourth century; into the manner and occasion whereof, as also the intent and meaning whereof, I had designed once to enquire, having made some collection concerning it; but finding I should be then forced to pass the limits of my prescribed time, I have thought it expedient to omit it (8). He prosecuted this subject afterwards; and having completed his collections, not only with regard to these but all the other articles, he compiled the treatise now under consideration. Wherein having forewarned the reader of his design, not to treat of the Creed theologically, or to explain the sense of the several articles, as founded in, and deducible from, Scripture, but to shew the intent and meaning of each, as it is a part of the Creed, and for what reason it was introduced therein, he runs through the whole in that view; and dividing it into seven chapters, in the first he cites the encomiums given the Creed by the primitive writers, and the several names by which it hath been called; of which the principal was that of Symbol, a term derived from the Pagans, denoting a secret mark or token revealed to those only who were initiated into their mysteries; in allusion whereto, the Creed being used by the Christians to the same end, was called by the same name. He observes the great difficulty of finding out the first framers of it; shews in what sense the Apostles

(7) Of these heretics it is, that Ignatius says, ἁπλοῖς τινος λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπειροθέτως. Epist. ad Smyrn. p. 2. and his creed seems particularly to be levelled against them.

(8) Enquiry into the Constitution, Discipline, &c. Part II. chap. iii. in the conclusion.



world equally at least with that of his former piece in Theology; insomuch, that one of the Bishops, a prelate distinguished for his erudition, being persuaded it could hardly be any

are said to be the authors of one part, and the succeeding Governors of the Church of the other; that it was not constantly read in the Eastern Church 'till about the beginning of the sixth, and not in the Western Church 'till near the end of that century; and that the Creed then first read was the Nicene, into whose room afterwards came the Apostles. In the following chapters he treats of the several articles of the Creed; wherein, to what he had observed before in the *Enquiry* already mentioned, he adds in the second chapter, upon the article of *One God*, that the Valentinians, Cerdonians, Marcionites, and others, introduced several gods; which last heresy appearing in the Apostles days, this article was levelled against it. That the title Father denotes God to be the origin of all things, in opposition to the Gnostics and others, who refused to give him that appellation; attributing it to another being. That in the primary sense, as it denotes the relation of the Father to the Son, it hath been in the Creed from the foundation of Christianity. That the word *Almighty*, as denoting God's infinite power, was intended against the Valentinians, Simonians, Menandrians, &c. whose heresies are explained. Secondly, it implies God's providential government, in opposition to the Gnostics and Marcionites, the former of whom at least ascribed that government to another being. Thirdly, it signifies God's immensity and omnipresence, in contradiction to the Gnostics, who maintained the Supreme God to be confined within a certain limited space. That *Maker of Heaven and Earth* is levelled against the blasphemous tenets of several heretics about the creation of the world; which Simon Magus and several others attributed to Angels; the Valentinians to certain *Æons*, agreeable to the sense of the latter Platonists; the Cerdonians and Marcionites maintaining two eternal principles, God and the Devil, assigned the creation to the latter. In the third chapter he shews, that the *Son of God* denotes the *Messias*, these being convertible terms among the Jews at the time of our Saviour's appearance; that *His only Son* implies the peculiar manner of his sonship, expressed in the Greek by generation, and opposed, perhaps, to the Valentinian *emission*, or division, from the Father. The title *Lord* expresses the dominion of Christ, against that usurped by the Devil, and was therefore coeval with Christianity. In the next articles, concerning Christ's humanity, he observes, that his incarnation was blasphemed and denied in sundry ways and manners by various heretics: against whom were levelled all the articles of the Creed, from our Saviour's conception to the resurrection. And to those heretical opinions beforementioned, he adds the names of several heretics, who denied that Christ assumed a material body from the substance of his mother; but held that his body was framed in Heaven, and passed through the Virgin Mary as water through a pipe; against whom the Creed directs us to believe, by being *born of the Virgin Mary*, that he took from her flesh the real substance of his body. That the Crucifixion signifies it was not Simon of Cyrene, as the Basilidians affirmed, but Christ himself who was crucified. The fourth chapter treats of the descent into Hell; which being untouched in the *Enquiry*, we must here be more particular upon, as follows. This article relates something done by Christ's soul, which excludes the burial of his body from being designed thereby; and secondly, something done by the soul in its separate state, exclusive of the sufferings thereof whilst he was alive. In the explication of the article he begins with the word *Hell*, which in old English exactly answers to the Greek *Hades*; which properly signifies the habitation or receptacle of all separated human souls, whether good or bad. Both Pagans and Jews used it in this sense; but there is no one word in the modern English, French, or Dutch, that comprehends the full meaning of it. The Primitive Christians affirmed, that all good souls, immediately after their separation from the body, passed into a place of joy and happiness, which they termed Hell. In the declension of the Greek, and chiefly of the Latin, tongue, the word Hell began to be solitarily applied to the mansion of departed wicked souls. Origen, among the Greeks, doubted of the passage of faithful souls into Hell since the resurrection of Christ. But after him the ancient doctrine,

that all souls go to Hell, and remain there 'till the Resurrection-day, generally prevailed in the East to this time. Ambrose, and after him Jerom and others, entertained the same notion in the West as Origen had in the East. Augustin was uncertain and wavering in his apprehensions thereof. The recession from the ancient opinion was occasioned by the mutation of languages and words. But the word Hell, in the Apostolical sense, could not in any propriety of speech signify any other thing, than the state or place of separated human souls, whether good or bad. He next proceeds to explain the word *descended*, and observes, that it is used in the Creed as being a popular kind of speech, taken up from the common opinion, that Hell was in the bowels of, or under, the earth, and thence called in the Latin *Infernum*, and in the Greek *Hades*. Some of the Fathers imagined Hell to be in the heart of the earth, others under the earth, and some declared themselves uncertain about its situation; but all apprehended it to be the common lodge of departed souls, and, in a conformity to the common dialect, usually termed the passage thither a descent into Hell, as in this article of the Creed: by which they meant no other, than that our Saviour's soul being separated from the body, went, by a local motion, to the unseen habitation of departed souls, where it remained 'till his resurrection day. And this is farther proved from the ends of his going thither, which were chiefly these four. First, to sanctify to his followers the state and place of their souls, during their separation from their bodies. Secondly, that he might undergo a necessary and principal part of his humiliation. Thirdly, that he might personally, and, as the head of his Church, conquer Death and Hell; which he did by returning therefrom, and bringing the souls of several of the Faithful with him. Fourthly, that he might subject himself to the laws of death, and be in every thing like unto us. From whence it more evidently appears, that the descent of Christ into Hell signifies no other than the passage of his spirit into the receptacle of separated souls. Our author then proceeds to the occasion of inserting this clause in the Creed, which he shews was taken from the Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians, who, in a more cunning way than the former heretics, assaulted the humanity of our Saviour, by denying that he had a reasonable soul. That there was some difference between the errors of the Arians and Apollinarians. But that which rendered this heresy the more considerable and dangerous was, the espousing of it by Apollinarius the Younger, the most noted person of his age for ability and piety; on which account his fall was a very tender and sensible loss to the Church. His heresy was, that Christ had no human soul, but that his Divinity supplied the place thereof; the consequences of which opinion are urged in several particulars. In opposition whereto, this article, or clause, was inserted in the Creed, *He descended into Hell*; which point was pitched upon by the governors of the Church, because, of all the arguments used against the Apollinarians, it was the most unanswerable: on which account it is frequently urged by the Fathers against them, and it falls in most naturally with the frame of the Creed, without disturbing the order thereof. He then proceeds to shew the time of introducing this article; upon which head he observes, that the first Catholic Creed wherein it is found is in that of Aquileia, recorded by Rufinus; though before that, in a private Creed of Epiphanius, and even before him, in a Creed framed by a party of Arians at the Council of Arminium, held in the year 359. He mentions several probable designs of those Arians herein, as to clear themselves from the suspicion of the forementioned heresy, to disgrace their great antagonist Apollinarius, and by that means to create feuds and quarrels amongst the Orthodox, who finding Apollinarius openly to declare for his heresy, entirely abandoned him, condemned him in several synods, and at length, according to the example of the Arians, inserted in the Creed this antidote against his heresy, that Christ *descended into Hell*; which, in the Aquileian Creed, is expressed in a greater latitude, by *descending into the lower parts*, wherein the burial might be comprehended and designed; but, as it is expressed in the Roman or our present Creed, it can have no other than the forementioned



(b) Nouvelles de  
la Republique des  
Lettres mois de  
Novembre, p.  
424, & Decem-  
bre, p. 633.  
1702.

any thing better than a wretched rhapsody out of several discourses on the subject before printed, and especially of Bishop Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed*, who seemed to have exhausted that matter, took it up, and began to read it with this disadvantageous prepossession; but he was quickly convinced of his mistake, and his injurious prejudice was turned into admiration, upon the sight of so many curious things in this history, not to be met with in Dr Pearson, without finding any thing borrowed from that writer's Exposition (b). However, after this our author found himself under a necessity of dropping all further pursuits upon his beloved study. The great business which his abilities as a Lawyer brought into his hands, left him no time to spare for it; and in a few years his merit in

tioned signification, which, to prevent mistakes, is again repeated. The fifth chapter contains an account of the Resurrection of Christ, which he observes, as in the *Enquiry*, was always a part of the Creed, as a fundamental of Christianity. After the Resurrection follows the Ascension, which, according to him, was introduced against an opinion of the Apelleians, viz. that at his Ascension his body was resolved into its first principles, and ascended not up on high, or into Heaven; the nomination of which place might probably have been designed, in contradiction to a conceit of Hermogenes, that his body went into the body of the sun. He then proceeds to shew, that, by sitting on the right hand of the Father, we must not imagine Christ confined to that singular posture, but his advancement to the full exercise of his regal office, every thing being subjected to him by the Father, who is infinitely able to do it, seeing he is Almighty; which word in the Greek is here different from that used in the beginning of the Creed, and in this place denotes the irresistibleness and efficacy of God's power. He observes, this clause was first found in the Creed of Tertullian, and was inserted either as a continued proof with the Ascension, that our Lord's body was not dissolved a little after his Resurrection; or rather was designed against some heretics, who imagined the body of Christ to be in a stupid and unconcerned posture in Heaven, and not to be sat down at his Father's right hand, exercising all power and authority for the good of his Church. The next clause being, *From whence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*, in the explication of it he recites three interpretations of the *Quick* and the *Dead*, and observes the most natural to be, that by the *Quick* are meant those that shall be alive at the coming of our Lord, and by the *Dead*, those who shall then be actually void of life. He shews, that this article was levelled against the Marcionites and Gnostics, of whom the one blasphemed the final Judge, the other the Judgment. Marcion, with his Master Cerdon, held, that the true God, and his son Jesus Christ, were all mercy and love, and would never judge the world; which opinion opened a flood-gate to all impiety; in opposition whereto the Creed declares, that he shall come to judge. In explaining the word judging he notes, that it supposeth a liberty and freedom of action in the person judged, both which were denied by the Gnostics, as by the Valentinians, Basilidians, Carpocratians, and others, who all sprung from Simon Magus, and united in these two heresies, that man was fatally necessitated to all his actions, and that he should not be judged according to his works, but according to his spiritual feed-election, and the like; which tenets were attended with most abominable consequences, and therefore against them both it was inserted in the Creed, that Christ *shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead*. Wherein, first, the liberty of man was acknowledged: which is farther evident from this, that the word *Ἀντίθεσις*, or that man hath a power over himself, was, in several of the ancient Creeds, part of this article: the Fathers could not imagine a just judgment, without supposing a freedom of the person judged. Secondly, it is further declared by this clause, that men shall be judged according to their works; for which reason, while the heresy of the Gnostics raged, it was expressed with a suitable periphrasis, to prevent any equivocating evasions. The sixth begins with the article, *I believe in the Holy Ghost*, which being followed by *The Holy Catholic Church*, he observes, that clause was variously placed for different ends in the primitive Creeds, though most commonly after that of *the Holy Ghost*. That it is just mentioned by Tertullian; and that the most ancient Creeds read only *the Holy Church*, the term *Catholic*, which signifies universal, being added by the Greeks to be an explication or determination thereof; and that the *Unity*

of the Church was here intended. From this he goes on to *The Communion of Saints*, which was added as an appendix to the former, and introduced about St Augustine's time, in opposition to the Donatists. He takes notice, that by *Saints* are to be understood particular Churches and the members thereof, and shews why they are so called; and then having observed, that by *Communion* is signified the mutual society and fellowship of particular Churches and their members, he relates various methods used by the Ancients to preserve that communion; which being refused by the Donatists, they were on that account justly condemned for schism, and rejected. In opposition to whom this article may be considered, either as a mark to know a true particular Church by, that she is one that is acknowledged so to be by other Churches; or rather, as the quality, property, and practice, of such an one as is suffered to hold communion with other Churches; in which sense it is also added as an explanation of *the Holy Catholic Church*; and was intended to declare, that there ought to be a due communion and fellowship between the particular Churches and members of the Catholic and Universal one. The last chapter contains, First, A brief explication of the *Forgiveness of Sins*, which he finds not to be constantly repeated in the Creed 'till the days of Cyprian, though sometimes expressed, and always supposed from the very beginning of Christianity; he notes the two interpretations given of it, a primary and a secondary; in order to a clear idea of the first, which respects sins committed before Baptism, he considers the great wickedness of the world before the Gospel, the guilt whereof the Heathens knew by the light of nature, but could not tell how to remove; and the Jews had no universal assurance of the pardon of sins; wherefore the Apostles were sent forth to reveal an infallible way for the obtaining it, viz. by believing and being baptized. This is proved to be the primary sense of this article, always supposed, or else expressed, in the Creed, from the very first preaching of the Gospel, viz. that all past sins are, for the sake of Christ, remitted to all penitential believers at Baptism, wherein these two things are contained, First, That our sins are forgiven for the sake of Christ. Secondly, that the time of their forgiveness is at Baptism. The secondary sense of this article respected sins committed after Baptism; in which sense this clause was constantly recited in the Creed, as an antidote against the rigorous tenets of the Basilidians, the Montanists, and especially the Novatians, who denied the pardon of God, or at least of the Church, to scandalous sins, perpetrated after Baptism; an opinion which was attended with the worst of consequences. Next follows *The Resurrection of the Body*; under which, besides enlarging upon what he had in substance laid down in the *Enquiry*, he adds, that in some Creeds this article is the last; that in the Greek and Latin Creeds, as also in the modern French and Dutch, it is the *Resurrection of the Flesh*. Several heretics would equivocally assent to the Resurrection of the Body, who denied that the same fleshly substance should rise again. In opposition to these it was emphatically inserted in the Creed, that there should be a Resurrection of the Flesh; that is, that the very same fleshy and material body should rise again, though the qualities thereof should be changed and altered. As to the clause of *The Life Everlasting*, with which the Apostles Creed concludes, he observes, that it is pertinently put at the end thereof, because it is the end of our Faith, as the determination of every man to his proper place. The Gnostics affirmed, that the greatest part of mankind should be annihilated at the day of Judgment, against whom it is declared in this article, that after that there shall be *Life Everlasting*; wherein is included the eternal misery of the Damned, as well as the everlasting happiness of the Blessed.



to return to his native country ; and having a strong desire in his way thither to visit those in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Gospel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, to procure leave for that purpose. But this petition was so far from being granted, that the messenger, whom he sent to solicit that favour, very narrowly escaped imprisonment [P]. Hereupon he made the best of his way to Scotland, where he arrived on the 2d of May 1559, and was very active in promoting the Reformation there, as appears from the second book of his History, which contains a full account of his conduct, 'till the Protestants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which transaction, in July this year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil *in-cognito* at Stamford (nn); but his journey being retarded by the danger of passing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards sent, in company with Mr Robert Hamilton, another Protestant minister, to negotiate these affairs between the Protestants in Scotland and Queen Elizabeth. When they came to Berwick, they remained some days with Sir James Crofts the Governor, who undertook to manage their business for them, and advised them to return home; which they did. Secretary Cecil sent also an answer to the Protestant nobility and gentry, concerning their proposals to Queen Elizabeth; which was so general, that they were very near resolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr Knox interposed with so much earnestness, that they allowed him once more to write to the Secretary [Q]. To this letter there was quickly sent an answer, desiring that

(nn) Ibid. p. xciii. Sir William Cecil's Letter desiring that meeting, is dated at Oxford July 14, 1559. and printed in Knox's History, p. 212, 213.

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'mercy, to suppress such as fight against his glory) I will obey, albeit, that both nature and God's most perfect ordinance repugn to such regiment. More plainly to speak, if Queen Elizabeth shall confess, that the extraordinary dispensation of God's great mercy, maketh that lawful unto her, which both nature and God's law doth deny unto all women; then shall none in England be more willing to maintain her lawful authority than I shall be; but if (God's wond'rous work set aside) she ground (as God forbid) the justness of her title, upon consuetude, laws, or ordinances of men, then I am assured, that as such foolish presumption doth highly offend God's supreme Majesty, so do I greatly fear that her ingratitude shall not long want punishment. And this, in the name of the eternal God, and of his son Jesus Christ (before whom both you and I shall stand to make account of all counsel we give) I require you signify unto her Grace in my name; adding, that only humility and dejection of herself before God shall be the firmity and stability of her throne, which I know shall be assaulted more ways than one (36). He wrote also in the same strain to Queen Elizabeth herself, intimating that, as long as she shewed favour to them, that is, the Puritanical party, her regiment was lawful, but whenever she failed of that, it would be lawful to depose her. 'If thus, says he, in God's presence you humble your self, as in my heart I glorify God for that rest granted to his afflicted flock within England, under you a weak instrument; so will I, with tongue and pen justify your authority and regiment, as the Holy Ghost hath justified the same in Deborah, that blessed mother in Israel. But if the premises (as God forbid) neglected, you shall begin to brag of your birth, and to build your authority and regiment upon your own law, (flatter you who so list) your felicity shall be short (37).

(36) Knox's History, &c. p. 206.

(37) Ibid. p. 211.

[P] His petition was not granted. The letter he wrote to Secretary Cecil on that head may be seen in Buchanan's edition of his history in 1649; as also in the MS. from which the edition in 1732 was printed; but is not inserted in that edition, as it should seem, because not to be found in the first edition of the 8vo, being, as is probable, kept out to avoid giving offence to Queen Elizabeth and Secretary Cecil; but, notwithstanding that concession, the book was suppressed in England where it had been printed. Thus the writer of Knox's life in 1732 (38). But the calumniating insinuation here thrown upon the memory of Queen Elizabeth and her council is clearly wiped off, and turned upon the author of it by another writer of that nation already mentioned, who, in a note upon the words of Camden, concerning Mary, Queen Dowager of Scotland, mother of Mary Queen of Scots, in his annals of Queen Elizabeth, where, speaking of that dowager, says, 'she was a pious and wise princess, who had suffered the most bitter reproaches from some virulent and furious preachers, as may be seen in their own Church History, called in by Queen Elizabeth when it was just going to the press.' By this, says my author, he means Mr Knox's history, an edition whereof was printed at London; but at what precise time has not as yet fully appeared. Mr. Camden says here, that this

(38) P. xvii.

book was called in by Queen Elizabeth when it was just going to press; he should rather have said, when it was going to be published; since, of this English edition in a small 8vo, there are some few copies to be met with at this day; but every one of them is imperfect (39). He then proceeds in these terms: The author of the life of Mr Knox, prefixed to the late edition of his history at Edinburgh, 1732, gives a passage from Calderwood's MS to ascertain the time when this 8vo edition was printed at London, in the following words. February 1586, *Vaultellier, the printer, took with him a copy of Mr Knox's history of England, and printed twelve hundred of them. The stationers at the archbishop's [Whitgift] command seized them the 18th of February. It was thought that he would get leave to proceed again; because the council perceived, that it would bring the Queen of Scots into detestation* (40). This seems to be the best account of the date when these books were seized; but the expectation of getting leave to proceed again seems to have failed. True indeed, the ground of the expectation seems to be plausible enough, seeing Mr Knox has laid himself out, as it were, to bring the Queen of Scots, his sovereign, into detestation; but it seems likewise, that the council of England stood no longer in need of Mr Knox's detracting pen; they had gained their point before that time (41), and now they saw well, that such language and representations as that book contained, was not fit to be allowed a free passage into the world. *That wise council acted herein somewhat like those who fawn on a traitor, while his treachery may be serviceable to them; but when that season is over, they despise both the traitor and the treachery* (42).

(39) Mr Woodrow, in his letter to Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Nicholson, part of which is printed in that author's appendix to the Scot's Historical Library, where he calls it a large 12mo.

(40) Knox's Life, p. xlv.

(41) The Queen of Scots was then a prisoner in England. See the general histories of each country.

(42) Keith's History of Scotland, p. 130.

[Q] He was allowed once more to write to the Secretary. As this letter was judged to be of so much importance as to procure an immediate compliance with the request contained in it, we shall give an extract of it as follows: He begins with excusing his not coming to Berwick, for the reason expressed in the text above, and then proceeds in these terms. 'I wish that rather your pen than our credit, or any thing written to any of us, should assure the lords and others of our good minds (who are now in number but five hundred). Unless that money be furnished without delay to pay the soldiers for their service by past, and to retain another thousand footmen, with three hundred horsemen, 'till some stay be had in this danger, these gentlemen will be compelled to leave the fields. I am assured as flesh may be of flesh, that some of them will take a very hard life, before that ever they compose either with the queen regent, either yet with France. But this I dare not promise of all, unless in you they see a greater forwardness. To support us will appear excessive, and to break promise with France will appear dangerous. But the loss of expences, in my opinion, ought not to be esteemed from the first payment, neither yet the danger from the first appearance. France is most fervent to conquer us, and avoweth, that against us they will spend their crown (so did my own ears hear Bottin-court brag). But most assuredly I know, that unless by us they thought to make an entrance to you, they would not buy our poverty at that price. They labour to corrupt some of our great men by money (and some of our number

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some persons of credit might be sent to confer with the English at Berwick ; and the same letter informed them, that there was a sum of money ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cause, assuring them, that if the Lords of the Congregation were willing to enter into a league with Queen Elizabeth upon honourable terms, they should neither want men nor money. Upon this answer, Mr Henry Balnaveis, a man well respected in both kingdoms, was sent to Berwick, who soon returned with a sum of money, which defrayed the publick expence 'till November; when John Cockburne of Ormiston being sent for the second support, received it, but fell into the hands of Earl Bothwell, who took the money from him (oo). In the interim, Mr Knox was chosen Minister of Edinburgh in July; but being obliged to attend the Lords, while the agreement was in dependence, Mr Willock was left in Edinburgh to officiate in his room. The effect of these negotiations was the sending of an army under the command of the Duke of Norfolk; which being joined by almost all the great men in Scotland, at last a peace was procured and concluded between the two kingdoms, on the 8th of July 1560 (pp). The Congregationers being freed by this peace from any disturbance, made several regulations towards propagating and establishing the new religion; and, in order to have the reformed doctrine preached throughout the kingdom, a division was made thereof into twelve districts (for the whole number of the reformed ministers at this time was only twelve), whereby the district of Edinburgh was assigned to Mr Knox (qq). These twelve ministers also composed a Confession of Faith, which was afterwards ratified by Parliament; they also compiled the first books of Discipline for that Church. In December this year, Mr Knox buried his first wife Margery Bowes, an Englishwoman, for whose loss he was much grieved (rr). In January the following year, 1561, we find our author engaged in a dispute concerning the controverted points of religion, against Mr Alexander Anderson, Sub-Principal of the King's-college at Aberdeen, and Mr John Leslie parson of Ume, and afterwards Bishop of Ross. In March 1560-61, Mr John Spottiswood was admitted Superintendant of Lothian by Mr Knox [K]. And the same year, August 20, 1561, the Queen arrived at Leith from France. From her first arrival, her Majesty set up a private Mass in her own chapel, which afterwards, by her protection and countenance, was much more frequented: this excited the zeal of Mr Knox, who expressed himself with great warmth against allowing it; and an act of the Privy-Council being proclaimed at the market-Cross of Edinburgh, forbidding any disturbance to be given to this practice under pain of death, on the 25th of that month, Mr Knox openly in his sermon the Sunday following declared, that *one Mass was more frightful to him, than ten thousand armed enemies, landed in any part of the realm* (ss). This freedom of speech gave great offence to the Court, and the Queen herself had a long conference with him upon that and other subjects [S]. What part he bore

(oo) Ibid. p. 214. Upon this misadventure followed all the rest of their troubles, related in the second book of this History.

(pp) Ibid. p. 234.

(qq) Ibid. p. 236. where the names of them are mentioned, among whom Christopher Goodman was appointed to St Andrews.

(rr) See his History, p. 260. A full account of his family shall be given at the close of this memoir.

(ss) Life of Knox, p. xxvi. and Knox's History, p. 287.

'are poor, as before I writ, and cannot serve without support; some they threaten, and against others they have raised up a party in their own country. In this mean time, if you lye by as neutrals, what will be the end you may easily conjecture. And therefore, Sir, in the bowels of Christ Jesus I require you to make plain answer, what the gentlemen here may listen to, and what the queen's majesty will do, may be without delay put in execution (43).'

[R] Spottiswood was admitted superintendant of Lothian by Mr Knox.] The form and order of this admission was composed by Mr Knox, and is inserted in his history (44). He begins with a sermon upon these heads: 1. The necessity of ministers and superintendants. 2. The crimes and vices that might unenable them. 3. The virtues required in them. And lastly, whether such as by public consent of the Kyrke were called to such office might refuse the same. Sermon finished, it was declared by the preacher, That the lords of secret Council had given charge and power of the kirkes of Lothian to chuse Mr John Spottiswoode superintendant, &c. Upon which words Mr Keith makes the following remark: 'One would think, says he, that if this charge, and power, and nomination of the particular person for this dignity, was given and made at that time by the Lords of the Council, there might be little ground to complain of the same power, when lodged in a lawful king (45).' The same writer upon another occasion observes, that the whole behaviour of the first reformers of religion in Scotland, shews that they had no notion of a regular succession being necessary for the vocation of ordinary office-bearers in the Church of Christ. What was it that made the new preachers to be the only persons that had power to administer the sacraments? I suppose they will hardly say the parliament had authority to confer that power. If it was the call of the people, it seems to be unheard of 'till that time, that the people could consecrate and ordain any person to the sacred offices: their consent and approbation is quite another thing. I am inclined to think, they will have recourse to a special immediate appointment to

such person by Almighty God himself at that period; but with how many difficulties such an assertion may be attended, I need not offer to mention.—That Mr Knox and some others, who had regular ordination, did at that time undervalue their sacred orders, and act as preachers by a new call; and that others of the preachers never had any ordination, but the new one is certain: and 'tis as certain that many to this day have acted as office-bearers in the Church, merely by virtue of that new call. May it not therefore be reasonably doubted whether such persons be really Ministers of Jesus Christ, or no? At least, may not other people who lay some stress on the validity of regular ministrations, make scruple to receive from their hands the mysteries of the Covenant of Redemption? Is not the plea of the Quakers more defensible, every one of whose preachers pretends an immediate call \*.

[S] He had a long conference with the Queen.] In this conference her majesty having charged him with writing the *Blast*, he avows it, and then proceeds thus: I hear that an Englishman hath written against it, but I have not read him. If he hath sufficiently improved my reasons, and established his contrary propositions with as evident testimonies as I have done mine, I shall not be obstinate, but shall confess my error and ignorance. But to this hour I have thought, and yet think my self alone to be more able to sustain the things affirmed in that my work, than any ten in Europe shall be able to confute it. This confident assertion, together with his avowing to read the answer to his book, looks at first sight to proceed from that obstinacy of temper for which he was so remarkable; but upon a nearer view of it, will appear to be the genuine effect of art and policy. If he had read the answer he must either have replied, or, by his silence, have incurred the censure of a tacit retraction. The first he well saw was too rash and dangerous to engage in; and therefore he took this method to avoid the reproach of the second, which must have lessened his authority among his own party. With the same art is his answer conducted to the Queen's next charge against him

(43) Knox's History, p. 213, 214.

(44) Ibid. p. 263, & seqq. where may be seen the form also of admitting or electing Elders and Deacons, p. 267, & seqq.

(45) Keith's History, p. 145, note (d).

\* Ibid. p. 150. note (b.)



bore in the affairs of the Church, during the remainder of this year 1561, may be seen in his History, to which we refer the reader. In 1562, we find him employed in reconciling the Earls of Bothwell and Arran, which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the most eminent persons of the kingdom, and how much interest he had with them (11). The same year, the Queen being informed that her uncles were like to recover their former interest at the Court of France, received the news with great joy: Mr Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of the Queen's relations would produce dismal effects, in prejudice of the reformed interest in these parts, thought fit to preach a sermon, wherein *he taxed the ignorance, vanity, and despite of princes, against all virtue, and against all those in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared.* This and other expressions, in reproof of dancing for joy at the displeasure taken against God's people, coming to the ears of the Queen, her Majesty sent for him, and had a second conference with him (uu). This year he was appointed, by the General Assembly, Commissioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, several of the most eminent gentlemen of Kyle, Cunningham, and Carrick, entered into a bond or covenant at Air, which was subscribed September 4, 1562 (ww) [T]. From the shire of Air he went to Nithsdale and Galloway, and had several conferences about matters of great importance with the Master of Maxwell; and from this county he wrote to the Duke of Chaterault, giving him cautions both against the Bishop of St Andrews and the Earl of Huntley, whose counsels he judged might prove prejudicial to the reformed interest. At this time he accepted a challenge made by an eminent person among the Papists to a public dispute about the Mass, which continued the space of three days, and was afterwards printed (xx). In the beginning of the Queen's first Parliament, in May 1563, Mr Knox endeavoured to excite the Earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage, to get the articles of Leith established by Law; but finding him cooler than he expected, there followed a breach between them, which continued for a year and a half (yy). And after the bill was rejected, the Parliament not being dissolved, he preached a sermon before a great many of the members, wherein he expressed his sense of that matter with vehemency, and at the close declared his abhorrency of the Queen's marrying a Papist\*. This gave great offence to the Court; and her Majesty sending for him, expressed much passion, and thought to have punished him, but was prevailed upon to desist at that time [U].

(11) Knox's History, p. 305, 306.

(uu) Ibid. p. 308, 309, 310. The challenge was brought by Alexander Cockburne, who had been formerly his scholar, and the conference ended with the Queen's declaring she had been misinformed.

(ww) Ibid. p. 316, 317.

(xx) Life of Knox, p. xxvii. The challenge was made by Mr Quintin Kennedy, a son of the house of Cassils, Prior of Whithorn, and Abbot of Crois Regal, and the dispute was held in the village of Maybole in Carrick. See Knox's History, p. 318.

(yy) See an account of it in Knox's History, p. 33.

\* He was married to her Majesty July 19, this year.

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him of denying her just authority: to which he pleads the privilege of the learned in all ages, and cites Plato in particular, who had publicly taught doctrines contrary to the common opinion without disturbing the society, bearing with patience the errors and imperfections which they could not amend. Even so, says he, *Madam, am I content to do in uprightness of heart; and with the testimony of a good conscience I have communicate my judgment to the world; if the realme finds no inconveniency in the regiment of a woman, that which they approve shall I not farther disallow than within my own breast, but shall be as well content to live under your Grace as Paul was to live under Nero; and my hope is, concludes he, that so long as ye defile not your hands with the blood of the saints of God, that neither I nor the book shall either hurt you or your authority; for, in very deed, Madame, that book was written most especially against that wicked Jeshabel of England* (46).

(46) Knox's History, p. 288.

[T] Entered into a covenant at Air.] We have already mentioned the first of these bonds or covenants (47) made at Edinburgh, Dec. 3, 1557, which runs thus:

(47) In the text, at note †, in p. 2870.

*We perceiving how Sathan in his memberis, the antichristis of our tyme cruelle doeth rage, seeking to downthrowing and to destroy the evangell of Christ and his congregation, aucht, according to our boundin dewtie, to stryve in our maisteris cause, evin unto the deith, being certane of the victorie in him: the quiblk our dewtie, being weill considerit, we do promeis befor the Majestie of God and his Congregation, That we be his grace, sall with all diligence continuallie applie our baill power, substance, and our very lyves to manteine, set forword, and establish the most blissit word of God, and his Congregation: and sall labour at our possibilitie to have faythful ministeris, purlie and trewlie to minister Christis Ewangell and Sacraments to his pepill. We sall mantein thame, nurische thame, and defend thame, the baill Congregation of Christ, and everye member theirof at our baill poweris, and wairing of our lyves, against Sathan and all wicked power that dois intend tirranie or trubile against the foirsord Congregation. Unto the quiblk holie Word and Congregation we do joyne us; and also dois renunce and foirsake the Congregation of Sathan with all the superstitionis, abominatiounis and idolatrie theirof. And mairover sall declair our selfis manifestlie enemies thairto, be*

*this our faythfull promeis befor God, testified to his Congregation, be our subscriptioun at thir Presens.*

*At Edinburghe the 3d day of December, 1557 Yeirs.*

*God callit to witnes.*

*Sic subscribitur*

*A. Erle of Argyll,  
Glencairne,  
Mortoun,  
Archibald Lord of Lorne,  
John Erskin of Dun, &c* (48).

(48) Knox's History, p. 101.

Accordingly the writer of Knox's Life, in 1732, tells us, that from this bond, those who separated from Popery, were called the *Congregation*; because in it they oblige themselves to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed word and his Congregation; and the nobility who adopted the Reformed interest were called the *Lords of the Congregation* (49). Mr Keith is arch upon this Bond. In which, tho' it be very concise, the reader, says he, may observe that they stile themselves no less than seven times the Congregation. And that also, with this singular specialty, as being the Congregation of the Lord, in opposition to those of the Church, whom they are pleased to call the Congregation of Sathan (50).

(49) Knox's Life, p. xxi.

(50) Keith's History, p. 69.

[U] And was prevailed upon to desist for that time.] The offensive words were; *And now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage. Dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best gain; but this, my lords, will I say (note the day and bear witness after) whensoever the nobility of Scotland professing the Lord Jesus, consents that an Infidel, (and all Papists are Infidels) shall be had to our sovereign, ye do so far as in you lieth, to banish Christ Jesus from the realm, ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon your selves, and, perchance, ye shall do small comfort to your sovereign.* In his defence before the queen he said, that out of the pulpit few had occasion to be offended at him; and there, Madam, says he, I am not master of my self, but must obey who commands me to speak plain, and to flatter no flesh upon the face of the earth. Then happened another incident, which was like to have brought him into great trouble this year. During the Queen's absence



The General Assembly being held in June 1564, a selected committee was appointed to hold a conference with several persons of distinction, officers of state, upon some controverted points; the chief of which was about the boundaries to be settled between the power of the supreme magistrate and the people [W]. The ensuing year, Lord Darnley being married to the Queen, was advised by the Protestants about Court to hear Mr Knox preach, as thinking it would contribute much to procure the good-will of the people. At their desire he went, on the 19th of August, to the high church, but was so much offended at the sermon, that he complained to the Council, who immediately ordered Mr Knox before them, and forbad him to preach for several days [X]. The General Assembly, which met in December this year in their fourth session, appointed Mr Knox to draw up a consolatory letter in their name, to encourage ministers, exhorters, and readers, to continue in their vocations, which many were under great temptation to leave for want of subsistence, and to exhort the professors of the realm to supply their necessities. He was also appointed by this assembly to visit, preach, and plant, the kirks of the South, 'till the next assembly, and to remain as long as he could at that work (zz). He requested the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh in December 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to visit two of his sons (aaa), and for other necessary affairs in that kingdom [Y]. The same General Assembly being informed, that some worthy and learned divines in England were prosecuted by the Bishops, because they refused to use the habits appointed by Law for Church-men, caused a letter to be written and sent by Mr Knox, wherein with great earnestness they intreated, that they might deal gently with such ministers as scrupled the use of those vestments [Z]. In 1567, Mr Knox preached a sermon at the coronation of King James the Sixth of Scotland, and afterwards the First of Great Britain (bbb). This year is very remarkable in Scotland, upon account of the great turn of affairs there by Queen Mary's resigning the government, and by the appointment of the Earl of Murray to be regent. The first parliament which was called by the Earl met upon the 15th of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the Estates, and Mr Knox preached a very zealous sermon at the opening of it; and he was extremely afflicted at the Regent's death in 1569 [AA]. In 1571, the Hamiltons and others,

(zz) Life of Knox, p. xxx.

(aaa) Probably then at school, if the same as were afterwards sent to St John's college in Cambridge, as is mentioned in the close hereof.

(bbb) This sermon is much commended by Buchanan in his History of Scotland, who was a good judge of the beauties of such a performance.

(51) After passing most part of the summer in the west, she staid some time at Stirling.

fence from Holy-rood house this summer (51), some of her family celebrating mass at the palace, there appeared greater numbers than usual; some of the most zealous Protestants being informed of it, went to the abbey to take down the names of such as they saw going to that service. The queen's servants sent to the comptroller, advertising him that they were in great danger, and craving his assistance, he came down with great expedition, attended by the magistrates of Edinburgh and several others. Upon this occasion one Patrick Cranston went into the queen's chapel, and finding the altar covered, and the priest ready to celebrate mass, said, *The queen's Majesty is not here, how dare you then be so malapert as openly to do against the Law?* The report of this being carried to the Queen, she ordered Cranston, with one Armstrong, to be summoned, and find surety to underly the law for felony, having made violent invasion into the queen's palace. Mr Knox being afraid that extremity might be used against these zealous men, and being authorised by the last General Assembly to give advertisement to the whole body of Protestants in Scotland, when any danger appeared, wrote a circular letter, wherein he desires them to convene for the support of these men against the time of their appearance (52). Some copies of this letter were intercepted and brought to the Queen. It was concluded in the cabinet-council that it contained treason, and the nobility were advertised to be present at Mr Knox's trial, which was appointed for the middle of December. The nobility convened accordingly, and having heard Mr Knox's defence, acquitted him. His conduct was likewise approved by the General Assembly of the Church (53).

(52) This letter is dated at Edinburgh, Octob. 8, 1563, and is printed in his History, p. 336, 337.

(53) That assembly met December 25, 1563. See a particular account of this whole affair in Knox's History, from p. 339 to p. 345.

(54) Ibid. p. 349 to 366.

[W] *The boundaries between power of the prince and people.* The writer of Mr Knox's life tells us, that in this conference Mr Knox and the rest of his brethren espoused the same principles which have been owned by the supporters of the late happy Revolution. The courtiers were for screwing the royal prerogative to a great pitch, by which, upon perusing the conferences related by Mr. Knox (54), I suppose is meant, that in both cases, the courtiers on one side urged the doctrine of absolute Non resistance, which was rejected by the other side.

[X] *Forbad him to preach for several days.* His text was Isaiah xxvi. 13 and 17. *O Lord our God, other lords than thou have reigned over us.* From these words he took occasion to speak of the government of wicked princes, who for the sins of the people are sent as tyrants and scourges to plague them. And amongst other

things, he said, that *God sets in that room (for the offences and ingratitude of the people) boys and women.* There were also some other words uttered by him which gave great offence to the king, as, that *God justly punished Ahab and his posterity, because he would not take order with that harlot Jezebel.* These words the Council told him had given offence to his majesty, and they desired him to abstain from preaching fifteen or twenty days, and let Mr Craig supply the place. He answered, that he had spoken nothing but according to his text; and if the Church would command him either to speak or abstain, he would obey so far as the word of God would permit him (55). The publisher of Mr Knox's history in 4to, adds in the margin, that in answering he said more than he had preached; for he added, that as the king had for pleasure of the queen gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should God in his justice make her an instrument of his ruin; and so it fell out in a very short time; but the queen, being incensed at these words, fell out into tears, and to please her, John Knox must abstain from preaching for a time.

(55) Ibid. p. 380, 381.

[Y] *He went to England to visit his two sons, &c.* Before he set out, he had ample testimonials from the assembly of his life, doctrine, and usefulness, and was by them recommended to all to whom he should come. The assembly limited his abode in England to the meeting of the next general assembly, June 25 (56).

(56) Knox's Life, p. xxx.

[Z] *To be gentle to the Nonconformists.* This letter is published by Bishop Spottiswood in his history of the troubles at Francfort, as also by Mr Strype in his Life of Archbishop Parker. The letter itself seems to be Mr Knox's performance, as is affirmed in his History; where we have also a copy of the Assembly's letter (57).

[AA] *He was much afflicted at the murder of the Earl of Murray.* We are told that he apprehended the interest of religion would be exposed to the utmost danger by the earl's fall; and, upon that account, expressed himself with great concern both in public and private. The same writer tells us also, that he had seen a form of prayer composed by him upon this event, which shews his genuine sentiments of this matter. It is preserved by Mr Calderwood (58). Spottiswood, on the occasion of the Regent's murder, has related a story of Knox, which the writer of his life has inserted as a proof that he was in very great esteem, and reputed to be endued with an extraordinary faculty of predicting things to come. And indeed 'tis certain that Knox, upon all occasions, denounces the vengeance

(57) Book v. p. 402. It is dated December 27, 1566.

(58) Knox's Life, p. xxxi. See also Smeton's answer to Archibald Hamilton's dialogue de Confusionne Calviniana Scilicet, apud Scotus, p. 116.

geance



(i) See that doctor's trial, printed in 1710, and in State Trials, Vol. V. edit. 1730, in 6 vols folio.

(k) Life of Mr W. Whiston, wrote by himself, passim.

(l) See the inscription on his monument, and Salmon's Chronol. Hist. who says it was on the 14th of November that year.

\* Gazette, No. 6377. Upon the demise of King George I. the Seals were delivered again to him by King George II. June 15, 1727. Ibid. No. 6492. He was also twice, viz. June 1, 1725, and May 31, 1727, appointed one of the Lords Justices during the absence of King George I. Ibid. No. 6378, and No. 6490.

(9) Memoirs of the Life of Mr W. Whiston, p. 417. edit. 1753.

in the Law was distinguished by some advantageous honours. Upon the death of Sir Salathiel Lovel, the Court of Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the city of London chose him Recorder, July 27, 1708, and he was knighted by Queen Anne Sept. 12 following. In 1709, he was appointed one of the managers of the House of Commons at the trial of Dr Sacheverell (i); and three years afterwards, he appeared without any gratuity as Counsel for Mr Whiston, on his trial before the Court of Delegates for heresy (k) [F]. Upon the accession of King George I. to the throne, the Lord Trevor being removed from the first seat in the court of Common-Pleas, Sir Peter King succeeded him in the post of Lord Chief-Justice of that court [G] in Michaelmas term 1714 (l), and was sworn of the Privy-Council April 5 following. He was created a peer of England May 25, 1725, by the title of Lord King, Baron of Ockham in Surrey; and the Great Seal being taken from the Earl of Macclesfield, was delivered to our new created peer, whereby he became Lord High-Chancellor of England on the first of June following \*. But his judgment not being well adapted to the nature of the business in this office, occasioned him to take extraordinary pains in the discharge of it, which impairing his constitution by degrees, brought him at last into a paralytic disorder (m); so that he did not make that figure upon this bench as was expected from the character which raised him to it (n); and his distemper increasing, he resigned the Seals November 26, 1733, and his life on the 22d of July following at eight in the evening, having been taken speechless about noon that day. He died at his seat at Ockham in Surrey, and, on the 29th of July, was interred in that parish-church, where a monument is erected to his memory, with a fine marble statue of his Lordship (o), and an

(m) The inscription on his monument.

(n) There were more of his decrees repealed by the House of Lords, than of any other Chancellor in the same space of time.

(o) Collins's Peerage, Vol. V. p. 350. edit. 1756. who observes in p. 349. that his Lordship was nephew by the mother's side to Mr Locke.

[F] *He was Counsel for Mr Whiston, &c.* He seems to have been a particular favourite of his client at this time, and very justly, since he appears to have his success more at heart, and to have laboured more earnestly towards it than Mr Lechmere, who was his other Counsel, though he refused a fee as well as Sir Peter; concerning whom Mr Whiston has left the following memorandum: 'That on Tuesday April 28, 1747, Samuel Collet, my most intimate Christian friend, informed me at Great-Marlow, that his brother, Governor Collet, assured him from Sir Peter King's own mouth, who was one of my Counsel in the Court of Delegates, that when none of the Judges would agree to a sentence against me in that cause of heresy, the rest of the Court, consisting of Bishops and Civilians, were resolving to proceed without them: 'till Sir Peter told them, We should then proceed against them, and sue them to a præmunire, which such a sentence would incur. Upon which they desisted. This remarkable passage, continues Mr Whiston, I had never heard of; but being so very material, and so fully attested, I could not but add it in this place, and leave it to the reader's own reflections (9).'

[G] *Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas.* During the time that he enjoyed this post, he sat Judge on the Crown side at the Lent assizes at Bury in Suffolk, in 1721, when he sat on the remarkable trial of Coke and Woodburne, on an indictment on the Coventry Act for slitting the nose of Mr Crispe. A brief account of which can neither be unentertaining in itself, nor foreign to the purpose of this work, as it furnishes a very material part of our author's character, which was greatly interested in that trial. The case was this: Coke having instigated Woodburne to undertake the killing of Crispe, accompanies this last on the day agreed on to the place appointed for Woodburne to fall upon him; who accordingly, upon a signal given by Coke, comes up to Crispe in the dark, gives him several blows and cuts with a hedging-bill, particularly one, which falling across his nose, cut through it into the nostril, though without slitting the edge of it, and went off without killing him. Crispe recovering, prosecutes both the assailants upon the Coventry act, who, to evade the indictment, plead an intention to murder, and not to maim so as to disfigure in the sense of that act; and Coke, especially, brings several witnesses, who sufficiently prove his intention was to murder. The King's Counsel charge him with a double intention, one to murder, and another to maim so as to disfigure. Coke observes this to be a nice point, and therefore begs Counsel may be allowed them; which is denied by the Chief-Justice for this reason, that no point of law had arisen, the intention not being a point of law but a matter of fact; and in the conclusion of his charge to the Jury, speaking to that point, Whether there was an intention to disfigure? he expresses himself to the following effect. 'Facts do in some measure explain themselves; and the circumstances preceding and accompanying those facts, and the manner of doing them, do many times more fully and

clearly declare the intent of the party. The prisoner Coke, which defence goes both to him and Woodburne, insists, that their intention was to murder and not to maim; and that if they did maim or slit the nose, it was with an intention to kill, and not with an intention to maim or disfigure. On the other side, it is insisted on by the King's Counsel, that though the ultimate intention might be to murder, yet there might be also an intention to maim and disfigure; and though one did not take effect, yet the other had; an intention to kill doth not exclude an intention to maim and disfigure. The instrument made use of in this attempt was a bill or hedging-hook, which, in its own nature, is proper for cutting and maiming; and, when it doth cut or maim, doth necessarily and by consequence disfigure. The attempt intended on Mr Crispe was immediately on his own person, to do him a personal injury. Besides, the manner of doing and perpetrating this fact is proper to be considered, that it was done by violence, and in the dark, when the assailant could not well make any distinction of blows, but knock'd and cut on any part of Mr Crispe's body where he could, 'till he had sunk him down, and done to him what else he pleased; and if the intention was to murder, you are to consider whether the means made use of, in order to effect and accomplish that murder, and the consequences of those means were not in the intention and design of the party, and whether every blow and cut, and the consequences thereof, were not intended, as well as the end for which it is alledged those blows and cuts were given (10).

The Coventry act is an act of 23 Charles II. cap. 1. It was made on the occasion of Sir John Coventry having suffered the like barbarous usage. The words are, *That if any person or persons, on purpose, and of malice forethought, and by lying in wait, shall wilfully cut or disable the tongue, put out an eye, or slit the nose, with an intention in so doing to maim or disfigure any one of the members beforementioned; the person or persons so offending, their counsellors, aiders, and knowing of, and privy to, the offence, shall be deemed Felons, &c.*

The intelligent reader will be beforehand with me in observing, that this is a particular and very penal act; and it is a settled case in Law, that such acts are not in any sort to be strained beyond the letter. To which may be added, that it was generally agreed at that time, that Coke and Woodburne were indeed condemned and executed according to the general rules of justice, but not strictly according to the particular rules of our municipal laws. In short, the plea of an intention to murder must have immediately shocked human nature, and curdled the blood of every one that heard it; so that the case may be looked on as a defect in that law, to be supplied by the religion of the Judge or Jury; and in reality it was generally said then, that the Lord Chief-Justice King was pitched upon to go the Norfolk circuit at this time, in order to give a sanction to the verdict, by his universal reputation for skill and knowledge in the Law, and the no less universal character of his humane disposition.

(10) State Trials, Vol. VI. p. 189, & seq. edit. 1730.



(p) Inscription  
on his monu-  
ment.

an inscription on a marble pedestal, part of which may be seen in the book last cited. He married Anne, daughter of Richard Seys of Boverton in Glamorganshire, Esq; with whom he lived to the day of his death in perfect love and happiness, and left issue by her four sons, John, Peter, William, and Thomas, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne (p) [H].

(11) In his Peer-  
age, Vol. V. p.  
351. edit. 1756.

[H] He left issue by her four sons and two daughters.] Of some of these we have the following account by Mr Collins (11). John King, his eldest son and heir, who succeeded him in honour and estate, was member for Launceston in Cornwall in the first parliament of King George II. and was elected for the city of Exeter and for Launceston in the next parliament, summoned to meet 13 June, 1734. His Lordship, in May 1726, married Elizabeth, daughter to Robert Fry of Yearty in the county of Devon, Esq; which lady deceased in the 23d year of her age, January 28, 1733-4, leaving no issue. And his Lordship being in an ill state of health, was advised, for

change of air, to go to Portugal; but, in his voyage to Lisbon, departed this life on board his Majesty's ship the Ruby, February 10, 1739-40; whereupon the honour and estate descended to Peter his brother, late Lord King, who, on the 18th of April 1740, was appointed Out-Ranger of Windsor Forest in the room of his deceased brother; but dying March 22, 1754, unmarried, was succeeded in the honour and estate by the Chancellor's third son William, now Lord King. The Honourable Thomas King, in 1734, married a lady of an ample fortune in Holland, and a native of that country, and hath issue by her two sons and two daughters. P

(a) He was 67  
years of age at  
his death in  
1572. History  
of the Church of  
Scotland, by Bi-  
shop Spotiswood,  
p. 267, 2d edit.

(b) Or John  
Major, as he is  
called by the for-  
eign writers.  
Melchior Ada-  
mus, in Vita  
Theolog. Exter.  
p. 137. Francf.  
1653.

(c) Buchanan's  
Life of Knox,  
ubi supra. See  
also an account  
of him by Dr  
Mackenzie.

(d) Buchanan's  
Account.

KNOX [JOHN], the principal director of the Reformation in the Scottish Church, was descended of an ancient and honourable family [A], and was born in the year 1505 (a), at Giffard near Haddington in the county of East-Lothian in Scotland. He received the first part of his education in the Grammar-school of Haddington, and from thence was removed to the university of St Andrews, and placed under the tuition of the celebrated Mr John Mair (b). He applied with uncommon diligence to the academical learning in vogue at that time; and, by the natural sharpness of his wit, having made a very great progress in these studies in a short space, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts when very young (c). As the bent of his inclination led him strongly to the Church, he turned the course of his studies early that way, and, by the advantage of his tutor's instructions, soon became remarkable for his knowledge in scholastic Theology; insomuch, that he obtained Priest's Orders before the time usually allowed by the Canons (d); and, from being an auditor of his tutor's instructions, he began himself to teach, with great applause, his beloved science to others (e). But after some time, upon a careful perusal of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly the writings of St Jerom and St Austin, his taste was entirely altered. He quitted the subtilizing method of Theorics and the Schoolmen, and applied himself to a plainer and more simple Divinity (f). At his entrance upon this new course of study, he attended the preaching of Thomas Guiliam (g), a Black-Friar, whose sermons were of extraordinary service to him. This Friar was Provincial of his order in 1543 [B], when the Earl of Arran, then Regent of Scotland, favoured the Reformation (b); and Mr George Wishart, so much celebrated in the history of this time, coming from England next year, 1544, with the commissioners sent from King Henry the Eighth, our author being of an inquisitive nature, learned from him, the following year, the principles of the Protestants [C]; with which he was so pleased, that he renounced the Romish religion, and

(e) Melchior A-  
dam, ubi supra.  
Where he says,  
our author, in  
some things, was  
more happy than  
his tutor.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Or Wil-  
liams, as his  
name is written  
in Keith's His-  
tory of Scotland,  
p. 37. edit.  
1734, folio.

(b) And the Par-  
liament of Scot-  
land made that  
famous act, al-  
lowing the read-  
ing of the Scrip-  
tures in the vul-  
gar tongue.  
Id. ibid.

[A] He was descended of an ancient and honourable family.] According to his own account, some of his progenitors were partizans of the Bothwell family. 'My great-grandfather and father (says Mr Knox to the then Earl of Bothwell) have served your Lordship's predecessors, and some of them have died under their standards, and this is a part of the obligation of our Scottish kindness (1).' These words seem to import, that Mr Knox's predecessors were in some honourable station under the Earls of Bothwell, at that time the most powerful family in East-Lothian. We are told by another writer (2), that Mr Knox's father was a brother's son of the house of Renfrew. This, indeed, at first sight, seems less reconcileable to Mr Knox's own account, which implies, that his family, particularly his great-grandfather, resided in East-Lothian. But, perhaps, this great-grandfather was a son of that ancient family of Renfrew, which, from the reign of King Alexander II. had possessed these lands in the shire of Renfrew, and were sold by Uchter Knox of Renfrew, to William first Earl of Dundonnald in 1665. In confirmation of which, the writer of his Life, prefixed to his History in 1732, tells us (3), that he had been informed by very near relations of that family, that the family of Renfrew claimed Mr Knox as a cadet of it, and looked upon it as their honour that he was descended of it.

(1) See his Hi-  
story of the Re-  
formation in  
Scotland, p. 306.  
edit. 1732. fol.

(2) David Bu-  
chanan, in his  
Account of Mr  
Knox's Life and  
Death, prefixed  
to his History of  
the Reformation,  
&c. edit. 1640.

(3) P. ii.

[B] Thomas Williams was Provincial of the Black-Friars.] This Friar was born at Athelston-Ford in East-Lothian. In 1543, he was chaplain to the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland. Sir James Balfour says, he translated the New-Testament, and publicly preached against the Pope's authority; and that he was winked at by the Regent, and supported by the noblemen that had returned lately from England. Which serves to explain the words of Buchanan (4)

(4) Ubi supra.

concerning him, that he was a preacher of sound judgment and wholesome doctrine; as also of Calderwood, who observes (5), that he was the first from whom Mr Knox received any taste of the Truth. Accordingly, Mr Knox remarks (6), that the Provincial was learned and sound, of a good utterance, but with a great vehemence against superstition.

(5) Calderwood's  
History of the  
Church of Scot-  
land.

(6) Knox's Hi-  
story of the Re-  
formation, &c.  
p. 33. edit.  
1732, folio.

[C] He learned the principles of the Protestants from Mr George Wishart.] George Wishart was a son of Pitarrow in the Mearns; in his younger years he was Master of the Grammar school at Montrose, and afterwards studied at Cambridge, and returned to Scotland in 1544 (7), as abovementioned. He is reckoned to be the worthiest person of all those who supported the new doctrines in this country. There is a full account of him in the general histories of Scotland, to which we refer, and shall only mention such particulars as serve to support what is advanced in the text above. And for these we are obliged to Mr Knox himself, who, in his History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, writes thus: 'In the middis of all the calamities that came upon this realme, after the defec-tion of the Governour [the Earl of Arran] from Christ Jesus, come in Scotland that blyssit martyre of God, Maister George Wishart, a man of sick graices, as before him were never hard in this realme, yea, and rare to be found yit in ony mon, notwithstanding this grit lycht of God that since his days has schynit unto us. He was not onlie singulerelie leirnit, as well in godly knowlege, as in all humane science, but also he was so cleirly illuminated with the spreit of the prophesie, that he saw not onlie thingis partaining to himself, but also sick thingis, as sum tounis, and the haill realme efterwards fund quhilk he foirspak, not in secreit, but in audience of mony, as in their awin places shall be declairit.'

Knox

(7) Keith's Hi-  
story of Scotland,  
p. 41, 42.



and became a zealous Protestant (*i*). He had left St Andrews a little before, being appointed tutor to the sons of the Lairds of Ormiston and Langnidy, who were both favourers of the Reformation. Mr Knox's ordinary residence was at Langnidy, where he not only instructed his pupils in the several parts of learning, but was particularly careful to instil into them the principles of piety and the Protestant religion. This coming to the ear of the Bishop of St Andrews, that prelate prosecuted him with such severity, that he was frequently obliged to abscond, and fly from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with such continual dangers, he resolved to retire to Germany, where the Reformation was gaining ground; knowing that in England, though the Pope's authority was suppressed, yet the greater part of his doctrine remained in full vigour. But this design being much disliked by the fathers of both his pupils, they, by their importunity, prevailed with him to go to St Andrews, about Easter 1547; and for his own safety (*k*), as well as that of their children, to betake himself to the castle, where they might all be secure from the efforts of the Papists, and he be in a condition to instruct these young gentlemen with greater advantage. Here he began to teach his pupils in his usual manner. Besides the grammar and the classical authors, he read a Catechism to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publickly in the parish church of St Andrews. He likewise continued to read to them the Gospel of St John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Langnidy. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the castle, whereat several of the place were present (*l*). Among these, Mr Henry Balnaveis (*m*), and John Rough preacher [*D*] there, being pleased with the manner of his doctrine, began earnestly to intreat him to take the preacher's place; but he absolutely refused, alleging, that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Hereupon, they deliberating the matter in a consultation with Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon King at Arms, a person of great probity, and a good measure of learning, it was concluded to give Mr Knox a charge publickly by the mouth of the preacher. Accordingly Mr Rough, upon the day agreed, preached a sermon concerning the election of Ministers, wherein he set forth 'What power the congregation, how small soever it was passing the number of two or three, had above \* any man, in whom they supposed and espied the gifts of God to be, and how dangerous it was to refuse, and not to hear the voice of such as desire to be instructed.' These and other things being declared in general, the preacher then addressed himself particularly to Mr Knox in these words: 'Brother, Ye shall not be offended, albeit I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all these that are here present; which is this. In the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this holy vocation; but, as ye tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your

(*i*) Mackenzie's Account, &c.

(*k*) Mr Keith, in his History, p. 61, 62. observes, that our author approved of the murder of Cardinal Beaton, calling it a godly deed; as indeed he does in his History, p. 65.

(*l*) Knox's Life, in 1732, p. 4.

(*m*) This person was very zealous for the new religion, and very active in promoting it. On which account he is often mentioned by Knox, and from him occasionally in the sequel of this article.

\* i. e. over.

Knox then proceeds to relate his progress through several parts of the kingdom where he preached his doctrine, beginning at Montrose; whence he went to Dundee, and thence into the West to Air, where, at Mauchlein, being denied the use of the church, he went with his followers, continues Knox, to a dyk in a muir edge, upon the south-west side of the town, upon the quhill he ascended: the hail multitude stude and fat about him: God gave the day plesante and hette. He continewit in preiching mair ner three hours (8). Thence he returned to Dundee then infested with the plague, where he visited those who were at the point of death, and took special care of the health of those that were sick. Thence passing to Montrose, attempts were made against his life by Cardinal Beaton's means, but prevented. He prophesied anent the progress of religion in Scotland, and his own death; went from thence to St Johnstoun or Perth, and thence passed to Leith. He afterwards resided for some time in the houses of Brumston, Langnidy, and Ormiston; and Mr Knox being at Langnidy at that time, became particularly acquainted with him; or, to use his own words, he awaitit upon him cairefulie from the tyme he [Wischart] come to Lawthiane (9). At Ormiston he was seized by Earl Bothwell, who carried him to Elpinstoun, a seat of his own in the neighbourhood; where being delivered to Cardinal Beaton, he was removed by him, first to Edinburgh-Castle, and thence to that of St Andrews, of which the Cardinal was Governor, in January 1545-6. Thither the Cardinal wrote to the other prelates to convene on the 27 February; and in that meeting, Mr Wischart was sentenced to be burnt the first of March following, which was accordingly put in execution (10).

[*D*] John Rough preacher.] This preacher entered among the Black-Friars in the town of Stirling at the age of 17, and remained there for the space of 16 years; at which time the Lord-Governor, the Earl of Arran, having a kindness for him, asked Cardinal Beaton to grant him a licence to come out of his mo-

nastery, and become his Lordship's chaplain. This being complied with, he continued in that station about a year, until the Governor thought fit to dismiss such persons from his attendance, as favoured the new opinions (11). Presently after the murder of Cardinal Beaton in the castle of St Andrews, in 1547, Mr Rough entered there, and took one lot with the murderers. He is said, continues my author, to be a pious man, but 'tis much to be wished, that he had not so far betrayed an erroneous judgment, as to have associated himself with the perpetrators of a deed so highly contrary to and destructive of the principles of the Christian religion (12). However, after he had remained with that debauched crew within the castle, until the first pacification was made, exhorting them all the time to forbear their godless course of life; and perceiving that he prevailed nought, he then left them, and began to preach in the town of St Andrews a little before Easter, 1547; where, during the time that intervened between this and the second siege of the castle, he continued with Mr Knox to preach and dispute with the established clergy. But when the castle was besieged the second time, Mr Rough departed into England (13), and preached at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle, in the reign of Edward the Sixth. But, in the succeeding reign of Queen Mary, he fled into the Low-Countries, and, together with his wife, gained his livelihood by knitting stockings, caps, &c. at Nordin in East-Friesland, until the end of October 1557, when he came to England to provide necessaries for his occupation. There he was elected preacher to a private congregation, but was taken at Islington near London on Sunday December 12 following, and burnt to death on the 22d of that month (14). Mr Knox having observed, that he suffered in England for the veritie of Jesus Christ, declares, that albeit he was not so learned [as Williams], yet was he maire simple and maire vehement against all impietie (15).

(11) Ibid. p. 37, note (*b*), and p. 39.

(12) The writer of Mr Knox's Life, prefixed to the edition of his History in 1732, p. iii. says, he entered this castle merely for his own safety

(13) Keith, p. 61, 62.

(14) Ibid. p. 37, note (*b*).

(15) Knox's History, p. 33.

[*E*] Of

(8) Hence probably came the practice of preaching in the open air on commons, to which the Scots at this day are much devoted.

(9) Knox's History, &c. p. 52.

(10) Keith, ubi supra.



‘ your brethren, and the comfort of men, whom ye understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that ye take upon you the public office and charge of Preaching, even as ye look to avoid God’s heavy displeasure, and desire that he should multiply his graces with you.’ Then directing his speech to the audience, he said, ‘ Was not this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vocation?’ They answered, ‘ It was, and we approve it.’ Whereat Mr Knox abashed, burst forth into most abundant tears, and withdrew into his chamber. His countenance and behaviour from that day, to the day he was forced to present himself to the public place of preaching did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart: for no man saw any sign of mirth in him, neither yet had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days afterwards (n). But on the Sunday appointed, ascending the pulpit, he preached a Sermon upon Dan. vii. 23—28. from which text he proved to the satisfaction of his auditors, that the Pope was Antichrist, and that the doctrine of the Roman Church was contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles. He likewise gave the notes both of the true Church, and of the antichristian Church, &c. of which he gives a full account in his History [E]. This sermon made a great noise, and the Popish clergy being much incensed thereby, the Abbot of Paisley, lately nominated to the see of St Andrews, and not yet consecrated, wrote a letter to the Sub-Prior, who, *sede vacante*, was Vicar-General, expressing great surprize, that such heretical and schismatical doctrines were suffered to be taught without opposition. Upon this rebuke, the Sub-Prior called a convention of Grey and Black Friars, to meet in St Leonard’s-Yard; where, both our preachers being convened, they were charged with several offences, the particulars of which may be seen below [F]. The articles of the charge being read, the Sub-Prior entered into a conference with Mr Knox, who, after that, disputed with one of the Friars upon several controverted points between the Papists and the Protestants. Popery sensibly lost ground by the dispute; and the supporters of it found themselves obliged to take another method to maintain it’s reputation. An order was passed, obliging every learned person in the abbey and university, to preach in the parish-

(n) Knox’s History, p. 67, 68.

[E] *Of which he gives a full account in his History.* In that History Mr Knox tells us, that he had also a public disputation with the Dean of St Andrews upon Popery, at the end whereof the people unanimously called on him to let them hear the same doctrine from the preaching place, which call he accordingly obeyed. Upon the whole, the writer of his Life in 1732, makes the following remark. *This is the genuine account of Mr Knox’s vocation to the ministry of the Gospel, against which nothing can justly be objected, in the circumstances he and the Protestants in Scotland were at that time. All sincere lovers of the Reformed Cause do own his ordination to be good and valid. And indeed, continues he, it would be to no purpose to enter into a dispute with some late High-Church men in England, who, by their principles, not only nullify Mr Knox’s ordination, but that of all the foreign Reformed Churches. Their opinions have been sufficiently refuted by very able writers; neither is it my present business to insist any further upon that matter* (17). As this writer plainly suggests, that Mr Knox’s ordination was in substance that of the Presbyterians, it will be proper to give the opinion of another writer of that nation concerning it; who, speaking of the necessity of a reformation at the time it was begun, expresses himself in the following terms. ‘ And had none but pious and prudent men set about that work, and had they put their hands to the real abuses only, we, in this kingdom, might have obtained a reformation preferable, perhaps, to that of any other country. But, to our grievous misfortune, things went too much otherwise. And because the ignorance and viciousness of a great many of the then Priests, was too visible either to be denied or palliated, therefore the leaders (or I might justly say the leading man) of the Reformation presumed boldly to declare against the order of *Priesthood* altogether (18), and to introduce in it’s room a new-fashioned sort of ministry, unknown in the Christian Church for all preceding generations. It has been said, continues he, oftener than once, that our Reformation was carried on by Presbyters only: a very fallacious affirmation surely; since the persons here pointed at were any other thing as naturally as Presbyters, and were not indeed Presbyters at all. For though it be true, that Mr Knox and some others had formerly had the ordination of Priests, that is, Presbyters, yet we know that he, and probably those others too, acted at that time without any regard to their former sacred Orders, and that they disclaimed the same, as being of no worth nor authority. In-somuch that, Mr Erskine of Dun; William Harlow, Taylor in Cannon-gate Edinburgh; Paul Methuen, Baker in Dundee; and many more, no doubt, were

(17) Life of Mr Knox, p. vi.

(18) Erasmus had cautioned Luther against this mismanagement; but his good advice had not the least effect. See the Letters between those two great men.

‘ we acquainted with the minute circumstances of those times, came into the same degree with them: and they all might have denominated themselves Bishops, Patriarchs, or Popes, as well as Presbyters, or whatever else they pleased, or whatever we may think fit to call them now; though indeed they were none of all these orders, by any title or language known in the Christian Church before that time. And any man may, by the same right, assume to himself the authority of Bishop, Presbyter, or Deacon, at any time he and his fellows shall find proper so to do — In a word, so intoxicated was the principal director of our Reformation, with the extravagances he had seen in foreign parts, that (contrary to the good advice given him) unless he got every thing plucked up that had been before, he could never suffer himself to be persuaded, but that Popery was still regnant in the land. And, unless Prince and Peers, Priests and People, would accommodate themselves to his *devout imaginations* (as he owns some of his new-fangled schemes were denominated), there was not any safety for them at all. And thus, concludes this writer, by his unruly and misgoverned zeal, the goodly polity, which had so long continued, and ought still to have subsisted, in the Church, was utterly defaced. And the divine worship was left naked and bare, beyond any example in Antiquity: and, instead of that beauty, which might have been the ornament of our land, we relinquished to our neighbouring nation the honour of claiming to themselves the glory of the Reformed Churches (19).’

[F] *The articles of which may be seen below.* These are the following. 1. No mortal man can be the head of the Church. 2. The Pope is an Antichrist, and so is no member of Christ’s mystical bodie. 3. Man may nether mak nor devyse a religioun, that is acceptabill to God, bot man is bound to observe and keip the religioun, that fra God is rellavit, without chopping or changing thair of. 4. The Sacramentis of the New Testament aucht to be ministrat, as they war instituted by Christ Jesus, and prastit be his Apostles; nothing aucht to be addit unto thame, nothing aucht to be diminished frome thame. 5. The Mass is abominabill idolatrie, blasphemous to the deyth of Christ, and a prophanation of the Lordis Supper. 6. Thair is no purgatorie, in the whiche the soullis of men can nether be pynd or purged efter this lyif. But Hevin restis to the faithfull, and Hell to the reprobate and unfaithfull. 7. Praying for the deid is vane, and to the deid is idolatrie. 8. Thair is no Bischopis, except they preiche evin by thame selvis, without ony substitute. 9. The teindis, by Godis law, do not apertein of necessitie to the kirkmen (20).

(19) Keith’s History of Scotland, p. 594.

(20) Knox’s History, p. 70, 71.

[G] He



parish-church by turns upon Sundays, and, in their sermons, not to touch upon any of the controverted points. But Mr Knox rendered this caution ineffectual, by preaching on the week-days; when he took occasion to praise God that Christ Jesus was preached, and nothing said publickly against the doctrine he had taught them: protesting withal, that if in his absence they should speak any thing which they forbore while he was present, that his hearers should suspend their judgment 'till it should please God they should hear him again. And he was so successful in his work, that all the people in the Castle, and a great number in the Town, openly professed the Protestant doctrine (o), and testified it by partaking of the Lord's-Supper, in the same manner it was administered in the Church of Scotland, after the Protestant religion was established by Law, anno 1560 (p). And this, in 1547, was, perhaps, the first time that the Eucharist was dispensed in Scotland in the way of the reformed Churches. Mr Knox continued thus in the diligent discharge of his ministerial work, 'till July that year, when the castle was surrendered to the French, upon terms, that all in the garrison should be carried safe to France; and, in case they were not satisfied with the conditions of their liberty there, they should be conveyed at the expence of that King wherever they pleased, Scotland excepted. Mr Knox with the rest was carried to France, and remained a prisoner on board the galleys 'till the latter end of the year 1549 [G]; when, being set at liberty, he passed to England; and going to London, was there licensed (q), and appointed preacher, first at Berwick and next at Newcastle. During this employ, he received a summons, in 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonstal Bishop of Durham, for preaching against the Mass (r). In 1557, he was appointed Chaplain to King Edward the Sixth [H]; and, the ensuing year, he had the grant of an annuity of forty pounds, payable quarterly out of the Augmentation office, 'till some benefice in the Church should be conferred on him (t) [I]. The same year

(o) Ibid. p. 75.

(p) Knox's Life, p. 7. edit. 1732.

(q) Either by Cranmer or Somerset the Protector. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 235.

(r) See a MS. in the hands of Mr Woodrow, Minister of Eastwood in 1732.

(t) Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 366.

[G] And was kept a prisoner on board the galleys 'till 1549-50.] The writer of Knox's Life having observed, that he was carried with the rest to France, tells us (21), that 'he continued there some short time; for, in the 85th page of this edition of his History, we are told, that he was delivered that same winter, and came over to England.' But this seems to be a mistake, and such as could not have escaped him, had he perused with due attention the whole account of this part of Mr Knox's Life, as it stands in his History. He tells us there, that, upon the penult of June [1547], appeared in sight of the castle twenty-one French galleys, with a great armie, p. 75. The castle surrendered to them on Saturday the last day of Jullie, p. 76. The galleys, with the spoyl, returned to France after certain days, and passing up the Sequan [Seine], lay before Rowane [Rohan], where the principal gentlemen [taken out of the Castle of St Andrews] were put into sundrie prisons; the rest were left in the galleys, and there miserably entreated.—The same year, in the beginning of September, entreat into Scotland an armie from England, p. 77. That winter following were great hardships made upon the borders of Scotland by the English, p. 78.—The Lanetrane following was Hadingtoun fortified by the English. The most part of Lauthiane, from Edinburgh east, was either assured or laid waft. The troubles of Scotland coming to France, there was prepared ane navye and armie. The navy was such as never was seen to come from France; for, besides the galleys, which were twenty-two in number, they had threescore great ships besides victuallers.—They arrived in Scotland in May, anno 1549.—She [Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots] was convoyed by the west seys to France, with four galleys and some schips, p. 80.—Ordour was taken, that nixt September fume galleys sould remaine in Scotland.—That winter remained Monsieur de Termes [who had come with the French army] in Scotland, p. 81. when the quarrel happened between some French soldiers and the citizens of Edinburgh, in which the Provost was slain.—This winter did the Laird of Rothe most innocently suffer, and was forfeited, p. 82. and was beheaded, because he was known to be a great friend to those that were in the Castle of St Andrews; of whose deliverance, and of God's wondrous working with them during the time of their bondage, we mun now speik. Accordingly, he begins that account, p. 83. and continuing it in the subsequent page, he writes thus of himself. Mr James Balfour and Johne Knox being until one galley.—And being wondrous familiar with him, would oftimes ask his judgment, if he thought they should ever be delivered? Whose answer was, even fra the day they enter'd into the galleys, that God would deliver them from that bondage. And lying betwixt Dundee and St Andrews the second tyme

(21) P. vii.

that the galayis arrived to Scotland, the said John being so extremely seik, that few hopid his life, the said Maister James willed him to look to the land, and asked him if he knew it? Who answerit, *Yes, I know it well; for I see the steiple of that plaice, quhair God first oppinit my mouth in publi& to his glorie, and I am fullie perswadit, how weik that evir I now appeir, that I sall not depart this Lyif, till that my tounge sall glorifie his Godlie name in the same placie.* He then proceeds to observe, that five of the prisoners in Mount St Michell wrote to him for his opinion, whether they might with a safe conscience break prison? To which he answered, that they might, if they could do it without bloodshed, p. 84.—This counsel being followed, they all four made their escape, and two of them, after the space of twelve or thirteen weeks, got into a French ship as mariners, and landing in the West [of Scotland], came thence to England, where they met before them the said Johne Knox, who that same winter was delivered, and Alexander Clerk in his company, p. 85. From this account it is evident, that by these last words, *that same winter*, is not meant the winter of 1547, but that of 1549. And agreeably to this time of his arrival in England, we find no mention of any thing done by him there, either by himself or any other writer, 'till the year 1550 (22).

[H] He was appointed Chaplain to Edward the Sixth.] Mr Strype, from whom we have the account, expresses it in these terms: 'In the month of December 1551, it was thought fit that the King should retain six Chaplains in Ordinary, who should not only wait on him, but be itineraries, and preach the Gospel all the nation over; two of these fix to be ever present at Court, and four absent abroad in preaching, one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year, two in the Marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year, two in Devonshire, and two in Hampshire; the fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Suffex; and these six to be Bill, Harley, Pern, Grindal, Bradford, the sixth was dashed out of the King's Journal, whence Mr Strype takes all this, but probably was Knox; for he was one of the preachers of the North at Newcastle and elsewhere, and had a salary paid him out of the Exchequer. But the number was reduced to four, Bradford also being left out, who were stiled the King's Ordinary Chaplains (23).'

[I] He had an annuity of forty pounds for his good service in preaching in the North.] Mr Strype, to whom we are also indebted for this particular, supposes it was out of respect to John, that one William Knox, his brother or relation, had, in September 1552, a passport granted to him to bring in or carry out of any haven in England, all such merchandizes as were permitted by law, to endure for one whole year, and to make the said traffic in any ship of the burden

(22) In his History, lib. iv. p. 289. he says himself he was resident in England only the space of five years, and that he abode two years in Berwick, so long in Newcastle, and a year in London. But this is not the only passage in that history, lib. iv. wherein the expression is inaccurate.

(23) Strype's Memorials, Vol. II.



year he came into some trouble, on account of a bold sermon preached at Newcastle upon Christmas-day, against the obstinacy of the Papists [K]. And, about the latter end of the year, viz. in 1552-3, he returned to London; and being well esteemed by his Majesty and some of the Court, for his zealous preaching against the errors of the Romish Church, he was appointed to preach before the King and Council at Westminster, a little before his Majesty's departure thence. In this sermon he had several piercing glances against some great ones, who were secretly well-wishers to the old religion, though outwardly they submitted to the then present establishment (u). But notwithstanding that it must have been about this time, that the Council sent to Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to bestow the living of Allhallows in London upon him, which accordingly was offered him; but he refused it, not caring to conform to the English Liturgy as it then stood [L]. However, he still held his place of Itinerary Preacher; and, in the discharge of that office, going to Buckinghamshire, was greatly pleased with his reception at some towns, particularly at Amersham, in that county (w); and he continued to preach there, and at other places, some time after Queen Mary's accession to the throne. But that year, viz. in February 1553-4, he left England [M], and crossing the sea to Dieppe in France, went thence to Geneva; where he had not been long, when he was called by the congregation of the English refugees, then established at Franckfort, to be preacher to them. This vocation he obeyed (though unwillingly) at the command of John Calvin. He continued at Franckfort, 'till some of the principal persons of his congregation (x), finding it impossible to persuade him to use the English Liturgy, resolved to effect his removal from the place. In that view, they accused him to the magistrates of treason, committed both against their sovereign, the Emperor of Germany, and also against their own sovereign

(a) Particularly the Earl of Northumberland and the Marquis of Winchester (both present at the sermon), in character of Achitophel the Counsellor, Judas the Purse-bearer, and Shebna the Scribe, Comptroller, and Treasurer. Strype's Memorials, &c. and Knox's Admonition, &c.

(w) Ibidem ibid.

(x) Particularly Dr Richard Cox, King Edward VIth's Preceptor.

(24) Ibid. N.B. In Knox's History, p. 159, mention is made of one William Knox, but without any notice of his being a brother, or any relation at all, tho' of the same party with the Reformer.

• In the hands of Mr Woodrow, Minister of Eastwood in 1732. See remark [GG].

(45) He takes notice of this in his Admonition, printed in 1554.

(26) After Samson, Sanders the martyr was collated to this living.

(27) In this principle, that ceremonies are not indifferent, he is followed, if I mistake not, by the Scottish Kirk at this day.

of a hundred tons (24). From some of Mr Knox's original letters, in the hands of the Reverend Mr Woodrow, it appears, that he enjoyed this annuity of 40 pounds 'till the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. In a letter to Mrs Bowes his mother-in-law, dated 1553 \*, wherein he tells her, that he was obliged to abscond by reason of the fury of the Papists, he writes thus: *I will not make you privy how rich I am, but off London I departed with less money than ten groats: but God hath since provided, and will, I doubt not, abundantly for this life. Either the Queen's Majesty, or some treasurer, will be 40 l. richer by me, for so meickle lack I of duty of my patent; but that little troubles me.*

[K] *A Sermon against the Papists.* In this sermon he affirmed, that, whosoever in his heart was an enemy to Christ's Doctrine and Gospel, which was then preached within the realm, was an enemy to God, and secret traitor also to the Crown and Commonwealth of England, and that, as such, thirsted after nothing more than the King's death, which their iniquities would procure. He said, they regarded not who should reign over them, so that their idolatry might be erected again (25).

[L] *Not caring to conform to the use of the English Liturgy, he refused it.* We have the following account of this matter also from Mr Strype. 'April 14, 1552-3, Knox was called before the Council, who demanded of him three questions, 1. *Why he refused the benefice provided for him in London?* To which he answered, that his conscience did witness, that he might profit more in some other place than in London, and therefore had no pleasure to accept any office there. But he might have answered, that he refused it, because of Northumberland's contrary command, who, perhaps, designed it for him that succeeded to it, namely, Samson (26). 2. *Whether he thought, that no Christian might serve in the ecclesiastical ministration, according to the rites and laws of the realm of England?* To which he said, that many things at that time were worthy of reformation in the Ministers of England, without the reformation whereof, no Minister did or could discharge his conscience before God; for no Ministers in England had authority to separate the lepers from the heal, viz. the whole and sound, says Mr Strype, that is, they had not the full power of excommunication, which, he said, was a chief point of his office. 3. They asked him, *If kneeling at the Lord's Table was not indifferent?* He answered, that Christ's action was most perfect, and it was done without kneeling; and it was most sure to follow his example, and that kneeling was man's addition and invention (27). About this question there was great contention between the Lords of the Council and him. There were then present the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer; the Bishop of Ely, Godrick; Lord Chancellor; Lord Treasurer; the Earls of Bedford, Northampton, Shrewsbury; the Lord Chamberlain, and both the

Secretaries. After long reasoning it was said to him, that he was not called of any ill meaning, and that they were sorry to know him of a contrary mind to the common order. He answered, he was sorry the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. He was dismissed with some gentle speeches, and they willed him to advise with himself, whether he would communicate according to that order (28).

But we must not conclude this remark, without taking notice of what is affirmed by some writers, viz. that besides the living of Allhallows, Mr Knox had the offer of a bishopric made to him in Edward the Sixth's reign, and that he refused it. Among these is Melchior Adams (29), whose words are, *Imperabat illis temporibus Angliæ Edwardus VI. qui Cnoxum observabat, ac qua erat pietate favore singulari eum prosequabatur, itaque cum episcopatus de Regis voluntate, Cnoro esset oblatus, indignabundus Cnoxus, non solum honorem recusavit, sed etiam oratione gravi titulos illos improbarvit, quasi regni Antichristiani quiddam redolentes.* At that time in England reigned Edward VI. who observing Knox's piety, had a singular kindness for the man, and he was offered a bishopric by the King's command; but he refused it with indignation, vehemently condemning those titles, as favouring of the kingdom of Antichrist. Mr Calderwood gives us a passage (30); which seems to confirm this account of Adams's. 'Mr Knox, says he, being then resident in St Andrews, and preaching upon the Lord's day, Feb. 10, 1572, the Earl of Mar being present, refused to inaugurate the Bishop; yea, in open audience of many then present, he denounced anathema to the giver and anathema to the receiver, as I find in a certain manuscript.' And the same writer further observes, that, 'When Mr John Rutherford, Provost of the Old College, alledged Mr Knox's repining proceeded from male-contentment [because he was not made a Bishop himself], Mr Knox purged himself the next Lord's day, saying, I have refused a greater bishopric than ever it was, which I might have had with the favour of greater men than he hath his, I did and do repine for the discharge of my conscience (31).' Mr Petrie gives the same account, with this addition, that Mr Knox said, *I did and do repine for the discharge of my conscience, that the Church of Scotland be not subject to that order (32).*

[M] *He left England in February 1553-4.* In a commentary of Mr Knox's MS. (in the hands of the Reverend Mr Woodrow abovementioned), upon the sixth Psalm, directed to his mother-in-law Mrs Bowes, he signs it, thus, *Upon the very point of my journey, the last of January, 1553-4. Watch and pra. Your son with sorrowful heart, J. K.*

Another paper, also in Mr Woodrow's hands, bears this title: *John Knox, to the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick, &c.* Which letter ends thus: *From an sair troubleit haint, upon my departure from Diepe, 1553-4, quibbider God knawis, John Knox †.*

(28) Strype, ubi supra, from a letter of Knox.

(29) Melchior Adams, in Vita. Exter. Theolog. p. 137. The same story is told also by Beza, in Iconibus.

(30) In his MS. History of the Church of Scotland, p. 55.

(31) Ibid. p. 56.

(32) Petrie's History, part iii. p. 375. from the Historical Narration, commonly attributed to William Scott of Cowpar in Fife.

† See an Account of these two M.S.s. in remark [GG].

[N] An



reign in England, Queen Mary. Hereupon, the magistrates not having it in their power to save him, if he should be required either by the Emperor, or in his name by Queen Mary, gave him private notice thereof; which he no sooner received, than he set out for Geneva (y); where he arrived March 26, 1555, but staid there only 'till August following; when, resolving after so long an absence to make a visit to his native country, he went to Scotland (z). Upon his arrival there, which was in the end of harvest, finding the professors of the reformed religion much increased in number, and formed into a society under the inspection of some teachers (aa), he associated himself with them, and preached to them. Presently after this, he accompanied one of them, the Laird of Dun, to his seat in the North; where he stayed a month, teaching and preaching daily to considerable numbers who resorted thither, among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country. From thence returning to Lothian, he resided for the most part in the house of Calder with Sir James Sandilands\*, where he met with many persons of the first rank; viz. the Maister of Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar; the Lord Lorn, afterwards Earl of Argyle; Lord James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews, afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent of Scotland. With these noble personages he conversed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the Protestant doctrine. In the winter of 1555, he taught, for the most part, in Edinburgh. About Christmas 1556, he went to the West of Scotland at the desire of some Protestant gentleman, as John Lockhart of Bar, Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, and others, and preached † in many places in Kyle, viz. the houses of Bar, Carnal, Kinzeancleugh, Uchiltree, Gathgirth, and the town of Air; and in some of these places he celebrated the Eucharist after the manner of the Reformed Churches. He visited likewise the Earl of Glencairn, at his house of Fynlaiston in the county of Renfrew, and administered the Sacrament to his Lordship's family. From these western parts he returned to the East, and resided some time in Calder, where many resorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the Sacraments. From thence he went a second time to the Laird of Dun's house in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publicly than before, and administered the Sacrament to many persons of note at their desire. The Popish clergy being greatly alarmed at this success of Mr Knox, in promoting the Protestant cause, summoned him to appear before them in the Church of Black-Friars in Edinburgh, on the 15th of May 1556. Several gentlemen of distinction, among whom the Laird of Dun was none of the least considerable, resolving to stand by him, he determined to obey the summons. But the prosecution was dropped ‖, when the Bishops perceived such a considerable party appearing in his behalf. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day to which he was cited, where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; in the Bishop of Dunkeld's great house he taught, both before and after noon, to great numbers for ten days. At this time the Earl of Glencairn prevailed with the Earl Marischal, and his trustee Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr Knox's sermons. They were extremely well satisfied with his discourse, and proposed to him to write to the Queen Regent an earnest letter, to perswade her, if possible, to hear the Protestant doctrine. He complied with their desire, and wrote to her in May 1556. The letter was delivered by the Earl of Glencairn; the Queen read it, and gave it to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, with this sarcasm: *Please you, my Lord, to read a Pasquil* (bb). This gave occasion to Mr Knox to make some additions to his letter, which he printed afterwards with the additions at Geneva, 1558. While our Reformer was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, earnestly intreating him to come thither (cc). Having seriously considered this invitation, he determined to return to that people, who had such a great regard for him. Accordingly, in July 1556, he left Scotland, went first to Dieppe in France (dd), and from thence to Geneva. He had no sooner turned his back, than the Bishops summoned him to appear before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they passed a sentence of death against him for heresy, and burnt him in effigy at the Cross of Edinburgh. Against this sentence he formed, and afterwards printed at Geneva, in 1558, his *Appellation from the cruel and most unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland; with his Supplication to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonality, of the said Realm*. On the 10th of March 1556-7, the Earl of Glencairn, the Lord Lorn, the Lord Erskine\*, and Lord James Stewart, afterwards Earl of Murray, the chief promoters of the Reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good posture, and being sensible of the usefulness of Mr Knox for the purpose, sent him an express, earnestly desiring him to return home (ee). This letter coming to his hands in May 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but having consulted with Mr Calvin and other worthy ministers, they gave it as their opinion, that he could not refuse such a plain call, unless he would declare himself rebellious to God and unmerciful to his country. The congregation upon this yielded to his return to Scotland, and he wrote back by the messengers who brought the letter, that he would return to them with all reasonable expedition. Accordingly, having provided for his congregation at Geneva, he left them in the end of September, and came to Dieppe in his way to Scotland on the 24th of October (ff). But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new consultations were entered into, and advising him to stay at Dieppe 'till the final conclusion of them. This was also further explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr Knox, wherein he was told, that

(y) Discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfurt in Germany, edit. 1554. Item Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, &c. p. 35, & seq. 2d edit. and Strype's Life of Archbishop Grindal, p. 19, 20.

(z) Life of Knox, ubi supra, p. xvii.

(aa) Viz. Will. Harlow, John Willock, Paul Maffy or Methuen, and John Erskine of Dun. Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 90. edit. 1732.

\* Mr Keith calls him a man of great prudence and estimation. This gentleman's second son resided some time at Malta, and was invested there with the title and jurisdiction of Lord St John of Jerusalem within Scotland. He afterwards resigned his lands of Topichen belonging to his knighthood, into the hands of Mary Queen of Scots; and her Majesty erected them into a temporal lordship for him, on the 24th of January 1564. Keith's History of Scotland, p. 70 and 153. note (b).

† In his sermons he chiefly insisted upon the unlawfulness of being present at the Mass, which he maintained to be an idolatrous worship.

‖ Upon some informality of the summons, as was pretended. Keith's History, p. 64.

(bb) Ibid. p. 91, 92.

(cc) After his expulsion from Francfort, several of the congregation went to Geneva. Life of Knox, p. xix.

(dd) He sent his mother-in-law Eliz. Bowes, and her daughter Margery his wife, before him to Dieppe. Ibid. p. 93.

(ee) This letter is printed in his History, p. 97, 98. and is dated Stirling March 10, 1556.

(ff) Life of Knox, p. xx.

\* So it is in Knox's Life, p. xx. but in the signing it is only Erskine, by which Mr Keith supposes is meant John Erskine of Dun, the Lord Erskine having not yet joined himself to this party. Keith's History, p. 65. note (a).



(g g) This appears from his answer printed in his History, p. 98, 99, 100, which is dated October 27, 1557, from Dieppe.

(b b) He also writ some consolatory letters to the persecuted Protestants in France, to which he added an apology. Life of Knox, p. xxi.

† See more of this in remark [T].

(i i) It appears from some of his letters, that he was there in April 1558. Ibid.

that many of those who had before joined in the invitation, were becoming inconstant, and began to draw back (g g). Upon the receipt of these advices, Mr Knox wrote an expostulatory letter to the Lords who had invited him, concerning their rashness; wherein he denounced judgments against such as should be inconstant in the religion they now professed. Besides this, he wrote several other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and professors of the Reformed Religion of an inferior degree, exhorting them to constancy in their profession, and giving some useful cautions against the errors of sectaries, which grew up about this time both in Germany and England. In these letters he also enjoined them to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things (b b). These letters exciting them to a greater degree of zeal for the doctrine they had espoused, they came at last to this resolution, that 'they would follow forth their purpose, and commit themselves, and whatsoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than suffer idolatry to reign, and the subjects be defrauded of the only food of their souls;' and that every one might be assured the more of one another, a common band or covenant was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh December 3, 1557 †. Mr Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of the year 1558 (i i), and the same year he printed there his treatise, intitled, *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women* (k k), an account of which shall be given in remark [N]. He designed to have written a subsequent piece, which was to have been called *The Second Blast*. But Queen Mary of England dying (l l) soon after *The First Blast* was published, and he having a great esteem of Queen Elizabeth, and entertaining great hopes of signal advantages to the Protestant cause from her government, whom he looked upon as an instrument raised up by the good Providence of God for the good of his people, he went no farther (m m) [O]. In April 1559, he determined

(k k) It is reprinted at the end of his History, edit. 1732.

(l l) Viz: Nov. 17, 1558.

(m m) Life of Knox, p. xxi, xxii.

to

(33) In his MS. History already cited.

¶ The title of Goodman's book is, *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully be disobeyed and rejected*, &c. Mr Wood, who gives an Account of him, attributes *The First Blast of the Trumpet*, &c. to him. Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. p. 315. Mr Strype informs us, that he recanted in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and gives us the words of his recantation.

(34) In his Memorials.

(35) See Knox's Admonition.

[N] *An account of which shall be given below.* Mr David Calderwood takes notice (33) that the cruel and bloody government of Queen Mary of England, and the endeavours of Mary of Lorrain, Queen Regent of Scotland, to break through the legal constitution, and introduce tyrannical government, and the domination of the French, were the chief motives which induced Mr Knox to write and publish this piece; that writer adds, that in it he shews his erudition and variety of reading, more than in any other of his treatises. However, it is certain it made a great noise, and was the occasion of much obloquy and reproach against him. Yet it was much approved by several of the exiled Protestants, though disliked by others. Mr Strype observes, that, 'After the death of King Edward, though Queen Mary was acknowledged by the far greater part of the Protestants in England, yet some few of them appeared for Lady Jane Grey; and Mr Goodman ||, with some others, declared against the lawfulness of the government of women, an opinion not peculiar to them, but adopted by several learned men, and maintained by the whole kingdom of France. The Protestants in England, who were of this opinion, are accounted Mr Knox's disciples, whose conceit, says Mr Strype (34), in this matter, chiefly sprung from the fears they apprehended from the Lady Mary's government, and her marrying a foreigner (35).' Mr Strype also informs us, that Fox the Martyrologist had expostulated with Knox about this matter of *the Blast*, and has preserved Knox's letter in answer to Fox, dated at Geneva March 18, 1558. In this letter he makes a modest apology for writing this book, does not excuse any vehement or rash expressions he has used in it, but still affirms, that he is persuaded of the truth of the positions laid down therein.

[O] *He went no farther.* Before the death of Queen Mary, he published at Geneva, in 1558, an advertisement concerning the Second Blast, as follows:

John Knoxe to the reader.

'Because many are offended at the first Blast of the Trompett, in which I affirme, that to promote a woman to bear rule or empire above any realme, nation, or citie, is repugnant to nature, contumlie to God, and a thing most contrariouse to his revealed and approved ordinance: and because also that somme hath promised (as I understand), a confutation of the same, I have delayed the second Blast, tyll such time as their reasons appere, by the which I either may be reformed in opinion, or els shall have further occasion more simply and plainly to utter my judgement. Yet in the meane tyme, for the discharge of my conscience, and for avoyding suspicion, which might be ingender'd by reason of my silence, I could not cease to notify these subsequent propositions, which by God's grace I purpose to treat in the second Blast promised.

1. It is not birth onely, nor propinquity of blood, that maketh a King lawfully to reigne above a people, professing Christe Jesus, and his eternal veritie; but in his election, must the ordinance which God hath established in the election of inferiour judges, be observed.

2. No manifest idolater, nor notorious transgressor of God's holie precepts, ought to be promoted to anie publick regiment, honor, or dignitie, in any realme, province, or citie, that hath subjected himself to Christe Jesus, and to his blessed Evangel.

3. Neither can othe nor promesse bynd any such people to obey and maintein tyrantes against God, and against his trueth knowen.

4. But if either rashely they have promoted any manifest wicked personne, or yet ignorantly have chosen such a one, as after declareth himself unworthie of regiment about the people of God (and suche be all idolaters and cruel persecutors) most justlie may the same men depose and punish him, that unadvisedly before they did nominate, appoint, and electe.

Matth. vi. *If the eye be single the whole body shall be clere.*

We see our author here speaks of an answer to the Blast, and accordingly, in April 1559, there was printed at Strasburgh an answer to it, written by John Ailmer an exile, formerly Archdeacon of Stowe, and Preceptor to Lady Jane Grey †, and afterwards made Bishop of London by Queen Elizabeth. The industrious Mr Strype has written his life, and in it has given an account of this performance. The title of it is, *An Harbrough for faithful and true Subjects, against the late blown Blast concerning the government of Women; wherein are confuted all such reasons, as a Stranger of late made in that behalf, with an Exhortation to Obedience.* And, in Mr Strype's opinion, the treatise is a notable and full answer to Mr Knox. And this opinion is greatly countenanced and confirmed by the behaviour of Mr Knox himself, who, after Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, found a way of evading the principles advanced in that book. In a letter to Secretary Cecil, dated April 10, 1559, he writes thus concerning the Blast.

'It is bruted, that my book is or shall be written against. If so be, Sir, I greatly fear, that flatterers shall rather hurt than help the matter, which they would seem to maintain; for except my error be plainly shewen and confuted by better authority, than by such laws as from year to year may and do change, I dare not promise silence in so weighty a business, lest in so doing I should appear to betray the verity, which is not subject to the mutability of the time. And if any think me either enemy to the person, or yet to the regiment, of her whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived of me. For the miraculous work of God comforting his afflicted by an infirm vessel I do acknowledge, and the power of his most potent hand (raising up whom best pleaseth his mercy,

† Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, and for nine days owned by King Edward VIth's Council, as Queen of England.



others, who had entered into a combination against the Earl of Lenox; then Regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a Council was held by them in the castle on the fourth of May, where the Laird of Grainge, captain of the castle, proposed that they might give security for the person of Mr Knox, which was also much desired by the town's-people. The Hamiltons answered, that they could not promise him security upon their honour, because there were many in the town who loved him not, besides other disorderly people, that might do him harm without their knowledge. Upon this answer, which plainly shewed no good intention to Mr Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr Craig his colleague at their head, intreated him to leave the place, by reason of the impending danger to him, and to them too upon his account, in defending him from the attempts of the contrary party; which being also the strongest, would most probably be able to execute their designs against him. Accordingly, leaving Edinburgh on the fifth of May, he went first to Abbotshall in Fyfe, and thence to St Andrews, where he remained 'till the 23d of August, 1572 (*ddd*). That year there was a convention of the ministers at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of Episcopacy should be introduced into the Church, which was zealously opposed by our Reformer [*BB*]. The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they sent two of their number, viz. Nicol Edward and John Johnston, Scribe, to St Andrews, to invite Mr Knox to return to them, and to ask his advice about the choice of another minister to assist him during the time of the troubles [*CC*]. With their commissioners they sent a letter, which is inserted below [*DD*]. The superintendant of Lothian was with them, when they presented the letter; which, when Mr Knox had perused, he consented to return upon this condition, that he should not be desired in any sort to cease speaking against the treasonable dealings of those who held out the castle of Edinburgh; and this he desired them to signify to the whole brethren, lest they should repent afterwards of his austerity against those in the castle, or fear to be treated the worse on his account; and after his return, he repeated these words more than once to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit; they answered,

(*ddd*) Life of Knox, p. xxxii, xxxiii.

geance of Heaven upon the enemies of the Congregations, and constantly laid claim to the extraordinary illumination of the Holy Ghost, and to the gift of Prophecy, how truly needs not be said at this time of day.

[*BB*] Which was zealously opposed by our Reformer.] The bishops who came in by virtue of this Convention, were called *Tulehan* bishops; the word *Tulehan*, in the Irish language, signifying the skin of a calf stuffed with straw, to make the appearance of a living calf; which device was used in the Highlands of Scotland, that the cows might easily yield their milk, as they did not do it without a great struggle, when their calves were taken from them: from this custom the bishops now introduced were called *Tulehan*, because, altho' the courtiers had got the far greater part of the revenues of the bishopricks, yet they could not get a colourable title to these rents, as the law then stood, except they had a conveyance from those who had the title of bishops; for this reason it was thought a good expedient by the great ones, who had a longing mind to enjoy the profits of the bishoprics, that this sort of bishops should be brought into the Church, and indeed all of them, by certain pactions, conveyed the far greater part of the revenues to their patrons, reserving a very small part to themselves. Among the rest, the Archbishoprick of St Andrew's coming to the share of the Earl of Morton, that nobleman designed Mr John Douglas, Rector of the University there, in whom his Lordship had an entire confidence, to be elected to that See: for this purpose the electors were convened Feb. 8, 1572, where, after some opposition, he was elected archbishop. Mr Knox, being then in St Andrew's, was much displeased with this election; and the next Lord's-day, being to preach in the forenoon where the Earl of Morton was present, he not only peremptorily refused to inaugurate and receive the new-elected bishop, but publicly denounced an anathema both to the giver and receiver of this bishoprick. Notwithstanding this opposition, Mr Douglas was admitted archbishop, according to the order for admitting superintendants and ministers (60); for they had not as yet framed any particular form for admitting bishops. Mr John Rutherford, Provost of the Old College of St Andrew's, and Messieurs Archibald and John Hamilton, Professors in the New College, spread a report next week, that Mr Knox's opposition to the bishops proceeded from a pique that he was not elected himself. This coming to his ears, he vindicated himself from the pulpit next Lord's-day in words to the following purpose: *I have refused a far greater bishoprick than ever it*

*was, which I might have had with the favour of greater men than ever he had his; I did and do repine, not from malecontent, but for the discharge of my conscience, that the Kirk of Scotland be not subject to that order (61).*

[*CC*] The choice of another Minister, &c.] They were exceedingly displeased with the conduct of Mr Craig during the time of the troubles, he having made too great complacency, as they thought, with those who appeared against the authority of the young king and his regents, and were unwilling any longer to submit to his ministers (62).

[*DD*] With the letter which is inserted below] The letter is in these terms: *The comfort of the Holy Spirit for salutation. Of the restoring of us undeserved of our God into our town we believe ye are not ignorant; and yet we cannot excuse our sloth, that we have not as yet advertised you thereof, being troubled to obtain that liberty which we had before our parting therefrom, wherein as yet we are occupied, was and is the cause of our slackness, which we doubt not ye will accept in good part. Our estate at present in that thing, which to us at present is most dear, is, that ministers may be had, of whom for the present we are destitute, you only excepted, moveth us more than any other thing; and for that purpose, and for treating of such other things as concern the state of the Kirk, we directed the bearers to the Assembly at St Johnstown, who will certify you of their answer which they have received: but because you are he to whom we are married under God, we would crave, and crave of God, if hability of your person might sustain travel, that once again your voice might be heard among us, and that thing reformed which some time by you was planted among us. Loath are we to distress or hurt your person any wife, and far loather to want you, we being joined together in love by God, and knowing your care to be no less for us than it has been heretofore. We refer your returning to yourself and your judgment; but if it may stand with your will, we desire the same most earnestly. And knowing the sufficiency of the bearers, who will declare our mind to you at great length, wherein ye shall give them credit, we commit you to the protection of the Eternal.*

(61) Knox's Life, p. xxxiii. This seems to refer to the offer that we have observed was made him of a bishopric in England in Edward VIth's time.

(62) Ibid. p. xxxiv.

Off Edinburgh the 14th of August, 1572.

*Your Brethren and Children in God, with their Names subscribed with their own Hands.*

(60) This confirms Mr Keith's observation mentioned in remark [R].



(ccc) Ibid. p.  
xxxiv, xxxv.

(fff) It was brought to Edinburgh about the 12th of September by Mr Killigrew, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth. See the general histories of Scotland.

(ggg) It was his custom every day to read some chapters of the Old and New Testament in his family, together with some psalms. Life, p. xxxvi.

\* There is a long and very particular account of his behaviour from this day to that of his death, by Mr Calderwood, and extracted by the writer of his Life, to which we refer those that are curious of such matters.

(bbb) Life, p. xli.

† They are, Tho. Smeton, ubi supra. Beza in Iconibus. Melchior Adams, ubi supra. and Jacobus Verheiden, in his Effigies Præstantium Theolog. &c. Hagæ, 1602.

swered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but desired him to speak according to his conscience, as in former times. They also requested his advice upon the choice of a minister; and, after some debates, they agreed upon Mr James Lawson, Sub-Principal of the King's college at Aberdeen (ccc). Mr Knox left St Andrew's August 17, and came to Leith on the 23d. Upon the last day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he desired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but to a hundred persons; which was granted. Immediately after this agreement commissioners were sent, by whom Mr Knox sent the letter below [EE]. Mr Lawson came to Edinburgh September 15, and preached upon the Friday after, to the great satisfaction of the people, and continued preaching, till he was admitted to the charge of the ministry at Edinburgh. Mr Knox preached in the Tolbooth as long as he had strength of body; but his health was greatly impaired by the news of the massacre of the Protestants at Paris about this time (fff). However, he introduced it into his next sermon, with his usual denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he desired the French Ambassador, Monsieur La Croque, might be acquainted with [FF]. On Sunday November 9, 1572, he admitted Mr Lawson a minister of Edinburgh. But his voice was so weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a minister and his flock; he praised God, that had given them one in his room, who was now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his graces to him a thousand fold above that which he had, if it were his pleasure, and ended with pronouncing the blessing. From this day he hastened to his end. Upon the 11th, he was seized with a violent cough and great pains of the body; so that upon the 13th, he was obliged to give over his ordinary reading of the scriptures (ggg). During his sickness, he was visited occasionally by the Earl of Morton, and others of the principal nobility and gentry. But his decay still continually increasing, he resigned his breath on Monday the 24th of November, 1572, with great piety, resignation, and trust in God, such as well became the Principal Director of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland\*. He was interred on the 26th, in the kirk-yard of St Giles's, the corpse being attended by several lords who were then at Edinburgh, and particularly the Earl of Morton, that day chosen Regent, who, as soon as he was laid in his grave, said, *There lies a man, who in his life never feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in a special manner, when his very life was sought (bbb) [GG].* As to his character, he was one of those extraordinary persons, of whom few, if any, are observed to speak with sufficient temper. All that we find of him in this way, are either extravagant encomiums on one hand, or senseless invectives on the other. The length of the first exclude them necessarily from a place here; we can only refer to them in the margin†. And of the latter, we have already given one in the last remark below, which may be taken for a specimen of the rest. We shall therefore conclude what relates thereto in the words of Mr Strype, who hath dealt candidly with his memory; and having spoken of his residence in England and Geneva, closes his account thus: 'In May 1559, he

[EE] The letter may seen below.] It runs thus:

'Beloved Brother,  
'Seeing God of his mercy, far above my expectation,  
'hath called me once again to Edinburgh, and yet I  
'feel nature so decayed, and daily to decay, that I look  
'not for a long continuance of my battle, I would  
'gladly once discharge my conscience, unto your bosom,  
'and unto the bosom of others, in whom I think the fear  
'of God remaineth. If I had the ability of body, I should  
'not have put you to the pains to which I require you  
'now, that is, once to visit me, that we may confer to-  
'gether of heavenly things, for in earth there is no sta-  
'bility, except the Kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fighting  
'under the Cross, to whose protection I heartily commit  
'you.

'From Edinburgh, 7th of September, 1572.

'Accelere, mi frater, aliqui sero venies.'

[FF] He desired Mr Croque might be told of his Denunciation.] The Denunciation was to this purport, Sentence is pronounced in Scotland against that murderer the King of France, and God's vengeance shall never depart from him nor his house; but his name shall remain an execration to posterity; and none that shall come of his loins, shall enjoy that kingdom in peace and quietness, unless repentance prevent God's judgment. The ambassador being told of it, applied to the regent and council, and complained that his master was called a traitor and murderer of his subjects, under a promise and trust; and desired that an edict might be published, prohibiting the subjects of Scotland to speak any thing to the dishonour of his master, especially

the ministers in their sermons. This was waved by the council, and the ambassador was told, that they could not hinder the ministers from speaking even against themselves (63).

[GG] When his life was sought.] We have a remarkable instance of this as follows: It was his custom to sit at the table-head in his own house with his back to a window; yet, upon a certain night he sat with his back to the table, when a bullet was shot in at the window purposely to kill him; but the conspirators missed him, and the bullet lighted on the candlestick, and made a hole in the foot of it, which is yet to be seen (64). We need not observe, that the pretence insinuated in this story by Mr Calderwood of an extraordinary providence interposing in Knox's preservation, is the pure effect of bigotry. However, to ballance it on the other hand, an account of his death was fabricated by the Papists, who did not scruple to father it upon King James I. as follows: When that monarch, says the author, came first into England, being at dinner in a nobleman's house, he said, in speaking of Knox, that God thought fit to set a visible mark upon him even in his life-time before he went to the devil, (these are the author's words); which was, that being sick, with a good coal-fire by him, and a lighted candle upon the table, he desired the servant-maid that attended him to fetch him some drink, being extremely thirsty. She went and returned quickly, but found the room all in darkness; for not only the candle, but the fire also was utterly extinct, and she, by that light which herself brought in immediately after, saw the body of Knox lying dead in the middle of the floor, and with a most ghastly and horrid countenance, as if his body were to shew the condition of his soul\*.

(63) Ibid. p. xxxv.

(64) Ibid. p. xli. from Mr Calderwood.

\* Politicians Catechism, &c. Antwerp, 1658, and Knot's Protestants condemned, Dordrecht, 1654.

[HH] An



he returned to his own country to forward the Reformation, where he lived to the day of his death; but his violent methods and disloyal behaviour towards the Queen of Scots, is generally condemned (*iii*). As to his family; he was twice married, first, to Margery Bowes, an Englishwoman (*kkk*), by whom he had two sons, Nathaniel and Eleazar, and one daughter, who was married to Mr Robert Pont, Minister of St Cuthbert's in Edinburgh, and for some time a Lord of Session. His sons were both educated at the university of Cambridge, and admitted of St John's college, December 2, 1572, presently after the death of their father. Nathaniel took his first degree in Arts in 1576, and the following year was admitted Fellow of the college. He proceeded Master of Arts in 1580, and died in that year. The second son, Eleazar, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1577, was admitted Fellow of his college March 22, 1579, commenced Master of Arts in 1581, was appointed University-Precacher in 1587-8, made Vicar of Clacton-magna May 17, 1587 (*lll*), and proceeded B. D. the following year. He died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St John's college (*mmm*). To his second wife, Mr Knox married Mrs Margaret Stewart, daughter to Andrew Lord Ochiltree, a zealous promoter of the Reformation, and sister to James Earl of Arran (*nnn*). This lady surviving Mr Knox, was afterwards married to Sir Andrew Ker of Faudonside. She brought Mr Knox three daughters, to whom, with their mother, in 1573, was granted the following pension; viz. five hundred marks in money, two chalders wheat, six chalders bear, and four chalders oats. This favour is said to be granted on account of Mr Knox's long and fruitful travels in the Kirk, and for the education and support of his wife and children. One of these daughters was married to Mr John Welsh, minister at Air; and another to Mr James Fleming, also a minister, and grandfather by another wife to the late Mr Robert Fleming, minister at London (*ooo*). An account of his writings shall be given in remark [*HH*].

(*iii*) Life of Archbishop Parker, p. 366.

(*kkk*) Her mother, Mrs Bowes, appears from Mr Knox's Letters to her, to have been a person of great knowledge and singular piety.

(*lll*) Newcourt's Repertorium. Lond. Vol. II. p. 154.

(*mmm*) Life of Knox, p. xli, xlii. from the information of Mr Tho. Baker, Antiquarian of St John's in Cambridge.

(*nnn*) See remark [*HH*].

(*ooo*) Life of Knox, *ibid*.

[*HH*] An account of his Writings.] These are: 1. *A faithful Admonition to the true Professors of the Gospel of Christ within the Kingdom of England*, 1554. It was reprinted at the end of his History in 1644 and 1732. 2. *A Letter to Mary Queen-Regent of Scotland*, 1556, printed with additions in 1558; and again, at the end of his History. 3. *The Appellation of John Knox, from the cruel and unjust Sentence pronounced against him by the false Bishops and Clergy of Scotland, with a Supplication and Exhortation to the Nobility, Estates, and Commonality of the same Realm*, 1558; and again, at the end of his History, where is subjoined, *An Admonition to England and Scotland to call them to Repentance*, by Anthony Gilbie; as also Mr Knox's AdVERTISEMENT, concerning the second Blast of the Trumpet. 4. *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women*, 1558, 8vo. reprinted with his History in 1732. fol. 5. *A brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's Gospel, heretofore by the tyranny of Mary suppressed and banished*, 1559; and again, with his History in 1644 and 1732. 6. *An Answer to a great Number of blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, and Adversary of God's eternal Predestination*, by John Knox, Minister of God's Word in Scotland, Geneva, 1560. 7. *The Confession of Faith*, ratified by the Parliament of Scotland, 1560; as also *The first Book of Discipline, the Form and Order for admitting Superintendants and Ministers, and of Excommunication and Fasting*, all approved in the General Assembly, were composed chiefly by our author. 8. *A Reply to the Abbot of Croisragwell's* [or Croisregal] *Faith, or Catechism*; as also *An Account of his Conference with that abbot in 1562. A Sermon before the King* [Henry Darnley] *on Isaiah* xxvi. 13, 17. in 1566. 9. *An Answer to a Letter written by James Tyria, a Jesuit, Edinburgh 1568*. Mr Knox's Answer was published in 1571. These were published in our author's life-time. After his death came out his famous *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, &c.* probably first printed in London, 1586, 8vo; again at London, in 1644, fol. and the same year at Edinburgh, in

4to, and a fourth time at Edinburgh, 1732, fol. This edition is printed from a MS in the library of the college at Glasgow, an account of which, and of three others is given by the editor, in our author's life prefixed thereto. Besides his printed works, there were also, in 1732, some MSS of his in the hands of Mr Robert Woodrow, Minister of Eastwood, and others are preserved in Mr David Calderwood's large History of the Church of Scotland. Those in the hands of Mr Woodrow are, 1. A volume in folio, in an old hand fairly written, and seems to have been copied by John Gray, Scribe to the General Assembly, for the use of Margaret Stewart, Mr Knox's widow, both their names being written upon it. The contents of it are *A Preparation to Prayer*, 4 sheets. 2. *The sixth Psalm of David godly expounded*, 10 sheets, written in 1553, when our author was leaving England. 3. *The Epistle sent to several Congregations in England, shewing the Plaigs, which shall shortly cum upon that Realm, for refusing God's Word, and embracing Idolatry*. John Knox. 4. *To the Faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick*. II. A volume in 4to, containing 518 pages. Upon the title-page is written, the epistles of Mr John Knox, worthy to be read, &c. And in another hand are the following words: This book belonged some time to Margaret Stewart, widow to Mr Knox, afterwards married to the Knight of Fadonside, Sister she was to James Earl of Arran. The contents are, 1. *Mr Knox's Confession before the Bishop of Durham, April 4, 1550*. 2. *His Declaration in a Sum concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*. 3. *A Declaration what true prayer is*, by John Knox. This is distinct from the treatise in the other volume, and consists of four sheets. 4. *The Exposition upon the sixth Psalm*, the same with that in the other volume. 5. *John Knox to the Faithful in London, &c.* *ibid*. 6. *Knox's Admonition, to the Professors in England*. This is printed. 7. *Certain Epistles and Letters of the Servant of God, John Knox, to and from divers Places to his Friends in Jesus Christ*. These epistles are 46 in number, written from the year 1553 to 1557. P



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